

SANKORE'



Institute of Islamic - African Studies International

أُصُولُ السِّيَاسَةِ

وَكَيْفِيَّةُ الْمَخْلَصِ مِنْ أُمُورِ الرِّيَاسَةِ



The Fundamental Principles of Politics

and the Process of Dedication to the Matters of Political Authority

by

Amir'l-Mu'mineen

Muhammadu Bello ibn Shehu Uthman ibn Fuduye'

Translated by

Shaykh Abu Alfa Umar Muhammad Shareef bin Farid

Copyright © 1435/2014 Muhammad Shareef

Published by
SANKORE'



**Institute of Islamic - African Studies International
The Palace of the Sultan of Maiurno
Maiurno, Sennar, Sudan**

Book design by Muhammad Shareef:

All rights reserved. No parts of this publication may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or otherwise, without written permission of the publishers and author

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

SANKORE'

٢

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
 وَآلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَلَامِيحًا **قَالَ الْعَمْرِيُّ** الْعَمْرِيُّ الرَّحْمَنُ
 الْقَمَرِيُّ بِمَعْنَى بَرِّ عَثْمَانَ الْمَعْرُوفِ بِسَيْلِ **الْعَمْرُ** اللَّهُ الرَّحْمَنُ
 عَلِيمًا بِقَعْمَةِ الْإِيمَانِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ وَهُدًى تَامِلِيوْتَاوَهُ مَوْلَانَا
 هَمْدٌ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى اجْتِزَأَ النَّصَلَةُ وَأَزْكَى السَّلَامِ
أَمَّا جَدُّ بِمَعْنَى لَدَائِقِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ الصَّادِقِينَ الْقَادِمِينَ الرَّحِيمِينَ الشُّفِيحِينَ
 الرَّؤُوفِينَ كَالْأَنْبِيَاءِ الشُّفِيحِينَ **عَمْرٌ** دَلَّجِي الْعَمْرُوهُ فِي اللَّهِ حُجْرًا
 تَصْرَهُ اللَّهُ وَأَدْمُ عَمْرُوهُ وَأَفْتَدَارُهُ وَأَبُوهُ بِرُوحِهِ مَعَهُ وَأَكْثَرُ
 أَمْتَارُهُ إِنْ كَفَيْتَهُ كَلِمَاتٌ تَلْتَمِسُ مِنَ الْعَمْرُوهِ الشُّبُهَاتِ
 وَكَيْبِجِيَّةِ الْعَمْرُوهِ مَرَاهِمُ الرَّيَالِ لَسَّةً بِأَجْمَعَتِهِ
 يَعُوُّ الْإِنْفِخَاوَةَ وَاللَّهُ الْعَمْرُوهُ **وَأَعْلَمُ** بِأَضْرَارِهِ الْعَمْرُوهُ
 الْبِلَاءُ عَلَى الْعَمْرُوهِ أَنْ يَكُونَ عَمْرُوهُ أَوْ أَمِيرًا مِمَّا يَجْتَرُّ
 عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْمَسَائِبِ الْكَثِيرِ فَإِنَّ الْقَمْرُوهَ مِمَّا السَّبَبُ عَلَى الْعَمْرُوهِ
 وَأَجْعَالُهُ وَأَحْوَالُهُ وَإِنْ كَانَ عَمْرُوهُ لَمَّا سَعَلَ عَمْرُوهُ فِي كَيْفِهِ
 هُوَ فِي تَجَلُّسِهِ مَعَهُ أَنَّهُ مِمَّا السَّبَبُ عَلَى عَمْرُوهِ الرَّعْبَةُ وَلَوْلَا
 قَبْلُ مَرَاتِفَاهُ اللَّهُ فِي الْعَمْرُوهِ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ اللَّهِ فَإِنَّهُ ذُو
 مِنَ الْمَسَائِبِ الْكَثِيرِ وَكَانَ مِنَ الْعَمْرُوهِ الْمَسَائِبِ الْيَسِيرِ
 وَوَفَاءُ اللَّهِ الْفَطْحِي الرَّؤُوفِ هُوَ فِي الرَّحْمَنِ الْيَسِيرِ
 الْكِتَابُ

2

الورقة 2 من مخطوطة أصول السياسة للسلطان محمد بلو بن الشيخ عثمان بن فودي تصويرية من مكتبة الوزير الجنيد بن محمد البخاري في

صكت نيجيرية

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

Preface

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent the Merciful, may Allah bless our master Muhammad, his family and Companions.

When I first translated this work back in 1991, the geopolitical circumstances of the world were quite different from today. My main objective, then, was to give the growing *jama`at* of *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye` in the U.S., the necessary evidence and tools needed for our *amirs* to govern our small communities. Like any African American community with a unified and coherent belief system, shared customs and a collective spirit, we coalesced into *jama`ats*.¹ At that time we were firmly established in Houston, Texas and Los Angeles California under the civil engineer al-Hajj Uthman and *al-Hajj* Abu Amir Ali Abd'r-Rahim. Admittedly, I hoped that the Usuul's-Siyaasa would have commanded the same position in the minds of the sisters and brothers of the *jama`at* that the arguments to ratify the US constitution had in the minds of most conscience Americans. I foresaw a time when our communities would grow and confederate with other indigenous American Muslims and move towards some form of autonomy, if only judicial. The Usuul 's-Siyaasa laid the fundamental principles for a system of government that developed in diverse regions of the *Bilad's-Sudan*, the highlands of Abyssinia and the Kiswahili coast, reaching its formative period in the 10th century A.H. (15th century C.E.) in the Upper Niger Bend and in the Haraar highlands of Abyssinia. The intellectual zenith of African Islamic civilization occurred during the 18th century under *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye`, and his many erudite colleagues and disciples. It was during this period that all the foregoing principles of government expressed by Takrur, the three Futas, Diya, ancient Ghana, Mali, Massina, Songhay, Zaberma, Kanem-Bornu, Wodai, Birghima, Dar Fur, the Funj, and Tokar and Suakin on the Red Sea; had been synthesized into the works of government composed by the scholars, statesmen and stateswomen of the Sokoto polity. These opinions were as idealistic and forward looking as those espoused by any of the thinkers of the American Revolution. These Sokwato ideas of sovereignty and government developed at the same time as the original, vibrant, contradictory and oft times hypocritical ideas of government emerging out of the rebellious American 13 colonies. When Thomas Paine was composing his Common Sense, *Shehu* Uthman had composed his first Arabic composition, a poem lamenting his incapacity to visit the tomb of Prophet Muhammad, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. When Pain composed his American Slavery in America, the *Shehu* had composed his early Hausa and Fulbe` songs dissecting the destructive customs of the rulers and the ruled of the seven Hausa states. Many of the enslaved African Muslims who arrived in Antebellum America originated from many of the same diverse Sudanic states and many of the rare manuscripts composed by African Muslims in Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, the Sea Islands, Barbados, Trinidad, Panama and Brazil revealed the same style of calligraphy of the great learning centers of West Africa. These enslaved African Muslims introduced to American soil the unique Fulbe` agricultural methods of growing indigo and the Wolof mastery of the cultivation of Jolof rice. They were active participants in the formation of America's early development, just as they were essential in the formation of African Islamic civilization in their motherland. Chronologically, the first

¹ African Americans had been doing this since the time they were illegally brought to American shores. Throughout the southern regions of the US and in many urban cities of the north, African Americans organized themselves into their own communities and this was in spite of and because of state and federal laws forbidding African Americans meeting together and gathering in groups of more than three. Some of these African American city zones in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Harlem and Roxbury; in towns and regions such as the Sea Islands of the Carolinas and Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, East Texas and Oklahoma became particularly affluent and self sufficient. It was this rapid development of the African American communities in the south and north, which induced the majority of the Anglo American to see stoop to felony crimes, unconstitutional harassment, extrajudicial killings, arson and looting to uproot and destroy these growing centers of African American life.

insurrection, work stoppage, riot or revolt incited by these enslaved Africans was the FIRST ACT of the American Revolution. These revolutionary acts started from the time the first slave ships arrived in the western hemisphere and reoccurred every single year in everyone of the 13 colonies until 1864, when African freedom fighters joined the Northern Union Army and crushed the southern slave economy. The Usuul's-Siyaasa was composed during this volatile period.

When I completed the translation, I had just completed a study of Dr. Yusef N. Kly's The Black Book: the True Political Philosophy of Malcolm X. This coincided with the organized rebellion which shook the streets of Los Angeles, after the Rodney King verdict, where Black street gangs such as the Crips and Bloods formulated a truce against what they correctly identified as a 'rival gang' – the LAPD. I recall an interview with several L.A. gang members, where Crip and Blood leaders openly identified with the Palestinian *intifada* taking place in Gaza and the West Bank. I recall the effect made on the reporter when one of the gang members noted: 'The Palestinians have rocks and stones, we have street sweepers!' (a modified shotgun). This did not go unnoticed by the FBI, who under the order of the US President initiated 'Weed and Seed', where L.A. gangs were infiltrated by informants and agent provocateurs and what was a genuine truce worked out by the gangs themselves under African American and Hispanic community leadership; then reverted back to all out gang warfare; that lasted for about five years when in 1997, most if not all the leaders of the Crip and Blood were either dead and languishing in prison. This was especially true of East Coast Coast Crip who refused to revert back to killing and murdering their own people and continued to target the police and COs as the rival gang.

It was during the L.A. rebellion and violence that swept across the Black Belt in the LA county that I had the chance of interviewing Dr. Kly on the Houston Pacifica Radio regarding his thoughts on the rebellion. During this interview Dr. Kly skillfully and logically deconstructed every solution put forward by the traditional African American leadership at the time. Dr. Kly spoke at length on the concept of international politics and human rights and the need for the African American national minority to abandon the traditional civil rights approach of working within the domestic politics of the United States and to take their case directly to the United Nations. At that time The United States had successfully induced Iraq to invade Kuwait resulting in the first Gulf War, which enabled the US to park its military ships permanently throughout the Persian Gulf.

During that period, there was no such thing as *al-qaeda*; it was still being vetted and invented by the CIA. The blind 'sheikh' Abd'r-Rahman had been given a visa to the US and a green card, even though he was listed as a suspected terrorist. *Sultan* Bandar of Saudi Arabia was having secret meetings over beer and wine with American officials as to how to contain the 'threat' of Iraq, and to prevent Saddam from selling Iraqi oil on the world market for any currency other than US dollars. Taliban officials were being hosted with *halaal* buffalo burgers in Texas regarding the impending strategic pipelines that were to be constructed by Haliburton through Afghanistan. A former business associate of Haliburton, Tim Osman, (aka Usama Bin Ladin) had just been kicked out of Sudan, after two years of spreading his money in order to gain 'street cred' with known Palestinian and Arab terrorist who had made Sudan their training base.

What was clear in the beginning of the 90s was that the US was losing its manufacturing edge to China, Germany, and India; and the only sector where the US maintained its lead (besides the IT in Silicon Valley) was in the area of arms, weapons, military and security. In order for the US to maintain world leadership and continue to be the leading economic giant of the world, there had to be areas of insecurity, crisis and conflict in the world, which would justify the sale of advanced military weapons, lucrative contracts and investment. In other words war, insecurity and international conflict became the only means for the United States and its partners to maintain economic dominance. For this, the US needed a 'boogey-man'; one that was transnational not bounded by national borders; that did not abide

by or recognize the rule of law; an enemy which would allow the US to throw off and disregard all constitutional standards or international agreements.

In the mean time, Islam had become the fastest growing religion in the world. It was spreading rapidly in Africa and among the Africans of the diaspora of North America, the Caribbean and South America. The World Council of Churches lamented that there was nothing that could be done to slow down the rapid growth of Islam, particularly in western judeo-christian civilization. The 'church' was dying a hard death, and western states no longer needed it to advance western interest, as it did during the age of imperialism. In order to offset the natural growth of Islam in the US, the CIA partnered with Saudi intelligence, in order to develop a 'catholic' official Islam sanctioned by the religious authorities of Riyadh. Graduates of Medina University were sent out all over the world to check the growth of indigenous popular Islam and to make Muslims loyal to the Holy See in Riyadh, who in turn were loyal to United States interest. This brand of Islam proved useful in the CIA's proxy war against Russia in Afghanistan; and like the ancient Pharisees who collaborated with the Romans, and whose *sicari* arm were the cause of the destruction of Jerusalem; these *Wahhabi/salafists* combatants also became the reason for the destruction and mayhem we have witnessed today all over the Muslim world.

At this time in the western hemisphere, an indigenous urban Islam had been developing alongside the rapid development of western metropolis. It was vibrant, proactive, militant and seeking self sufficiency. In the courts of the United States, Islamic, Jewish, Native American and other religious communities were establishing legal precedence for the full recognition and practice of their religions. For example, in 1997, the Muslim inmate population of CMF Vacaville and CDC Solano successfully initiated a class action litigation against the California Department of Corrections on eight counts. At that time I was the Muslim chaplain of the two prisons. The California Supreme Court was informed by letter from the United Nations that the case was being observed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission and the International Human Rights Association for American Minorities in order to assess whether the US was abiding by international agreements that it had ratified regarding the standard treatment to be accorded inmates. During that same period the United States and Israel were thrown off the United Nations Human Rights Commission due to the historical mistreatment of its Native American, African American, Hispanic national minorities and Palestinian people, respectively. Central and South America were becoming more leftist and anti-American, especially with the unilateral US invasion of Grenada and Panama. In New York city the NYPD had come under national and international condemnation for systemic brutality and unwarranted shootings of men of color. It was during this time that I composed my work, The United States' Violation of the Human Rights of African Americans. This concise study was simply an abridgement of the key principles and main ideas of the superb work of Dr. Y.N. Kly, International Law and the U.S. Black Minority. My work emerged from regular phone conversations and email communication with Dr. Kly about this work and its implications. In fact, it was he who guided me in the legal action taken by the Muslim inmates in the CDC. My translation of the Usuul's-Siyaasa was at the backdrop of all this and informed what we were doing in the same manner as the writings and ideas of the American 'founding fathers', inform American judges, civic leaders and political reformers today. Dr. Kly often noted how these scholarly works of the Sokwato scholars gave anthropological authenticity to the African American struggle.

In 1999 there was concerted effort on the part of indigenous American Muslims to confederate right across the board, uniting *salafist*, *sufis*, Black, White, Hispanic and second generation immigrant Muslims.² Meetings were held in Leicester UK, and Philadelphia PA from 1999 until 2000 in order to develop an internationally recognized Muslim organization that represented indigenous Muslims of the US. Although there were leaders who fought against this line, the majority of those American Muslim leaders who had national constituents felt that it was time for some form of autonomy or internal self determination. In fact, many of these leaders came out of organizations which had pushed for this kind of relationship with the US, such as the N.O.I., the Black Panther Party, the Republic of New Afrika, the Black Liberation Army, the Islamic Party, Dar'l-Islam, the All African People's Revolutionary Party, etc³.

Five years prior to September 11, 2001, the indigenous Muslim communities in the western world were on a trajectory of expansion and development which was unprecedented. The SIASI, the *Zaytuna Institute*, and many others initiated circles of learning that eventually interconnected the US, Canada, the UK, Sweden with the traditional circles of learning in Mauritania, Sudan, northern Nigeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Yemen, the *Hijaz*, and Egypt. Muslim leaders openly discussed the self inflicted demise of western civilization and expressed the Islamic ideas that could pre-empt its collapse and start it anew. Geopolitically, there was nothing that could have happened to alter the trajectory that the world was heading except some political anomaly – a freak occurrence. Enter *al-qaeda*.

The emergence of asymmetrical Muslim combatants at the hands of the CIA, was the high point of what has come to be known as 'black-ops' in the US. The creators of this 'islamic' anomaly did not have all their facts when they put it together. Legally, for any '*jihad*' to be declared it must be done by a *Sultan*, a Muslim ruler, residing on a land base, a *daar'l-islam*. No matter how loud Tim Osman (aka Usama bin Ladin) shouted for '*jihad*' or the 'islamic state'/the *khilaafa*; his words fell on deaf ears. His only recruits were disaffected Egyptians, Palestinians, Somalians and others who had been imprisoned and tortured in Egyptian, Jordanian, Israeli, Saudi, Moroccan and Tunisia torture chambers. Every single one of the comrades of Usama bin Ladin, were at one time victims of enhanced interrogations. In other words, they became the 'hate that hate produced'. Why did this narrative look so familiar?

It had a familiar ring because FBI sting operations, agent provocateurs and enraged 'revolutionaries' manufactured under enhanced interrogation techniques was a part of the paraphernalia of CoINTEPRO of the 1960s-70s. In fact any person who had read and was familiar with the 1976 Senate Hearings CoINTELPRO papers knew exactly what was happening from September 11, 2001 and thereafter. At the height of post September 11, investigations, hearings and resolutions, independent investigators used the Freedom of Information Act to inquire about 'al-qaeda'. In every single request for FBI records on 'al-qaeda' from 2001 to 2006, the FBI would declare that they had no information on any organization of that name. It was not until 2006, when the FBI began to develop a 'narrative' of 'al-qaeda' and 'its affiliates'. Yes, 'al-qaeda' was made popular by mainstream media, but 'al-qaeda' as an organization had no meaning in the archives of the FBI - at least not yet.

² It was during this time that *Imam* Jamil al-Amin (H 'Rap' Brown), the *Imam* UMMA and the then head of the Muslim Shura Council of the US was arrested on trumped up charges of murder of a police officer.

³ However, like the NAACP which began with the militant intellectual Niagara Movement, led by Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and was later taken over by whites and then redirected; what emerged from Philadelphia was another Muslim organization (MANA, the Muslim Alliance of North America) working within the traditional confines of the civil rights movement and redirected away from seeking their internationally recognized rights of self determination.

By that time enhanced interrogation techniques had been developed and honed in the many CIA secret prisons, as well as those prisons in Israel, that specialized in creating 'jihaadi' and rival oppositions to traditional Arab and Palestinian leadership. One could not help recall how the FBI and CIA destroyed the New Left in the United States, with the development of the Symbionese Revolutionary Army, under the leadership Donald 'Cinque' DeFreeze. DeFreeze was a non-political petty criminal who had nothing at all to do with radical politics prior to his incarceration in CMF Vacaville, (where I later became the Muslim Chaplain). Some in LA say that DeFreeze was rebuffed from joining the United Slaves under the FBI informant, Ron Karenga because he knew nothing of Black culture and his role as a police informant was well known. The LADP decided to confine DeFreeze in prison, so that he could gain a rep among the 'black nationalists' and revolutionaries of California. The California Medical Facility (CMF) at Vacaville was notorious for its advanced behavior modification programs and experiments. The mass murderer, Charles Manson, was held there for some time. In fact, most inmates that suffered from extreme psychological disorder in the CDC were sent to CMF for behavior modification treatment. According to one psychiatrist at CMF, these treatments included the use of drugs, sensory deprivation, sensory stimulation or overload, sleeplessness and heightened stress situations designed to turn an inmate off and on at will.

It was in the CMF psych wards that Donald DeFreeze was created. He was then allowed to escape from San Quentin prison, and ended up leading ten white upper middle class 'revolutionaries' to their fiery deaths in a project housing complex in Compton, California. During his 'revolution', DeFreeze managed to convince two white followers to put on black mask and assassinate a popular leader in the Black community of northern California. Just prior to the assassination, members of a white prison gang, a neo-Nazi group, managed to print up messages handed out in Marin County, about the impending assassination. Many local leaders, such as Bobby Seal and others named DeFreeze as an agent provocateur designed to destroy the New Left. After the detested murder of the popular Black leader, DeFreeze and his white revolutionaries went on to 'kidnap' Patty Hearst. The Hearst family was forced to give out at least two million dollars worth of food to the poor of the Bay Area and LA county. When this failed to garner DeFreeze the fame that he craved, he decided 'to turn' Patty Hearst and basically ended up 'pimping' her to rob banks, convenient stores and to turn against 'the system' – her system. When Americans, especially the progressives of the New Left, saw the image of Patty Hearst dressed in a tight mini-dress with a machine gun in hand along with DeFreeze dressed with a wide brim hat like a pimp – that was the death of the New Left. It was in CMF prison that this 'revolution' to end revolutions was hatched.

I believe that the same techniques were franchised and hired out to the DOI (on contract), the FBI and the CIA. There were no videos in existence of hooded Muslim combatants decapitating western men, until after the invasion of Iraq. With the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and the opening of prisons designed to break the Iraqi resistance, the world witnessed the first filmed decapitation. Any Muslim who had been reared under the values of Islamic courtesy, recoiled with horror when looking at such gruesome acts of violence. Immediately, my mind went back to Donald DeFreeze and his Symbionese fighters, who orchestrated a public suicide at the hands of the LAPD. Similarly, these hooded 'muslim' psychopaths had been manufactured, tortured and turned out into the monsters we were seeing on screen. *This was not Islam*, and no matter how much we told this to ourselves and others; resurgent Islam has nevertheless been dying a slow death; similar to what happened to the New Left with the mayhem unleashed on America with the Symbionese fiasco.

What was happening at that time? Nixon and his entire administration were on the point of being impeached, jailed and basically railroaded out of office. We were witnessing a major structural collapse of American society. There was nothing that could have stopped or slowed this down, except an event,

an anomaly, so crazy, that it would cause the nation to halt all social reform, and get back to the job of law-n-order, policing, punitive punishment and imperialism. Donald DeFreeze was the perfect patsy designed to destroy the New Left and make Americans fill that everything that Nixon and his administration did during the antiwar movement, the illegal invasions of Laos and Cambodia, the CoINTELPRO, Watergate, etc, were all justified to maintain law-n-order against threats such as Donald Defreeze and his ilk.

Today, the fictitious '*al-qaeda*' has morphed into a many headed hydra: ISIS, ISIL, Boko Haram, AQWM and a host of others in Iraq, Syria, Libya, Algeria, northern Nigeria, Yemen etc. All of them performing gruesome decapitations, throwing people from tall buildings, public executions, kidnapping, rape and suicide bombings, under the black banners of *laa ilaha illa Allah, Muhammad rasuullah*. When The footage of Col. Muammar Qaddafi being raped with a broom stick before being shot, indicated that those who perpetrated this gruesome act were the same guys who had at one time been victims of the same form of enhanced interrogation in the many secret CIA prisons around the world. When an ISIL leader is filmed digging up the body of a Syrian army leader, tearing open his breast and eating his heart, we are witnessing a repeat of the kind of psychological dysfunction developed in CMF prison in Vacaville, California; and then franchised to the DOI, the CIA and the FBI.

In the same manner that DeFreeze was allowed to 'pimp' upper middle class white girls into being 'revolutionaries'; the ISIL, the ISIS and other recruiters for the cause of '*jihaad*' are also cruising the world wide web, for their white girls; turning them out, covering them in burkas and making them the 'wives' of 'courageous *mujahidun*'. I guess for young white girls there is still something appealing in young dark bearded men with long hair. One cannot help but remember the magnetism that Charles Manson had, and still has, on the minds and libido of young white girls. Now, many of the 'foreign' combatants who were caught up in ISIL are being executed for 'desertion' as they realize they made a terrible mistake and try and make their way back home. Those who do make it back home; they will be welcomed with open arms into the western penal system that will introduce them to the same enhanced interrogation or depth interrogation methods which produced their eastern comrades. These guys will be deprived of sleep, thrown into confined spaces, deprived of sun light, forced fed, sodomized, threatened, beaten and then exposed to loud sounds and other of forms sensory overload; until the US creates a new enraged 'vanguard' of the new domestic home-grown terrorists in the western hemisphere which will define the 21st century.

In the mean time, white/black racism, hatred, extreme intolerance and racial polarization will continue unabated in the US. Feeling vindicated and indispensable, racist cops will carry on protecting 'white privilege' and keeping African American, Hispanic and the poor in their places, in jail and off the streets. It is faced with these kinds of odds that people conclude that the only way to fight repression is with violence. Logically and historically, they would be right, for this is how our union began. The *Sufis* say: "Your end is in your beginning." Perhaps, this is America's just end – a violent self destruction. However, there is an alternative. America's wealthy 1%, who have shown that they have no loyalty to the stars and stripes, but to the markets; can divest in the securities and weapons industry and reinvest in all sustainable development efforts that require less policing and little security. The professional craft guilds must be subsidized and transmitted in schools where students can gain apprenticeship in the crafts as well as complete the learning required for tertiary education. An economy that exists solely through the persistence of conflict, war and insecurity has a predictable end. Those among them with a 'god' complex would rather see the entire world destroyed including themselves, in order not to give up their 'power'. This kind of society should be isolated and those who wish to survive should disengage from it and simply let the entire edifice consume itself. Perhaps, a police state is good, but localized in the United States, to keep Americans from harming the rest of the world. This will allow nations like, China,

Venezuela, India, Brazil, and many others to simply be about the business of sustainable development. On a lighter note, one popular physicist described the possibility of the invention of a computerized toilet which had an internal system that allowed immediate urine and feces testing. The toilet would have voice capability to calmly inform you of the state of your health based upon urine, blood and bile samples; and suggest dietary modification and lifestyles changes required to bring your health back to equilibrium and balance. This kind of desirable technology requires an integration of science, medicine, art and craftsmanship born of a society AT PEACE. Nations such as China, the UK, the US, Germany and Japan all developed rapidly with an expanding industrial base when they were not at war. Nations under prolonged war lose the human and natural resources required for sustained development.

I believe, and the evidence backs me up, that African Islamic civilization was well on its way to making sweeping reforms within Islamic law that would have advanced development rather than impede it. These reforms were not reactions to European imperialism and encroachment because they emerged before European merchant houses ever stepped foot on African soil. At the beginning of the 20th century, an important segment of the judiciary of Sokoto in the southeast provinces of the *caliphate* reached the highest achievements in judicial reform, constitutional revision, military restructuring and social transformation which went contrary to what was considered normal under Islamic sovereignty. Slave raiding and the use of *jihad* as a means to raid for slaves was completely abolished in the southern region of Fombina. The Adamawa Judiciary redefined the role of the *Lamido* (leader/*imam*, ruler/*amir*) and limited his executive authority by increasing the power of the *majlis as-shuraa*, made up of the judiciary, clerical and a segment of the literate merchant class. This happened in 1901, almost a complete century after the Usuul's-Siyaasa was first composed. What this indicates is that, like the United States with its flawed constitution but with a revision clause, there was also an inherit drive and provision in the Sokoto polity for revision, change and perfection.

Today, with the entire planet held hostage, not by ISIL, but by the usage to which mass media uses ISIL; it is time to take a closer look at what ISLAMIC SOVEREIGNTY really is. We've seen the decapitations, the summary executions and the assassinations. We've seen Christian churches, Jewish synagogues ransacked and destroyed. The tombs of *awliya* and the Prophets have been destroyed and their inhabitants disinterred. More Muslim men, women, infant and elderly have been killed by illegal Muslim combatants (*muharibi*) than by any non Muslim army. The rules of '*sulhi*' (armistice) '*muhaddina*' (truce) and '*mu'ahida*' (social contract), an integral part of the rules of war in Islam are completely disregarded. We've seen girls kidnapped, married off, sold or raped in complete defiance of Islamic law and no regard for public morality. We have all witnessed the social dysfunction and destruction caused by today's '*mujaahiduun*'. We have yet to witness the reconstruction of any streets, sewage systems, water supply, electrical networks, hospitals or amenities in any of the areas held by 'islamic' combatants. The *muharibi* (belligerent combatant) by definition cannot construct anything because the nature of his insecurity precludes reconstruction, stability and development. Wherever the *muharibi* goes he takes destruction with him to every people unfortunate enough to be afflicted by him. It is for this reason that the sin of the *muharibi* is among the major sins (*kabaa'ir*) in Islam.

It is due to the illegitimate actions of the *muharibi* that governments of the west declare that Islam must be changed or it must be eradicated. Jewish psychiatrists have noted that this same phrase was a common construct used by German citizens under the Third Reich. There was a manufactured consensus among German people to accept, prefer and participate in the genocide of an entire national minority. In other words these governments create a narrative about Islam which suits their political objectives and where this narrative does not constitute a clear and present danger; one is created. The US penal system and the cruel methods of enhanced interrogation developed there create the ideal stereotypical Arab Muslim boogeyman. It was in the Caribbean that enslaved African were broken,

softened and domesticated for mainland American slavery. Today, this same process has been continuing in Guantanamo, the US prisons in Iraq, Afghanistan and around the world; where they manufacture deranged terrorists. These psychopaths are either released or 'escape' and join up with or create their own off shoot combat unit that ends up joining the competition of endless youtube decapitations, beheadings, kidnappings and torture. These guys seem to be saying that they are now able to do to some innocent western victim what the US military and the CIA did to them. These are honor killings! This is not Islam. But imbedded western mainstream media declare that this IS Islam and IT should be eradicated or drastically altered. In the meantime the common person of the west knows nothing about genuine Islam.

You cannot fight what you do not know. No society will ever win a war against Islam. Islam is perennial like water, like the heavens, like fire, like the vast earth, like air. It is here to stay even when humanity loses it, Islam remains in nature, the eco system and the cosmos. A war against Islam is futile. However, a war against *muharibi Muslims* is a war that can be won, should be won and will be won. The punitive punishment of the *muharibi* is clearly stipulated in the *Qur'an*. It is a harsh one designed to deter others from ever venturing into that kind of political corruption. Reading the *Usul's-Siyaasa*, always raises a question for these Muslim modern day 'jacobins': do they (ISIL and Company)⁴ want the establishment of the same principles clearly presented by *Amir'l-Mu'mineen* Muhammad Bello in these pages? Do they (Shekau and Company) in northeastern Nigeria want the kind of society described in this text?⁵ I know that the institutions that created them do not want it. Thus, they were conjured up by government psychiatrists, PR marketing teams and a deranged US military, as a Frankenstein monster designed to make Muslims hate their way of life and non Muslims to hate it even more. Just as Obama was a false construct designed by America to get the world community to mitigate its criticism of US policy; the ISIL were created in prisons run by US military intelligence contrived to ensure that US policy continues as a necessity. Weapons, the securities industry and the companies that insure them are the last bastions of American economic dominance. This means that war, insecurity and international conflicts are not only lucrative for the US economy; they are vital to its survival. War MUST be had! There MUST be an enemy!

⁴ 'Company' is simply a reference to the CIA which has long been referred to as 'the Company'.

⁵ This young man should be ashamed of himself. He has given up the expansive Islam bequeathed to him from his ancestors: *Shehu* Uthman, *Ustadh* Abdullahi, *Sultan* Muhammad Bello, *Amir* Umar Dullaje, *Lamido* Modiobo Adamu, and their many comrades and has settled for the constricting and suffocating Islam of the *Arab muharribi*. It was in 2000 when I witnessed the presence of American marines in Sokoto sent there to train northern Nigerian police, military and security units in counter insurgency techniques. I knew then that it was a matter of time before, some unfortunate zealous Muslim youth from Maiduguri or Kaduna would be induced to commit a crime motivated by religion; and get caught up in the profiling and enhanced interrogation methods introduced by the US marines. These torture techniques are not designed to simply get at the truth, but to instill a deep sense of retribution, rage and dehumanization. It is behavior modification at its best. It is what made Shekau. When you see Shekau on the screen, you are looking at a person who had his humanity systemically taken from him. He was made that way, thanks to the US military and its joint operations in northern Nigeria. It is the duty of the northern Nigerian police and military authorities in close conjunction with the *sultanate*, the judiciary, the jurists, *shuyuukh*, *malamai* and their supporters to first reject and stop any kind of policing, detainment and interrogation which contravenes international standards of the treatment of suspected criminals. Enhanced interrogation techniques create your *boko haram* problem; and the US military calculated that it would occur. I have read strategic studies papers by military officers and far right conservative think tanks as far back as 1999 that describe in uncanny detail the emergence of possible terrorist activity in Northern Nigeria. These human devils wrote the script. In 2000, under the guise of counter insurgency training, the US military set up the stage and instituted the enhanced 'training' to produce the rage and loathing that is now Shekau of Boko Haram.

Imagine if all of our sons, nieces, younger sisters, and grandchildren fighting on the front, were back home in a crashed economy, unemployment, social unrest, decaying and dying cities from the time of Bush JR through the Obama years; when conservatives were secretly outsourcing the jobs of entire regions of the US, to communists China, India and Vietnam. What if all those brave soldiers were at home and there was no war; and the financial class did what they did to the American people? It would not have been *hajjis* being hunted down or the doors of an Afghan *hurma* being kicked in at night. It would have been the doors of bankers, CEOs, boards of directors and their employees in the political class. The American Revolution would have been completed. But a slight of hand took place, orchestrated by Madison avenue, and the American people were made to take their eyes off the ball. With Madison avenue 'imbedded' with US and NATO units, and Americans already programmed through reality shows to crave fame more than anything else; off they went to fight while the political leaders reimbursed the financial class for robbing them blind, and then outfitting their children for war and then billing the Pentagon!

I often wonder what would have been uncovered in terms of allegations of spying, surveillance, financial corruption, unlawful political connections, insider tradings and criminal activities, if two planes had not crashed into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center. What if three thousand of our people had not tragically lost their lives as a result? Would the pervasive surveillance state which the NSA has controlled since before the 'cold' war began, be justified? What if all the revelations of Snowden were made available to the American people and the world; and 9-11 had not happened? What if 9-11 never occurred and the calculus of the pattern of job movements between NSA, DOI, FBI and CIA to upper managerial and CEO of the world's top consulting firms were known by a weary, overworked, underpaid, de-unionized and demoralized middle class?

How do you get a population who are the most globally ignorant in the world, who believe that they are the most enlightened, to accept to do something that only the most globally ignorant would do? The answer is 'bait and switch'! The uncompromising, ghastly, murderous, cannibalistic and sadistic Muslim terrorist is the *bait* and the *switch* is a world under the hegemony, not of a government but, of a global police state being run by a global network of mega-companies, whose CEOs an upper management are former US, Israeli, and European intelligence officers. For decades these former intelligence officers were at the mercy of uninformed government representatives and their constituents; but now the same government representatives are trying to get their children to be interns at companies now run by these former intelligence officers. This is why the political class in the west is being humiliated by the financial class and made to ritually grovel. Most Americans will never see it because they have been targeted by a global marketing system that has been embedded into the military apparatus. They never knew what hit them. They were blindsided! They were induced to busy themselves with protecting American girls from being captured, kidnapped or seduced into joining the harems of the ISIL. Patty Hearst with a burka! They failed to see that intelligence officers which were a part of the political class, had now set up costly consultancy firms to fleece the government on behalf of the financial class and provide the public with hot item enemies: 'al-qaeda' and its 'affiliates', ISIL, ISIS, Boko Haram, the list is long – all with one thing in common (we are told) they represent 'political islam'. Both progressive liberals and staunch conservatives agree on that.

It is for this reason that the SIIASI presents to the reader the Usul's-Siyaasa (the Fundamental Principles of Politcs) by the *Amir'l-Mu'mineen, Sultan* Muhammad Bello ibn *Shehu* Uthman ibn Fuduye'. The *Sultan* explains what politics (*siyaasa*) really is; not just Islamic politics, but POLITICS as humanity has defined it. He said that politics revolve around the all encompassing meaning of JUSTICE and politics is nothing but JUSTICE. The *Sultan* laid out seven principles to be learned and implemented by every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*), with the ultimate objective of establishing

justice in the earth. He designated two of these principles to cover the duties and responsibilities of the executive government. Two principles were designated to cover the function of civil servants, the judiciary, revenue and reconstruction. The last three principles were established to implement the rights of the subjects. These seven principles in the Usuul's-Siyaasa are the fundamental principles of sovereign Islam and is diametrically opposed to 'political Islam'. The Usuul's-Siyaasa is the genuine message of sovereign Islam. It gives a depiction of the profound character and virtues which are required of Islamic sovereignty. When the political ideas and social values presented in this text are placed next to ANYTHING produced or propounded by 'al-qaeda', ISIL, Boko Haram and the like; it becomes clear that what we are being sold as 'political Islam' is merely a packaged and marketed image, an icon of yellow journalism and a 'boot camp' chant – designed to divert and redirect the attention of a suffering but potentially volatile American middle class. Eventually, they will wake up from their slumber and permanently change their circumstances.

To the person who despises the dignity of Islam, the Usuul's-Siyaasa is a picture of what will eventually survive western military presence in the Muslim world. Islam as a way of life and a sovereign polity will persist. The seven principles delineated in this work are what it looks like. The people you are fighting in Iraq, Syria and the rest of the Muslim world are your own making. You trained those guys, deployed them, captured them, reprogrammed them and then re-deployed them. Your governments have a moral obligation to capture and terminate soldiers which you have trained and deployed. The rest of the world is obligated to assist while holding you accountable for all the subsequent chaos. Just as Germany got the blame for causing WW1, likewise the US and NATO are to blame for initiating and failing to put an end to the war on terror.

To the believer who loves the honor of Islam, the Usuul's-Siyaasa is a grid that you and those genuinely concerned with the resurgence of Islamic civilization in all of its manifestations, can use to show up and see the vacuity of the claim of the 'islamic state' in these Last Days and Times. In contrast to the stasis of the state, the Usuul's-Siyaasa is a preamble to the benevolent and dynamic system of justice and equity to be established on earth by spiritual invigorated humans who have regained their humanity and are FREE!

Shaykh Muhammad Shareef bin Farid
Tuesday, *Rabi' Awwal* 2, 1436 (December 23, 2014)
Cotonou, Benin, West Africa

“O Allah, cool our eyes, strengthen our limbs and refresh our hearts with the victorious winds of *Imam* al-Mahdi and his forces, by means of the exalted rank of Muhammad with You - Amen”.

SANKORE'



أُصُولُ السِّيَاسَةِ
وَكَيفِيَّةُ الْمُخْلِصِ مِنْ أُمُورِ الرِّيَاسَةِ

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَي سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَأَلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا

قَالَ الْعَبْدُ الْفَقِيرُ إِلَى مَوْلَاهُ الْغَنِيِّ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عُمَانَ الْمَعْرُوفُ بِبَلُو، الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَنْعَمَ عَلَيْنَا
بِنِعْمَةِ الْإِيمَانِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ وَهَدَانَا بِسَيِّدِنَا وَمَوْلَانَا مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أَفْضَلُ الصَّلَاةِ وَأَزْكَى السَّلَامِ،
أَمَّا بَعْدُ: فَقَدْ سَأَلَنِي الْأَخِي الصَّدِيقُ الْقَادِمُ الرَّفِيقُ الشَّقِيقُ الَّذِي كَالْأَخِي الشَّقِيقِ **عَمْرٍ دَلَّاجِي** الْمُجَاهِدُ فِي
اللَّهِ حَقَّ جِهَادِهِ، نَصَرَهُ اللَّهُ وَادَامَ غُلُوهُ وَاقْتَدَارَهُ وَأَيَّدَهُ بِرُوحٍ مِنْهُ وَكَثَّرَ أَنْصَارَهُ، أَنْ أَكْتَبَ لَهُ كَامِلَتًا
تَشْتَمَلُ:

أُصُولُ السِّيَاسَةِ

وَكَيْفِيَّةُ الْمُخْلِصِ مِنْ أُمُورِ الرِّيَاسَةِ

فَاجِبَتُهُ بَعْدَ الْإِسْتِخَارَةِ وَاللَّهُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ، وَاعْلَمْ يَا أَخِي أَنْ مِنَ اعْظَمِ الْبَلَاءِ عَلَى الْعَبْدِ أَنْ يَكُونَ
عَرِيفًا أَوْ أَمِيرًا، لَمَا يَتَرْتَبُ عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْحِسَابِ الْكَثِيرِ، فَإِنَّ الْعَبْدَ مَحَاسِبٌ عَلَى أَقْوَالِهِ وَأَفْعَالِهِ وَأَحْوَالِهِ، وَإِنْ
كَانَ أَمِيرًا، فَمَسْئُولٌ عَنِ الرَّعِيَّةِ، فَكَيْفَ هُوَ فِي نَفْسِهِ مَعَ أَنَّهُ مَحَاسِبٌ عَلَى أَعْمَالِ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَلِذَلِكَ قِيلَ مَنْ
أَقَامَهُ اللَّهُ فِي الْخُمُولِ فَلْيَحْمَدِ اللَّهَ، فَإِنَّهُ خُفَّفَ مِنَ الْحِسَابِ الْكَثِيرِ، وَكَانَ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْحِسَابِ الْيَسِيرِ،
وَوَقَاهُ اللَّهُ التَّعَبَ الَّذِي هُوَ فِي الدُّنْيَا لَيْسَ فِيهِ⁶ الْعِتَابُ، وَلَا يَتَرْتَبُ عَلَيْهِ فِي الْآخِرَةِ إِلَّا الْعَذَابُ، وَلِذَلِكَ
قَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((الَا اخْبِرْكُمْ بِالْإِمَارَةِ وَمَا هِيَ؟))، قَالُوا: بَلَى يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ، قَالَ: ((أَوَّلُهَا
مَلَامَةٌ وَثَانِيهَا نِدَامَةٌ وَثَالِثُهَا عَذَابٌ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ)) شِعْرٌ:

إِذَا أَرْجَى الْخُمُولَ عَلَيْكَ ذِيلاً * فَنَمَّ فِي ظِلِّهِ لَيْلاً طَوِيلًا

وَمَنْ أَبْتَلَاهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِالْوِلَايَةِ فَلْيَجْتَهِدْ فِي آدَاءِ حُقُوقِهَا، فَإِنَّهَا وَإِنْ كَانَ بَلِيَّةً فَهِيَ مِنَ اعْظَمِ النِّعَمِ
الَّتِي مَن قَامَ بِحَقِّهَا وَشَكَرَ وَاهْبَهَا نَالَ مِنَ السَّعَادَةِ مَا لَا نِهَايَةَ لَهَا، بَلْ وَلَا سَعَادَةَ بَعْدَهَا، لَكِنْ مَن قَصَرَ
عَنِ النَّهُوضِ بِحَقِّهَا وَشَكَرَ وَاهْبَهَا حَصَلَ فِي شَقَاوَةٍ لَا نِهَايَةَ لَهَا، بَلْ وَلَا شَقَاوَةَ بَعْدَهَا إِلَّا الْكُفْرُ بِاللَّهِ
تَعَالَى.

وَالدَّلِيلُ عَلَى عَظَمِ قُدْرِ الْوِلَايَةِ وَجَلَالَةِ حَظِّهَا مَا رَوَى عَنِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ
قَالَ: ((عَدُلُ السُّلْطَانِ يَوْمًا وَاحِدًا أَفْضَلُ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ سَبْعِينَ سَنَةً))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((إِذَا
كَانَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ لَا يَبْقَى ظِلٌّ وَلَا مَلْجَأٌ إِلَّا ظِلُّ اللَّهِ، فَيَسْتَنْظِلُ بِظِلِّهِ سَبْعَةَ أَنْاسٍ: سُلْطَانٌ عَادِلٌ فِي رَعِيَّتِهِ؛

⁶ هنا انتهى الورقة 2.

وَسَابَّ نَسَا فِي عِبَادَةِ رَبِّهِ؛ وَرَجُلٌ يَكُونُ فِي السُّوقِ وَقَلْبُهُ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ؛ وَرَجُلَانِ تَحَابَا فِي اللَّهِ؛ وَرَجُلٌ ذَكَرَ اللَّهَ فِي خَلْوَةٍ فَإِذْ رَأَى دَمْعَتَهُ فِي مَقْلَتِهِ؛ وَرَجُلٌ دَعَتْهُ امْرَأَةٌ ذَاتُ جَمَالٍ وَكُمَالٍ⁷ وَمَالَتْ نَفْسُهُ مِنْهَا، فَقَالَ: إِنِّي أَخَافُ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى؛ وَرَجُلٌ تَصَدَّقَ سِرًّا بِبَيْمِينِهِ وَلَمْ يَشْعُرْ بِهَا بِشِمَالِهَا))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((أَحَبُّ النَّاسِ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَأَقْرَبُهُمْ إِلَى اللَّهِ السُّلْطَانُ الْعَادِلُ، وَأَبْغَضُهُمْ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَأَبْعَدُهُمْ مِنْهُ السُّلْطَانُ الْجَائِرُ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((وَالَّذِي نَفْسُ مُحَمَّدٍ بِيَدِهِ أَنَّهُ لَيَرْفَعُ لِلْسُّلْطَانِ الْعَادِلِ إِلَى السَّمَاءِ مِنَ الْعَمَلِ مِثْلَ عَمَلِ جُمَلَةِ الرَّعِيَةِ، وَكُلُّ الصَّلَاةِ يُصَلِّيَهَا تَعْدِلُ سَبْعِينَ أَلْفَ صَلَاةٍ)).

فَإِذَا كَانَ كَذَلِكَ فَلَا نِعْمَةَ أَجَلٌ مِنْ أَنْ يُعْطِيَ الْعَبْدَ دَرَجَةَ السُّلْطَنَةِ، وَيَجْعَلَ سَاعَةً مِنْ عُمْرِهِ بِجَمِيعِ عُمْرِ غَيْرِهِ، وَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْرِفْ هَذِهِ النِّعْمَةَ وَأَسْتَعْلُ بِظُلْمِهِ وَهُوَ يُخَافُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَجْعَلَهُ اللَّهُ مِنْ جُمَلَةِ أَعْدَائِهِ. وَمَا يَدُلُّ عَلَى عَظَمِ خَطْرِ الْوَلَايَةِ مَا رَوَى عَنْ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَتَانَا بَعْضَ الْأَيَّامِ فَلَزِمَ حَاقَةَ بَابِ الْكُعْبَةِ، وَكَانَ فِي النَّبَيْتِ نَقْرٌ مِنْ فُرَيْشٍ، قَالَ: ((يَا سَادَاتُ فُرَيْشٍ عَامِلُوا رَعَايَاكُمْ بِثَلَاثَةِ أَشْيَاءٍ إِذَا سَأَلُوكُمُ الرَّحْمَةَ فَارْحَمُوهُمْ، وَإِذَا حَكَمُوكُمْ فَاعْدِلُوا فِيهِمْ، وَعَمِلُوا بِمَا تَقُولُونَ، فَمَنْ لَمْ يَعْمَلْ بِهَذَا فَلَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ وَمَلَأْتِكِتِهِ عَلَيْهِ، وَلَا يَقْبَلُ اللَّهُ قَرْضًا وَلَا نَفْلًا))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ:⁸ ((مَنْ حَكَمَ بَيْنَ حَصْمَيْنِ، فَظَلَمَ فَلَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى الظَّالِمِينَ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((ثَلَاثَةٌ لَا يَنْظُرُ اللَّهُ إِلَيْهِمْ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ سُلْطَانٌ كَادِبٌ، وَشَيْخٌ زَانٌ، وَفَقِيرٌ مُتَكَبِّرٌ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ يَوْمًا لِلصَّحَابَةِ: ((سَيَاتِي عَلَيْكُمْ يَوْمَ تَفْتَحُونَ جَانِبِي الْمَشْرِقِ وَالْمَغْرِبِ، وَيَصِيرُ فِي أَيْدِيكُمْ، فَكُلُّ عَمَلٍ مَآكِرٌ فِي النَّارِ إِلَّا مَنْ أَنْقَى اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى وَسَلَّكَ سَبِيلَ النُّفُوسِ وَآدَى الْأَمَانَةِ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((مَا مِنْ عَبْدٍ وَلَاهُ اللَّهُ أَمَرَ رَعِيَّتَهُ فَعَشَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَنْصَحْ لَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَشْفُقْ عَلَيْهِمْ إِلَّا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ الْجَنَّةَ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((وَمَنْ وَلَى أَمْرَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَلَمْ يَحْفَظْهُمْ كَحِفْظِ أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ فَقَدْ تَبَوَّأَ مَقْعَدَهُ فِي النَّارِ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((رَجُلَانِ مِنْ أُمَّتِي يُحْرِمَانِ شَفَاعَتِي: مَلِكٌ ظَالِمٌ وَمُبْتَدِعٌ عَالٌّ فِي الدِّينِ يَتَعَدَّى فِي الْحُدُودِ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((أَشَدُّ النَّاسِ عَذَابًا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ السُّلْطَانُ الظَّالِمُ))، وَقَالَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ: ((خَمْسَةٌ قَدْ غَضَبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَإِنْ شَاءَ مَضَى غَضَبُهُ وَمَصِيرُهُمْ إِلَى النَّارِ: أَمِيرٌ يَأْخُذُ حَقَّهُ مِنْهُمْ وَلَا يَنْصَفُهُمْ عَن نَفْسِهِ وَلَا يَرْفَعُ الظُّلْمَ عَنْهُمْ،

⁷ هنا انتهى الورقة 3.

⁸ هنا انتهى الورقة 4.

وَرَبِّسُ قَوْمٍ يُطِيعُونَهُ وَلَا يَسَاوِي بَيْنَ ٩ الْقَوِي وَالضَّعِيفِ وَيَحْكُمُ بِالْمَيْلِ وَالْمَحَابِتِ، وَرَجُلٌ لَا يَأْمُرُ أَهْلَهُ
وَأَوْلَادَهُ بِطَاعَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَلَا يَعْلَمُهُمْ أُمُورَ الدِّينِ وَلَا يُبَالِي مِنْ أَيْنَ يَطْعَمُهُمْ، وَرَجُلٌ اسْتَأْجَرَ أَجِيرًا فَتَمَّ
عَمَلَهُ وَلَمْ يُوفِ أَجْرَتَهُ، وَرَجُلٌ ظَلَمَ زَوْجَتَهُ فِي صَدَاقِهَا)).

وَرُوِيَ أَنَّ عُمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ شِيعِي يَوْمًا جَنَازَةً، فَتَقَدَّمَ وَرَجَلَ يَدُهُ عَلَى قَبْرِهِ وَقَالَ:
"اللَّهُمَّ إِنِّي عَذَّبْتَهُ فَبِحَقِّكَ لِأَنَّهُ قَدْ عَصَاكَ، وَإِنْ رَحِمْتَهُ فَإِنَّهُ فَقِيرٌ إِلَى رَحْمَتِكَ، وَطُوبَى لَكَ أَيُّهَا الْمَيِّتُ إِنْ
لَمْ تَكُنْ أَمِيرًا أَوْ عَرِيفًا أَوْ كَاتِبًا أَوْ جَابِيًا، فَلَمْ تَكَلِّمْ بِهَذِهِ الْكَلِمَاتِ غَابَ شَخْصُهُ عَيْنَ النَّاسِ، فَأَمَرَ عُمَرُ
رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: "هَذَا الْخَضِرُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ".

أُصُولُ السِّيَاسَةِ السَّبْعَةُ

وَاعْلَمْ إِنَّ أُصُولَ السِّيَاسَةِ سَبْعَةٌ، يَرْجِعُ حَاصِلُهَا إِلَى مَعْنَى الْعَدْلِ، وَالْعَدْلُ هُوَ السِّيَاسَةُ كُلُّهَا، فَالِإِتِّثَانُ مِنْهَا مُتَعَلِّقٌ بِالْأَمِيرِ أَوْ الْوَالِيِّ أَوْ الْإِمَامِ، وَاتِّثَانٌ مِنْهَا مُتَعَلِّقٌ بِالْجُلَسَاءِ وَالْعَمَالِ، وَالثَّلَاثَةُ الْأَخِيرَةُ تَتَعَلَّقُ بِالرَّعِيَّةِ.

الأُصُولُ الْأَوَّلُ

فَهُوَ أَنْ يَكُونَ الْأَمِيرُ أَوْ الْإِمَامُ أَوْ الْوَالِيُّ: تَقِيًّا فِي دِينِهِ، مُتَّبِعًا لِسُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، مُشْتَعِلًا بِأَمْرِ أَخْرَجَتْهُ، وَاقِفًا عَلَى حُدُودِ اللَّهِ زَاهِدًا فِي دُنْيَاهُ، مُتَّبَاعِدًا مِنْ حُبِّ¹⁰ الرِّيَاسَةِ بِلَا أَنْ يَرْغَبَ فِي الْوِلَايَةِ، وَأَمَا إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ تَقِيًّا فِي دِينِهِ مُشْتَعِلًا بِأَمْرِ أَخْرَجَتْهُ رُبَّمَا حَمَلَ نَفْسَهُ وَرَعِيَّتَهُ عَلَى الْعَوَائِدِ الرَّدِيَّةِ الْمُخَالِفَةِ لِسُنَّةِ الْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ كَمَا هُوَ شَأْنُ الْمُلُوكِ وَالسَّلَاطِينِ، وَمَعْرُوفٌ عِنْدَهُمْ إِنَّهُمْ يَبْنُونَ أَسَاسَ مُلُوكِهِمْ بِعَوَائِدٍ مَعْرُوفَةٍ عِنْدَهُمْ مَضَتْ وَاحْيَاءَ رُسُومِ آبَائِهِمْ وَأَجْدَادِهِمْ، وَلَا يَزَالُونَ يَتَدَاوَلُونَ عَلَى تِلْكَ الْعَوَائِدِ كَابِرًا عَلَى كَابِرٍ، وَلَا يِرَاعُونَ فِيهَا مَوَافِقَةَ الشَّرِيعَةِ، وَأَدَاءَ الْأَمَانَةِ الَّتِي حَمَلَهَا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى عَلَى الْعُرَفَاءِ جَهْلًا مِنْهُمْ، وَقَدْ ذَكَرَهَا وَالِدِي فِي كِتَابِ الْفُرُقِ فَلْيُطَالَعِ، وَأَمَا إِنْ كَانَ غَيْرُ مُتَّبَاعِدٍ مِنْ حُبِّ الرِّيَاسَةِ وَكَانَ يَرْغَبُ فِي الْوِلَايَةِ فَيَخَافُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَفْتِنَ فِي نَفْسِهِ وَلَا يَعْدِلُ فِي الرَّعِيَّةِ.

وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ صَلَاحَ الْأَمْرَانِ تَكُونُ الْأَمَارَةُ لِعَبْدٍ مَسْئُولٍ فِيهَا، فَمَنْ رَأَيْنَاهُ يَتَطَلَّعُ فِيهَا وَلَا سِيَّمَا أَنْ طَلَبَهَا عَلْمًا قَطْعًا أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا، فَمَنْ وَضَعَهَا عَلَيْهِ فَقَدْ ظَلَمَ، أَنَّهُ وَضَعَ شَيْئًا فِي غَيْرِ مَحَلِّهِ لِأَنَّ الْأَمَارَةَ، وَإِنْ كَانَتْ بِهَا يَكُونُ نِظَامُ الْعَالِمِ كُلُّهُ، وَتَنْفِيذُ الْأَحْكَامِ الشَّرِيعَةِ، فَهِيَ مُعْرِضُ الْفِتْنَةِ، وَلِذَلِكَ لَمْ يَرِدْ لَنَا حَدِيثٌ بِالْأَمْرِ يُنْصَبُ الْإِمَامِي¹¹ الْأَعْظَمُ وَنَوَابَهُ لَمَا فِي ذَلِكَ مِنَ الرِّيَاسَةِ وَالْكَبْرِ الَّذِي لَا يُسَلِّمُ مِنْهُ الْأَمْرُ، عَصِمَهُ اللَّهُ، فَلَوْ أَمَرْنَا الشَّارِعُ بِطَلَبِ الْإِمَامَةِ صَرِيحًا لَكَانَ فِيهِ تَعْرِيضًا لِلْفِتْنَةِ، وَالشَّارِعُ لَا يَأْمُرُ مَا فِيهِ فِتْنَةٌ، بَلْ نُهِيَ عَنِ الْإِمَارَةِ إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُنَ الْعَبْدُ مَسْئُولًا فِيهَا، وَلَمَا عَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ لَوْ لَا الْوَلَاةُ الَّذِينَ لَهُمْ شَوْكَةٌ مَا أَمَّنَ أَحَدٌ فِي دَارِهِ فَضْلًا فِي الْبِرَارِيِّ، وَلَا صَحَّ لِأَحَدٍ أَخْذَ الْخُرُوجِ مِنَ الْفَلَاحِ، وَلَا صَحَّ جِهَادٌ، وَلَا وَجَدَ مَالٌ يُنْفِقُ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ، وَضَاعَتْ مَصَالِحُ الْخَلْقِ وَجَبَ نَصَبُ الْإِمَامِ الْأَعْظَمِ وَنَوَابَهُ فِي سَائِرِ أَقْطَارِ الْأَرْضِ مِنْ وَزِيرٍ وَأَمِيرٍ وَقَاضٍ لِنَقُومِ مَصَالِحِ الدِّينِ، وَيَكُونُ نِظَامُ الْعَالِمِ كُلُّهُ، إِذْ لَوْ لَا الْإِمَارَةُ إِذَا طَلَبَ

¹⁰ هنا انتهى الورقة 6.

¹¹ هنا انتهى الورقة 7.

الْخَلْقُ أَخَذَ حُفُوقَهُمْ مِنْ بَعْضِهِمْ بِلا شَوْكَةٍ تَحْمِيهِمْ رُبَّمَا يُقْتَلُ خَلْقٌ كَثِيرٌ حَتَّى يَتِمَّكَتُوا مِنْ قَتْلِ رَجُلٍ وَاحِدٍ وَحُبَّ عَلَيْهِ الْقَتْلُ، فَذَلِكَ قَالُوا لَا يَلِيْقُ أَنْ يَقِيمَ الْحُدُودَ إِلَّا مَنْ يَقْتَضِي، وَلَا يَقْتَضِي مِنْهُ كَالْوَالِيِّ.

الأصلُ الثاني

فَهُوَ أَنْ يَكُونَ الْأَمِيرُ أَوْ الْإِمَامُ أَوْ الْوَالِيُّ: لَيِّنُ الْجَانِبِ، مُؤَثِّرًا جَانِبِ الْعَفْوِ، وَتَرْكُ الْغَضَبِ، وَالْمَيْلُ إِلَى الْكَرَمِ وَالتَّجَاوُزِ، وَيَكُونُ لَهُ مِنْ مَحَاسِنِ الْفِطْرَةِ هِيَ الصَّبْرُ بِمَعْنَى الشَّجَاعَةِ وَالْجُودِ، وَأَمَّا إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَيِّنَ الْجَانِبِ مُؤَثِّرًا جَانِبِ الْعَفْوِ وَتَرْكُ الْغَضَبِ¹² وَالْمَيْلَ فَيَخَافُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَبْرِمُ مِنْهُ وَيَنْقُضَ الْخَلْقُ عَنْهُ كَمَا قَالَ تَعَالَى: ﴿فَبِمَا رَحْمَةٍ مِّنَ اللَّهِ لِنْتَ لَهُمْ وَلَوْ كُنْتَ فَظًّا غَلِيظَ الْقَلْبِ لَانفَضُّوا مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ﴾، وَأَمَّا إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ شَجَاعًا فَيَخَافُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَدْهَشَهُ الْأَمْرُ عِنْدَ نَزْلِ الْمَعْضِلَاتِ أَوْ يَتَحَيَّرَ عِنْدَ نَزُولِ الْبَلَايَا وَالْمَحَنِّ، فَيَخَافُ أَمْرَهُ وَيَضِيعُ أَمْرَ رَعِيَّتِهِ يَسْتَنْدُونَ إِلَيْهِ كُلُّ أَمْرٍ هُوَ لَهُمْ أَوْ أَشْكَلُ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَأَمَّا إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ جَوَادًا فَيَخَافُ عَلَيْهِ أَنْ يَبْخُلَ فِي إِدَاءِ حُقُوقِ الرِّعِيَّةِ مِنَ الْإِنْفَاقِ فِي وُجُوهِ الْخَيْرِ، وَرُبَّمَا اسْتَعْنَى النَّاسُ عَنْهُ وَدَمَوْهُ وَهُوَ أَمْرٌ لَا يَلِيْقُ.

الأصلُ الثالث

فَهُوَ أَنْ يَكُونَ الْأَمِيرُ أَوْ الْإِمَامُ أَوْ الْوَالِيُّ: يَشْتَأِقُ أَبَدًا إِلَى عُلَمَاءِ الدِّينِ، وَيَحْرِصُ عَلَى اسْتِمْتَاعِ نَصِحِهِمْ لَهُ، وَأَنْ يَحْذَرَ مِنْ عُلَمَاءِ السُّوءِ الَّذِينَ يَحْرِصُونَ عَلَى الدُّنْيَا، فَأَتَهُمْ يَتَّبِعُونَ عَلَيْكَ وَيَعَزُّرُونَكَ، وَيَطْلُبُونَ رِضَاكَ طَمَعًا لِمَا فِي يَدَيْكَ مِنْ حَبِيبِ الْحَطَامِ وَنَيْلِ الْحَرَامِ لِيَحْمِلُوا مِنْهُ سِيئَ الْمَكْرِ وَالْحَيْلِ، وَالْعَالِمُ الصَّالِحُ هُوَ الَّذِي لَا يَطْمَعُ فِيمَا عِنْدَكَ مِنَ الْمَالِ، وَيَنْصَفُكَ مِنَ الْوَعْظِ وَالْمَقَالِ كَمَا يُقَالُ إِنَّ الشَّقِيقَ الْبُلْخِيَّ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ¹³ دَخَلَ عَلَى هُرُونَ الرَّشِيدِ، وَقَالَ: "أَنْتَ شَقِيقُ الرَّاهِدِ"، فَقَالَ لَهُ: "أَنَا شَقِيقُ وَلَسْتُ بِرَاهِدٍ"، فَقَالَ لَهُ: "أَوْصِنِي"، فَقَالَ لَهُ: "إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى أَجْلَسَكَ فِي مَكَانِ الصَّدِيقِ، وَأَنْتَ يَطْلُبُ مِنْكَ صِدْقَهُ، وَأَعْطَاكَ مَوْضِعَ عَمْرِ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ الْفَارُوقِ، وَهُوَ يَطْلُبُ مِنْكَ الْفَرْقَ بَيْنَ الْحَقِّ وَالْبَاطِلِ مِثْلَهُ، وَأَقْعَدَكَ مَكَانَ ذِي الثُّورَيْنِ، وَأَنْتَ يَطْلُبُ مِنْكَ حَيَاتَهُ وَكَرَمَهُ، وَأَقْعَدَكَ مَوْضِعَ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَأَنْتَ يَطْلُبُ مِنْكَ الْعِلْمَ وَالْعَدْلَ كَمَا يَطْلُبُ مِنْهُ"، فَقَالَ: "زِدْنِي مِنْ وَصِيَّتِكَ"، فَقَالَ: "نَعَمْ أَعْلَمُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى دَارٌ تَعْرِفُ بِجَهَنَّمَ، وَأَنْتَ جَعَلْتَ أَبْوَابَ تِلْكَ الدَّارِ، وَأَعْطَاكَ ثَلَاثَةَ أَشْيَاءٍ: بَيْتَ الْمَالِ وَالسُّوْطَ وَالسَّيْفَ،

¹² هنا انتهى الورقة 8.

¹³ هنا انتهى الورقة 9.

وَأَمَرَكَ أَنْ تَمْنَعَ النَّاسَ مِنْ دُخُولِ النَّارِ بِهَذِهِ الثَّلَاثَةِ، فَمَنْ جَاءَكَ مُهْتَاجًا فَلَا تَمْنَعُهُ مِنْ بَيْتِ الْمَالِ، وَمَنْ خَالَفَ أَمْرَ رَبِّهِ تَعَالَى فَأَدَبَهُ بِهَذَا السَّوْطِ، وَمَنْ قَتَلَ نَفْسًا بَعِيرًا حَقًّا فَأَقْتَلَهُ بِالسَّيْفِ بِإِذْنِ وَلِيِّ الْمَقْتُولِ، فَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ مَا أَمَرَكَ فَأَنْتَ تُكُونُ الرَّعِيمَ لِأَهْلِ النَّارِ الْمُقَدَّمِ إِلَى دَارِ الْبَوَارِ"، فَقَالَ: "رِذْنِي مِنَ الْوَصِيَّةِ"، فَقَالَ: "إِنَّمَا مِثْلُكَ كَمِثْلِ مُعَيِّنِ الْمَاءِ وَسَائِرِ الْعَمَالِ فِي الْعَالَمِ كَمِثْلِ السَّوْاقِيِّ إِذَا كَانَ الْمُعَيِّنُ صَافِيًا لَا يَضُرُّهُ¹⁴ كَدْرُ السَّوْاقِيِّ، وَأَمَا إِنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ يُجَالِسُ عُلَمَاءَ الْخَيْرِ وَيَسْتَمِعَ مِنْ نُصَحِهِمْ لَهُ، وَكَانَ يُجَالِسُ عُلَمَاءَ السُّوءِ بِمَا جَبَرُوهُ إِلَى مَذَاهِبِهِمْ أَوْظَلَ النَّاسُ ذَلِكَ، فَإِنَّ الْمَرْءَ عَلَى دِينِ خَلِيلِهِ، وَفِي الْحِكْمَةِ أَيُّ بِمَا نَظَّمَ:

عَلَى الْمَرْءِ لَا تُسْأَلُ وَسُئِلَ قَرِينُهُ * فَإِنَّ الْقَرِينَ بِالْمُقَارِنِ يُفْتَدِي

الأصل الرابع

فَهُوَ أَنْ يَكُونَ الْأَمِيرُ أَوْ الْإِمَامُ أَوْ الْوَالِي: يَشْتَرِطُ عَلَى عَمَالِهِ بِالْعَدْلِ أَوْلًا، وَأَنْ يَصْطَنَعَهُمْ خِيَارًا مِنْ خِيَارِ رِجَالِهِ، وَيَنْفَقَدَهُمْ فِي كُلِّ وَفْتٍ مِنْ أَوْقَاتِهِ، قَالَ .عَاصِمُ بْنُ بَهْدَةَ: "كَانَ عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ إِذَا اسْتَعْمَلَ الْعَامِلَ اشْتَرِطَ عَلَيْهِ أَلَّا يَرْكَبَ بَرْدُونًا وَلَا يَلْبَسُ رَقِيقًا، وَلَا يَأْكُلُ نَفِيًّا وَلَا يَغْلِقُ بَابًا مِنْ حَوَائِجِ النَّاسِ وَمَا يَصْلَحُهُمْ، وَإِنِّي لَا اسْتَعْمَلْتُكَ عَلَى أَبْشَارِهِمْ وَلَا أَعْرَاضِهِمْ، وَإِنَّمَا اسْتَعْمَلْتُكَ لِتَصَلِّيَ بِهِمْ وَتَقْضَى بَيْنَهُمْ وَتَقْسِمَ شَيْئًا إِلَّا مَا شَرِينَهُ وَأَكَلْتَهُ".

وَكَتَبَ أَيْضًا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْخَطَّابِ إِلَى سَيِّدِ عَمَالِهِ أَبِي مُوسَى الْأَشْعَرِيِّ: "أَمَا بَعْدُ: فَإِنَّ أَسْعَدَ الْوَلَايَةِ مَنْ سَعِدَتْ بِهِ رَعِيَّتُهُ، وَأَشَقَى الْوَلَايَةِ مَنْ شَقِيَتْ بِهِ رَعِيَّتُهُ، وَإِيَّاكَ وَالظُّلْمَ فَإِنَّ عَمَالَكَ يُفْتَدُونَ بِكَ، وَإِنَّمَا أَمْتُكَ مِثْلُ دَابَّةٍ ذَاتِ مُرْعِيٍّ مُحْضِرًا، فَأَكَلْتُ كَثِيرًا حَتَّى سُمِنْتُ،¹⁵ فَكَانَ سَمْنُهَا سَبَبٌ هَلَكَهَا لِأَنَّهُ بِذَلِكَ السَّمَنِ تَذْبُحُ وَتُوكَلُّ".

وَالْحَرَمُ أَنْ يَحْذُرَ الْعَمَالَ وَالْعُلَمَانَ، فَهُمْ لِأَجْلِ نَصِيْبِهِمْ يُقَرُّونَ الْوَالِيَّ وَيُحِبُّونَ الظُّلْمَ عِنْدَهُ، فَيُلْقَوْنَهُ فِي النَّارِ لِيَصِلُوا إِلَى أَعْرَاضِهِمْ، وَأَيُّ عَدُوٍّ أَشَدُّ عَدَاوَةً مِمَّنْ يَسْعَى فِي هَلَكَكَ، وَفِي اعْتِبَارِ الْعَمَالِ وَالْعُلَمَانَ فِي الْغَالِبِ إِنَّمَا هُمْ خُدَامٌ لِبُطُونِهِمْ وَفُرُوجِهِمْ وَشَهَوَاتِهِمْ، وَإِنَّهُمْ قَدْ جَعَلُوا أَمِيرَهُمْ شَبَكًا إِلَى تَنَاوُلِ

¹⁴ هنا انتهى الورقة 10.

¹⁵ هنا انتهى الورقة 11.

شَهَوَاتِهِمْ، وَإِنَّ خِدْمَتَهُمْ لِأَنْفُسِهِمْ لَا لَهُ، وَعَلَامَةُ ذَلِكَ أَنََّّهُمْ لَوْ سَمِعُوا إِنَّ الْوِلَايَةَ تُؤْخَذُ مِنْهُ وَتُعْطَى سِوَاهُ لَأَعْرَضُوا بِأَجْمَعِهِمْ عَنْهُ وَتَقَرَّبُوا إِلَى ذَلِكَ شَخْصٍ، وَفِي أَيِّ مَوْضِعٍ فِيهِ الدَّرْهُمُ خَدِمُوا وَسَجَدُوا لِذَلِكَ الْمَوْضِعِ.

الأصل الخامس

فَهُوَ أَنْ يَكُونَ الْأَمِيرُ أَوْ الْإِمَامُ أَوْ الْوَالِي: يَأْمُرُ رَعِيَّتَهُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالْإِحْسَانِ وَمُجَانِبَةِ الظُّلْمِ، فَيُصَلِّي بَيْنَهُمْ وَحُبُّ الْخَيْرِ وَبُغْضُ الشَّرِّ وَالْحَاصِلُ أَنَّ خُلُقَ الْأَمِيرِ عَلَى وَفْقِ أَخْلَاقِ رَعِيَّتِهِ وَأَعْمَالُهُمْ، فَإِذَا كَانُوا يَحْسِنُونَ إِلَى مَوْلَاهُمْ الْكَرِيمِ جَلَّ وَتَعَالَى جَعَلَ الرَّحْمَةَ فِي قُلُوبِ أُمَرَائِهِمْ لِيَحْسِنُوا إِلَيْهِمْ وَإِذَا كَانُوا يَعْصُونَ رَبَّهُمْ وَيَبْغُونَ فِي الْأَرْضِ الْفُسَادَ سَلَطَ اللَّهُ¹⁶ عَلَيْهِمْ أُمَرَاءَهُمْ، فَيَسِيئُونَ عَلَيْهِمْ، قَالَ تَعَالَى: ﴿وَكَذَلِكَ نُؤَلِّي بَعْضَ الظَّالِمِينَ بَعْضًا﴾، وَفِي الْحَدِيثِ: ((كَمَا تَكُونُونَ يُؤَلَّى عَلَيْكُمْ)).

الأصل السادس

فَهُوَ أَنْ يَكُونَ الْأَمِيرُ أَوْ الْإِمَامُ أَوْ الْوَالِي: يَضَعُ لِأَهْلِ مَمْلَكَتِهِ الْوُظَائِفَ الدُّنْيَوِيَّةَ وَالدُّنْيَوِيَّةَ، فَيَصْنَعُ الصَّنَاعَ وَيُعْتَنِي أَهْلَ الْحَرْفِ الَّتِي لَا بُدَّ لِلْخَلْقِ، مِنْهَا كَالْفَلَاحِينَ وَالْحَدَادِينَ وَالْخَيَّاطِينَ وَالصَّبَّاعِينَ وَالْأَطْبَاءَ وَالْبُرَّازِينَ وَالنَّجَّارِينَ وَجَمِيعِ أَهْلِ الْحَرْفِ الَّتِي هِيَ نِظَامُ هَذَا الْعَالَمِ، فَيَنْصَبُهُمْ فِي كُلِّ قَرْيَةٍ وَمَحَلَّةٍ مَعَ حَثِّ الرِّعِيَّةِ عَلَى طَلَبِ الْقُوَّةِ وَأَدْخَارِهِ وَتَعْمِيرِ الْقَرْيِ وَالْبَادِيَةِ وَبِنَاءِ الْحُصُونِ وَالْجَسُورِ وَرِعَايَةِ الْأَسْوَاقِ وَالطَّرِيقِ وَجَلَبِ جَمِيعِ الْمَصَالِحِ الْعَامَةِ لَهُمْ لِيَكُونَ نِظَامُ هَذِهِ الْعَالَمِ مَعَ جُودًا، وَفِي الْجَوْهَرَةِ قَالَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ: "رَأَيْتُ عَمَرَ بْنَ الْخَطَّابِ يَعْدُو عَلَى وَفْتٍ، فَقُلْتُ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَى أَيْنَ؟ فَقَالَ: بَعِيرَةٌ مِنْ الصَّدَقَةِ أَطْلُبُهَا، فَقُلْتُ: لَقَدْ دَلَلْتَ الْخُلَفَاءَ بَعْدَكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ!، فَقَالَ: لَا تَلْمَنِي يَا أَبَا الْحَسَنِ، فَوَالَّذِي بَعَثَ مُحَمَّدًا بِالنَّبُوءَةِ لَوْ أَنَّ سَخْلَةَ ذَهَبَتْ بِشَاطِئِي الْفُرَاتِ¹⁷ لَأَخَذْتُ بِهَا عُمَرَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ أَنَّهُ لَا حُرْمَةَ لِمَنْ ضَيَعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ!" وَفِي الشَّبْرَحِيَّتِيِّ أَنَّهُ سَأَلَ نَبِيَّ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ رَبَّهُ عَنِ تَعْمِيرِ مُلُوكِ فَارِسٍ، وَقَدْ كَانُوا عَمَرُوا الْأَعْمَارَ الطُّوَالَ، فَأَوْحَى اللَّهُ تَعَالَى إِلَيْهِ: لِأَنََّّهُمْ عَمَرُوا بِلَادِي لَهُمْ".

¹⁶ هنا انتهى الورقة 12.

¹⁷ هنا انتهى الورقة 13.

فَلَا يُكَلِّفُ الْإِمَامُ عَلَى رَعِيَّتِهِ فِي الْوَاجِبَاتِ وَالْمُحَرَّمَاتِ الْمُخْتَلَفَةِ فِيهَا وَأَوْلَى الْمَكْرُهَاتِ، بَلْ لَا يُبَادِرُ إِلَى إِنْكَارِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيَجْرَحَ عَقَائِدَهُمْ وَيَبْطِلُ عِبَادَتَهُمْ وَمَعَامِلَاتَهُمْ، وَيَضَعُ لَهُمُ الْمَصَالِحَ الدِّينِيَّةَ مِنْ بِنَاءِ الْمَسَاجِدِ وَتَعْمِيرِهَا بِالصَّلَاةِ وَالْعِبَادَةِ وَنَصْبِ الْفُضَاةِ وَالْمَدْرَسِينَ فِيهَا مَعَ رِعَايَةِ حُقُوقِهِمْ فِي مَالِ اللَّهِ وَنَصْبِ الْمُؤَدِّبِينَ لِلْأَطْفَالِ وَالْخُطَبَاءِ وَالْمُحْتَسِبِينَ وَالسَّاعِينَ لِلزَّكَاةِ وَالْمُنْتَفِدِينَ لَهُ فِي الْمَظْلُومِينَ وَالْمُقَدِّمِينَ فِي رَعِيَّتِهِ وَيَخْدِمُهُمْ بِنَفْسِهِ.

وَفِي الْجَوْهَرَةِ قَالَ الْحَسَنُ الْبَصْرِيُّ: "بَيْنَا عُمَرُ يَسْعَى بِالْمَدِينَةِ فِي اللَّيْلِ أَتَى عَلَى امْرَأَةٍ مِنَ الْأَنْصَارِ تَحْمَلُ ثُرْبَةً فَسَأَلَهَا فَذَكَرَتْ أَنَّ لَهَا عَيْلًا وَإِنَّ لَيْسَ لَهَا حَاذِمٌ وَأَنَّهَا تَخْرُجُ مِنَ الْبَيْتِ فَتَسْقِيهِمْ¹⁸ مِنَ الْمَاءِ وَتَكْرَهُ أَنْ تَخْرُجَ بِالنَّهَارِ، فَحَمَلَ عُمَرُ عَنْهَا الثُّرْبَةَ حَتَّى بَلَغَ مَنْزِلَهَا، وَقَالَ: اعْدِي عَلَى عُمَرَ غَدْوَةً يُخْدِمُكَ، وَقَالَتْ: اعْدِي، قَالَ: قَعَدْتُ عَلَيْهِ، فَاذْهَبِي بِهِ، فَعَرَفَتْ أَنَّهُ الَّذِي حَمَلَ قَرْبَتَهَا، فَذَهَبَتْ تَوَلِّيقَ فَأَرْسَلَ فِي أَثَرِهَا، وَأَمَرَ لَهَا بِخَادِمٍ وَنَفَقَةٍ"

الأصل السابع

فَهُوَ أَنْ يَكُونَ الْأَمِيرُ أَوْ الْإِمَامُ أَوْ الْوَالِي: يَرْفِقُ مُعَامَلَةَ الرَّعِيَّةِ، وَهُوَ أَنْ يَحْمَلَ حَوَاصِمَهُمْ عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْمَقَامَاتِ الْفَاضِلَةِ، كُلُّ بِقَدْرِ حَالِهِ، أَمَّا عَوَامُهُمْ فَلَا يَحْمِلُهُمْ مَا لَا يَلْزِمُهُمْ فِي أَمْرِ دِينِهِمْ وَفِي أَمْرِ دُنْيَاهُمْ، فليَهْتِمَ فِي تَعْرِيفِهِمْ مَوْلَاهُمْ وَأَمْرَهُمْ بِالْوَاجِبَاتِ الْمُنْتَقِ عَلَى وَجُوبِهَا، وَنَهْيِهِمْ عَلَى الْمُنْكَرَاتِ الْمُتَّفَقَةِ عَلَى تَحْرِيمِهَا، وَيُوسِعَ لَهُمْ فِي الْمُبَاحَاتِ وَلَوْ اِخْتَلَفَ فِيهَا، وَلَا يُشَدِّدُ لَهُمْ فِي الْوَاجِبَاتِ وَالْمُحَرَّمَاتِ الْمُخْتَلَفَةِ فِيهَا، وَأَوْلَى الْمَكْرُهَاتِ، بَلْ لَا يُبَادِرُ إِلَى الْإِنْكَارِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَيَجْرَحُ عَقَائِدَهُمْ وَيَبْطِلُ عِبَادَاتِهِمْ وَمَعَامِلَاتِهِمْ بِأُمُورٍ وَلَدَهَا بَعْضُ الْمُجْتَهِدِينَ بِفِعْلِهِ وَرَأْيِهِ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَنْ تَرُدَّ صَرِيحَةً فِي كِتَابٍ وَسُنَّةٍ إِلَّا إِذَا خَالَفُوا الْإِجْمَاعَ، فَمَا الْمَطْلُوبُ جَمَلُهُمْ عَلَى مَا شَرَعَ اللَّهُ صَرِيحَةً، وَأَمَّا جَمِيعُ مَا اسْتَنْبَطَ مَا لَيْسَ بِشَرَعٍ مَعْصُومِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَإِنَّمَا¹⁹ هُوَ تَشْرِيْعُ عِبَادِهِ، وَقَعَ فِيهِ الْخِلَافُ، وَلَا يُبَالُ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ الْعَبْدَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ، فَلَا يَنْبَغِي أَنْ يَضِيقَ لَهُمْ بِالْإِجْتِهَادَاتِ اللَّهْمُ إِلَّا أَنْ يَكُونَ بِلُطْفٍ وَإِرْشَادٍ، فَذَلِكَ نَصَحٌ وَإِحْسَانٌ، وَفِي الْحَدِيثِ

¹⁸ هنا انتهى الورقة 14.

¹⁹ هنا انتهى الورقة 15.

إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لِمُعَاذٍ حِينَ أَطَالَ الْقِرَاءَةَ: ((مِنْكُمْ مُنْفِرِينَ)) مُنْكَرًا عَلَيْهِ، أَوْ كَمَا قَالَ.

فَأَنْظُرُ يَا أَخِي فِي ثَوَابِ طُولِ الْقِرَاءَةِ فِي الصَّلَاةِ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ كَيْفَ أَنْكَرَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَ مُعَاذٍ حِينَ حَمَلَ إِتْبَاعَهُ عَنِ الْقِيَامِ الطَّوِيلِ لَمَا فِي ذَلِكَ مِنَ الْمَشَقَّةِ، فَكَيْفَ أَنْتَ تَحْمَدُهُمْ عَلَى الْمَشَاقِ فِي الْأُمُورِ الَّتِي سَمَحَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، وَقَالَ: ((مَا تَرَكْتُهُ لَكُمْ فَهُوَ عَفْوٌ))، بِأُمُورِ قَاسِمَهَا الْمُجْتَهِدُونَ بِالْأَشْيَاءِ وَالنَّظَائِرِ، وَفِي الْحَدِيثِ: ((مَنْ وُلِيَ شَيْئًا مِنْ أَمْرِ أُمَّتِي فَلْيَشُقَّ عَلَيْهِمُ اللَّهُمَّ أَشْشُقَّ عَلَيْهِ، وَمَنْ وُلِيَ شَيْئًا مِنْ أَمْرِ أُمَّتِي فَزَفِقَ بِهِمُ اللَّهُمَّ أَرْفَقَ بِهِ))، وَأَخْشَى لَكَ مِنْ دَعْوَةِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلَيْكَ حَيْثُ ضَيِّقَتْ عَلَى أُمَّتِهِ فِيمَا وَسِعَ لَهُمْ، وَكَانَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَعْلَمُ إِنَّ النَّاسَ بِاللَّهِ وَاتِقًا وَكَانَ يُعَامِلُ الرَّعِيَّةَ عَلَى قَدْرِ أَحْوَالِهِمْ كَانِ يَحْتَمِلُ جَفَاءَ الْأَعْرَابِ وَأَدَى الْمُنَافِقِينَ حَتَّى قِيلَ لَهُ: "وَأَغْلِظْ عَلَيْهِمْ"، وَلِتَأْلُفُ إِلَى صَنَادِيدِهِمْ بِدَفْعِ الْأَمْوَالِ الْعِظَامِ لَهُمْ لِيَرْسُخُ الْإِيمَانَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ لِيَرْجِعُوا إِلَى الْإِيمَانِ بِاللَّهِ أَوْ لِيُوسِعَ لَهُمْ فِي الْمَجْلِسِ أَوْ يُؤْتِرَهُمْ بِالْفَرَشِ أَوْ أَوْ الْوِسَادَةِ وَيَفْرَحُ بِقُدُومِهِمْ عَلَيْهِ وَيَعْتَنِي بِأَقْرَابِهِمْ وَيَجِيزُ وَفُودَهُمْ بِمَا أَمَكُنْ، وَكَانَ يَقُولُ: ((أَكْرِمُوا كَرِيمَ قَوْمِ أَتَاكُمْ وَيَكِلْ أَهْلَ الْإِيمَانِ إِلَى إِيْمَانِهِمْ وَيَحْمِلُهُمُ الْمَشَاقِقَ بِقَدْرِ إِيْمَانِهِمْ))، وَغَيْرَهَا، وَمَنْ وَقَفَ عَلَى سَبِيلِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ عَلِمَ مَا ذَكَرْنَا مِنْ بَعْضِ أَخْلَاقِهِ، ﴿لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُمْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ رَحِيمٌ * فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَقُلْ حَسْبِيَ اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ عَلَيْهِ تَوَكَّلْتُ وَهُوَ رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْعَظِيمِ﴾.

كَمَلَ الْخَطِّ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ وَحُسْنِ عَوْنِهِ، وَالصَّلَاةِ وَالسَّلَامِ عَلَى مَنْ بُعِثَ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ.²⁰

SANKORE'

The Fundamental Principles of Politics

and the Process of Dedication to the Matters of Political Authority

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

In the name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful; peace and blessings of Allah be upon our master Muhammad and upon his family and Companions, abundantly.

Says, the poor slave in need of his Lord, the Self-Subsistent - **Muhammad ibn Uthman**, famous as **Bello**. All praises are due to Allah who has favored us with the blessings of *al-Imaan* and *al-Islam*, and who has guided us by means of our master and chief, Muhammad upon him be the best blessings and most abundant peace from Allah ta'ala.

To continue: I was entreated by my gentle companion, my long time friend and comrade, who is to me like a blood brother, Umar Dullaje', the fighter in the way of Allah to the fullest of his ability, (may Allah give him victory, sustain his eminence, strengthen him with a spirit from Himself and increase his comrades). He requested me to put in writing for him some of the ideas which embody:

The Fundamental Principles of Politics

and the Process of Dedication to the Matters of Political Authority

Hence, I replied to his request after seeking permission from Allah, knowing that Allah is the source of all assistance. Therefore, realize my brother that the greatest affliction to a servant is when he is knowledgeable or when he is a person of authority. This is because of the fact that knowledge and leadership result in much reckoning on the Day of Judgment, in as much as a servant is reckoned in accordance with his words, deeds and spiritual condition. Further, when he is a leader he will be questioned about those under his charge. Accordingly, how will his circumstances be, knowing that he will be reckoned for the deeds of those under his charge. It is for this reason that it is said that whoever Allah establishes in obscurity, he should be truly grateful to Allah and praise Him for that, because Allah will lighten his reckoning and count him among those whose judgment will be made easy. Allah will protect him from eternal afflictions and he will receive no rebuke in this world's life as a result of his obscurity, since obscurity in this world's life will not result in anything except punishment for one's own misdeeds in the Hereafter. Accordingly, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: "Shall I inform you about authority and power and what it induces?" They said: "Indeed, O Messenger of Allah." He said: "Its first part is condemnation. Its second part is regret, and its third part is punishment on the Day of Standing." A poet once said:

"When obscurity reduces you to lowliness

So relax in its shade for its night is long."

On the other hand, whomever Allah ta'ala afflicts with the responsibility of authority, he should struggle to convey its rights to its people. If he is able to do this, then the responsibility of government will be the greatest of blessings for him. He who establishes the rights of government and is grateful to the One who bestowed it upon him will obtain supreme happiness which has no ending to it. Rather, it will be a joy after which there will be no other. However, whoever fails to accomplish the advancement of the rights of government and fails to show gratitude to the One who bestowed it upon him will fall into misery, the like of which has no end to it. Rather, it will be a tribulation after which there will be no other, except open disbelief in Allah ta'ala.

The Positive and Negative Elements of Political Authority

The conclusive proof for the magnanimity of the extent of governmental authority and the magnitude of its importance is in what has been related from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, when he said: “The justice of the ruler during a single day is better than worship for seventy years.” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace also said: “When the Day of Standing occurs and there remains no shade nor shelter except under the shade of Allah, He will protect under His shade seven people: [1] A ruler who was just towards those under his charge; [2] a young person who was raised to worship his Lord; [3] a man who was in the markets while his heart remained in the places of worship; [4] two people who loved each other for the sake of Allah; [5] a man who remembered Allah in secret while weeping as a result of that; [6] a man who was tempted by a noble and beautiful woman, yet turned her down saying - I fear Allah ta’ala; and [7] a man who gives charity secretly with his right hand in such a manner that his left hand is unawares of it.”

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “The most beloved of people to Allah and the nearest to Him is the just ruler. The most hated of them to Allah and the furthest from Him is the oppressive ruler.” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “By the One in whose hand is the soul of Muhammad, the good deeds of the just ruler will be raised up to the heavens equal to all of those under his charge. Every prayer that he prays is equal to seventy thousand prayers.” Consequently, if it is like that, then there is no blessing dearer than to be given the rank of leadership. One hour of his life is made equal to the entire life span of others under his authority. Whoever fails to recognize this blessing and engrosses himself in injustice, it is feared for him that Allah will equate his injustice to the injustice of all of his enemies and subjects.

As for the proof for the gravity of the liability of political authority, it is in what was related on the authority of Ibn Abass: The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace came out to us in Mecca one day. He sat with an assembly which had positioned themselves at the door of the Kaaba. Inside the house were some of the leaders of the Quraysh. He then said: “O leaders of the Quraysh! Behave correctly in three things with those under your charge. When they ask you for mercy, then show mercy to them. When they ask you to judge between them, then be equitable among them. Behave according to your words. For whoever does not do this, then Allah and His Angels will curse him and neither his obligatory worship nor his supererogatory acts will be accepted.”

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “Whoever judges between two litigants and does injustice in that, then the curse of Allah is upon those who are unjust.” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace also said: “Three Allah will not look at on the Day of Judgment: [1] a lying ruler; [2] an elderly adulterer; and [3] an arrogant poor man.” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace also said once to his Companions: “There is coming upon you a day when you will conquer the regions of the east and west and all that they possess will fall into your hands. Then every act will result in the Fire except for him who fears Allah sub’hannahu wa ta’ala, follows the way of piety and conveys the trust which is given to him.” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “There is no servant whom Allah has given authority over his subjects and he then misleads them and he does not give them sound advice nor is he compassionate towards them, except that Allah makes Paradise forbidden for them.” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “Whoever is given authority over the Muslims and does not protect them in the same manner as he protects his own family, then he has prepared a place for himself in the Fire.” The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “Two people from my *umma* will be forbidden my intercession: [1] an unjust ruler and an innovator who destroys the religion overstepping the limits of Allah.”

The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: “There are five people whom Allah is angry with. If he wills He will execute His anger against them and make their destiny Hell Fire: [1] a ruler who took his rights from his people, failed to act justly regarding their rights and failed to remove injustice between them; [2] a leader of people whom the people followed, who did not establish equality between the strong and the weak and he judged with favoritism and preferential treatment; [3] a man who failed to command his wife and children to obey Allah ta`ala, failed to teach them the matters of the religion and did not care from which direction he provided for them; [4] a man who hired a worker who completed his work well but the man did not compensate him equal to his work; and [5] a man who does injustice to his wife in her dowry.” It was related that once Umar ibn al-Khataab helped carry the body of a deceased, when a stranger came and passed his hands over the grave and said: “O Allah if You punish him, it is Your right because he disobeyed You. If You show mercy to him, then he is poor and in need of Your mercy. Blessings to you O deceased if you were not a ruler, scholar, scribe or government revenue officer.” When the stranger finished these words he vanished from the sight of the people. Umar then said: “That was al-Khidr.”

The Seven Principles of Politics

Realize that the principles of politics are seven and its spirit is fundamentally embedded in the all encompassing meaning of *justice*. For politics, in essence, means *justice* and nothing more. Of these seven principles two are related to the ruler (*amir*), the governor (*waaliy*) and the leader (*imaam*). Two are related to the administrators and the government officials. The last three are related to the subjects.

The First Principle

As for the first principle it is that every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*): [1] be a man of *taqwa* in his religion; [2] be a strong follower of the *sunna* of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace; [3] be occupied with the matters of the Hereafter; [4] be in conformity with the limits of Allah; [5] be abstinent in worldly affairs; and [6] be removed from the love of leadership by not craving for the positions of authority. If the leader is not a person of *taqwa* in his religion, nor occupied with the matters of the Hereafter; then perhaps he will consequently induce himself and his subjects to follow destructive customs that are contrary to the *Sunna*. This is the problem with the leaders and kings of these times as it is well known. They build their kingdoms upon traditional customs of the past and they seek to give life to the corrupt ways of their fathers and ancestors. They persist in governing the people by means of these conventions and never care to examine whether these customs are in accordance with the divine law. Further, they give the trust which Allah ta`ala has entrusted to the scholars over to ignorant ones among them. My father, *Shehu* Uthman, has already broached this subject in his Kitaab ‘I-Farq, so examine and study it.

If the leader is not among those who are not removed from the love of leadership and he craves after the positions of authority it is feared that he will bring trials upon himself and will fail to be just towards his subjects. Therefore realize that the best of matters is that leadership be given over to a responsible slave of Allah. When we observe that a man is longing for leadership, especially if he is openly striving for it, then we know for a certain that he does not deserve it. Consequently whoever gives the authority over to him, he has then committed a grave act of injustice and has placed a thing in other than its rightful place. Although governance is the natural manifestation of trials and tribulations, yet the sole purpose of governmental authority is to maintain the regularity and harmony of the entire world and to uphold the overall interest of the judgments of the divine law. Notwithstanding, the elements like love of leadership and arrogance, (which few are safe from except he whom Allah protects), it still does not

prevent us from the command to appoint over ourselves the chief *Imam* and his representatives. For if the divine law explicitly ordered us to seek after leadership, then there would be in the divine law intimation towards tribulation. However, the divine law does not command that which has in it tribulation. Rather, the divine law forbids giving the positions of authority to anyone except that he be a slave of Allah responsible to the principles of government.

It must be realized that without governance, in which there is some difficulty, no one would be safe in his home, let alone in the open country. It is for this reason that it is not permissible for anyone to take land taxes from the farmers. Nor is it correct to undertake the *jihad* when wealth cannot be obtained for the purpose of spending in the way of Allah ta'ala. The fulfilling of the best interest of the people is in the obligation of appointing the chief *Imam* and his representatives, like the chief advisor (*wazir*), the regional governor (*amir*), and the judiciary (*qaadi*) in every region of the world with the sole purpose of establishing the authority of the religion and maintaining the overall harmony of the world. For if there were no governance then people would seek to take their rights from one another without anything to check or deter them. Perhaps this would result in people being killed needlessly when the desire was to kill the one responsible for killing another. For this reason the scholars have said it is not permissible for anyone to execute the legal punishments (*al-hadd*) except for the one who has the power and authority to avenge and execute punishments. And there is no one more suited to executing and avenging like governmental authority.

The Second Principle

The second principle is that every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*): [1] must be socially companionable; [2] act in harmony with the traits of forgiveness; [3] avoid unjust anger; [4] have a propensity towards generosity and forbearance; [5] possess a natural excellent disposition; and [6] be patient with the understanding of maintaining courageousness along with openhandedness. If the leader is not gentle, behaving with forgiveness, avoiding unjust anger and adhering to tolerance; then it is feared that his subjects will become discontented with him and they will refuse to have anything to do with him. Allah ta'ala says: {“*It is part of the mercy of Allah that you should deal gently with them. Were you severe or hard hearted, then they would broken away from around you. So pardon them.*”

If the leader is not courageous it is feared that the trust given to him will cause him to be dismayed and overwhelmed when difficulties descend. It is also feared that he will become flustered and perplexed during the descent of calamities and severe trials. Consequently, he will dread his political affairs and ruin the matters of those under his charge. Therefore, it is important that he be strong of heart, composed and be an impenetrable mainstay for his officials and subjects. He should be strong enough for them to rely upon him in all matters that may threaten their security or prove difficult for them.

If the leader is not openhanded, it is feared that he will be niggardly with regard to conveying the rights of those under his charge by not expending revenues in good causes. Perhaps due to that the people will have no need for him and then find fault with his leadership. Neither of these affairs are suitable for political governance.

The Third Principle

The third principle is that every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*) should always endeavor to be in the company of the scholars of the religion and aspire to listen closely to their advice to him; albeit, he should be on guard against the evil scholars of the religion who are constantly covetous for this world's life. For the evil scholars will persistently praise you, exalt you and seek to please you out of their greediness for what you possess. By that, they hope to pounce upon the repulsive vanities of this world's life and forbidden acquisitions. As for the upright scholar he is the one who does not crave for the wealth which you possess. He sees that justice is done by you and others by means of conclusive sermons and teachings.

It was related that Shaqeeq al-Balkhi, may Allah be merciful to him once entered upon Harun 'r-Rashid who said to him. "You are Shaqeeq, the ascetic." He then replied: "I am Shaqeeq, but I am not ascetic." Harun then said to him: "Give me sound advice." He replied: "Verily Allah ta'ala has established you in the place of Abu Bakr as-Sadiq and He desires from you his truthfulness and sincerity. Allah has bestowed upon you the rank of Umar ibn 'l-Khataab al-Furuuq and He desires that you distinguish between truth and falsehood like he did. Allah has situated you in the post of Uthman Dhu'n-Nurayn and He desires from you the likeness of his modesty and generosity. Allah has stationed you in the standing of Ali ibn Abi Taalib and He desires from you the sound knowledge and equitable justice as He desired it from him." Harun then said to him. "Increase me with your sound advice." He then replied: "Indeed! Realize that Allah ta'ala has an abode known as *Jahanam* and He has made you the gate to that abode. Further, Allah ta'ala has given you three things: [1] the public treasury; [2] the whip; and [3] the sword. He has ordered you to deter the people from entering the Fire by means of these three. Therefore, whoever comes to you in need of financial assistance do not prevent him from taking from the public treasury. Whoever violates the commands of his Lord, then punish him with the whip. Whoever kills a soul without right, then kill him with the permission of the relative of the one killed. If you fail to do what I have commanded you to do, then you will be the ringleader of the people of Hell Fires and the forerunner to the abode of perdition." Harun then said: "Increase me in your sound advice." He replied: "Verily in this world, your likeness is like a water spring while the rest of your government officials are like rivulets. Consequently when the spring is translucent, uncontaminated and clear it results in the rivulets having the same qualities. Accordingly, if the leader does not take council with the scholars of spiritual excellence nor listen to the sound advice they offer, he will then sit and take council with the evil scholars by what they compel him to from their corrupt ideologies and force the people to adhere to that. For a person regarding his religion is known by his closest friend. The wisdom of that is indicated in my poem:

Do not ask about the person, but ask about his friend

For truly the friend imitates the one who is befriended."

The Fourth Principle

The fourth principle is that every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*) makes the first prerequisite for qualification for his officials be justice. He should commission the best from among the most notable of his men to these posts. Further, he should inspect their jurisdictions on a regular basis. `Asim ibn Bahdha said that whenever Umar ibn al-Khataab would appoint a government official he would impose on him an obligation not to ever ride upon opulent mounts, not to wear delicate clothing, not to eat immaculate foods and not to lock his door against the needs of the people and against those things which would straighten out their affairs. He would say: "I have not appointed you over their persons, nor their goods. Rather I have appointed you to pray with them, to judge between them and to divide the things they eat and drink equitably between them."

Umar ibn al-Khataab also wrote to one of the best of his government officials: Abu Musa al-`Ash`ari: "To continue: the happiest governor is the one whose subjects are happy with him and the most miserable governor is the one whose subjects are made miserable because of him. Beware of injustice because all your officials will imitate you. Realize that your likeness is like an animal grazing among green grazing pastures. The animal then consumes so much until it becomes plump. Then it is the plumpness which is the main cause for its destruction because of its fat it was slaughtered and eaten."

Further, one must rely upon Allah and be extremely resolute in being cautious of government officials and retainers. Because of their circumstance they unjustly regulate the ruler and love that injustice be associated with him. As a result, they will eventually meet him again in the Hell Fires because of his permitting them to attain their selfish interest. Realize, also, that the most threatening and severest enemy who will bring about your destruction as a leader is the government officials and retinue; for they are, in most cases, slaves of their stomachs, their private parts and their corrupt passions. Truly they have made their rulers the snare by which they procure their corrupt desires. When these corrupt government officials and retinue render service to the ruler, they only do it for themselves, not for him. The clue to that is when they hear of disquieting talk about the possible usurpation of the government from the hands of the rightful ruler into the hands of others, they swiftly abandon him all together and draw near to the new person who was given the authority. In addition, wherever there is to be found wealth you find them rendering service to it and literally prostrating to that situation.

The Fifth Principle

The fifth principle is that every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*) should govern his subjects with justice, beneficence and by avoiding injustice. He should pray with them, love the good to befall them and hate for evil to afflict them. In short, the behavior and character of the ruler will always be in accordance with the behavior of his subjects and officials. When they are concerned with the perfection of their souls for their Generous Master `azza wa jalla, He places compassion in the hearts of their rulers so that they may do good by them. However, when the subjects and officials are disobedient to their Lord and striving for corruption in the earth, Allah imposes upon them rulers who behave wickedly with them. Allah ta`ala says: {*Thus do I place some of the unjust in authority over others.*} } The way in which you are is the way in which you are ruled.

The Sixth Principle

The sixth principle is that every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*) should provide public amenities for the people of his jurisdiction for their worldly and religious benefit. To this end, he should foster the artisans and be concerned with the professionals who are indispensable to the people, such as: farmers, smiths, tailors, dyers, physicians, grocers, butchers, carpenters and all sorts of professionals which contribute to the proper order of this world. He must allocate these professionals to every village and locality. He should then urge his subjects to acquire foodstuffs and store them away for future usage. He must keep villages and the countryside in prosperity, construct fortresses and bridges, maintain market places and roads and realize for them all necessities for the public interest so that the proper order of this world may be preserved. He should in addition, be openhanded and generous towards his subjects.

It is mentioned in the Jawhara that Ali ibn Abi Taalib said: "I saw Umar ibn al-Khataab out at a severe time of the day. I then said to him: 'O *Amir 'l-mu'mineen* where are you going?' He said: 'I am searching for a camel which belonged to the public treasury which has strayed.' I then said to him: 'You have demonstrated that which will be difficult for the *khalifs* after you O *Amir 'l-mu'mineen*.' He said: 'O Abu Hassan, do not blame me. I swear by the One who commissioned Muhammad with prophecy, if even a lamb were to perish on the banks of the Euphrates, Umar will be blamed for that on the Day of Judgment. There is no esteem to the one who causes loss to the Muslims'."

It is mentioned by as-Shabrakheeti: "Once a prophet from among the Bani Israil asked his Lord about the prosperity of the kingdom of Persia due to the fact that its reign was very lengthy. Then Allah ta'ala revealed to him: 'This is because they revitalized the lands which I gave them.'" The leader should not burden his subjects with those obligations and prohibitions in which there is difference of opinion concerning them. He should be more adherent to this principle regarding the reprehensible acts. Rather, he should never rush to blame them, challenge them concerning their doctrines of belief nor invalidate their worship and behavior. The leader should enact the religious requirements on behalf of his subjects by constructing mosques and reinvigorating them with establishing the prayer and other forms of worship in them. He should appoint the judiciary and educators who will instruct the people and see to their rights concerning the wealth of Allah. He should appoint teachers to instruct the children in the *Qur'an*. He should appoint *imams* for the purpose of giving sermons in the mosques and inspectors (responsible for the markets and towns). He should appoint those responsible for collecting the *zakat* and those responsible for searching into the affairs of those unjustly treated. He should also appoint trustees responsible for estates, endowments and bequest.

Umar ibn al-Khataab, may Allah be pleased with him used to always inspect the actions of his administrators regarding his subjects and he would often endeavor offer service to them himself. It is mentioned in the Jawhara: "Al-Hassan al-Basri said: 'Umar used to make rounds through Medina at night. Once he came upon a woman from among the *Ansaar* carrying a water skin. He questioned her about that and she mentioned that she had dependents to take care of and that she had no servant to assist her. Consequently she went out at night in order to fetch water because she disliked being seen during the day. Umar then took the water skin from the woman and carried it until he reached her house. He then said: 'Promise Umar that you will accept his help.' She said: 'I promise.' He then said: 'I accept your promise.' Then the woman realized that he was Umar, the one who helped her carry her water skin. She then went her way content. Umar then dispatched some after her and ordered them to provide for her a servant and financial stipend.'"

The Seventh Principle

The seventh principle is that every ruler (*amir*), governor (*waaliy*) and leader (*imaam*) should treat his subjects while associating with them with gentleness. This means that he should induce the people of distinction from among his subjects to all excellent spiritual ranks, each commensurate with his state. However the common people among his subjects should not be prompted to that which is not indispensable in their worldly and religious affairs. The leader should place the utmost importance in informing the common people about their Master. He should command them to perform those obligations which are agreed upon regarding its obligation. He should also prohibit them from doing those reprehensible and forbidden acts which there is agreement concerning its reprehensibility and prohibition.

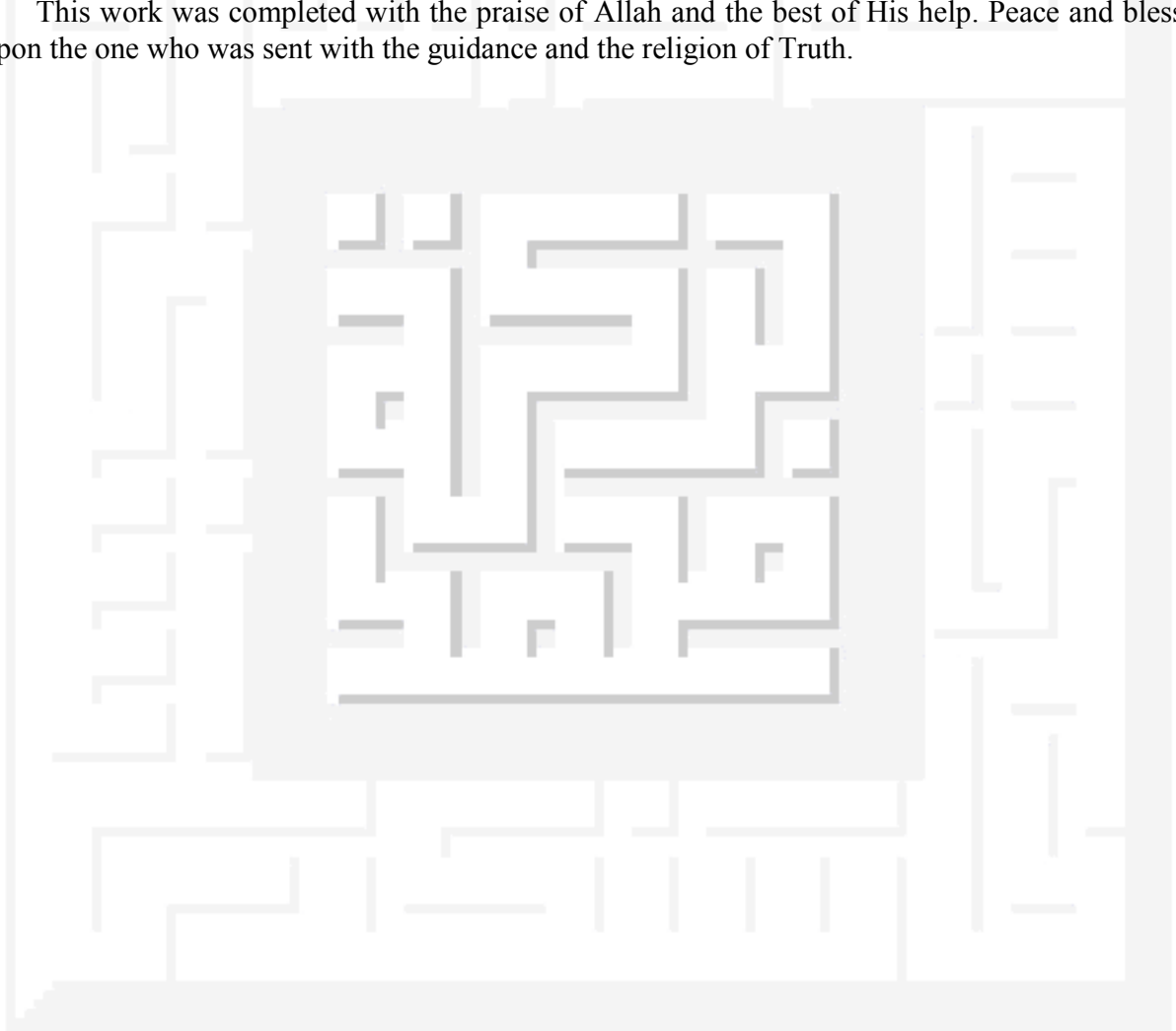
Further, he should not be strict towards them concerning those obligations and prohibitions in which there is disagreement. This should be the rule even more concerning what is reprehensible. In addition, he should not rush to reject the doctrine of belief of the common people, nor invalidate their worship and behavior based upon the opinions developed through the scholars of independent judgment. However when the opinions of these scholars draw their opinions clearly back to the Book of Allah and the *Sunna* then it is permissible to rouse the people to follow it. But not when their opinions contradict the consensus. What is desired is that the common people be prompted to that which Allah has clearly established as law. As for everything discovered not to be apart of the Infallible *shari`a* of Allah ta`ala, then it is only apart of the laws laid down by some of His slaves wherein there is inevitable contradiction and divergent views. Allah will not regard that for the slave in the Hereafter. There is no doubt the leader should not burden his subjects with the decisions derived by means of independent judgment except when he guides them to it with kindness and beneficence, for that would be sound advice and spiritual excellence. It is related in a prophetic tradition where the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said to Mu`adh when he had lengthened the recitation of the prayer: "Among you are those who are infirm who dislike that."

Examine, brothers the innate reward for lengthening the recitation during prayer with Allah, nevertheless the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace objected to Mu`adh who was prompted to imitate him, upon be peace in standing long in prayer. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him grant him peace simply objected to that out of compassion towards the *umma*. Hence, how are you in that regard? You as a leader should try and win the people over by being compassionate in matters that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him grant him peace was tolerant. About that he, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: "What I have left for you is to be forgiving in matters." The scholars of independent judgment have named this type of behavior resemblance and analogy. It is related in a prophetic tradition from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace: "Whoever takes charge of a matter of my *umma* and he is compassionate towards them in that; O Allah be compassionate towards him. Whoever takes charge of a matter of my *umma* and he treats them gently; O Allah be gentle with him." So let this supplication of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace be a warning to you from being too overbearing with his *umma* in matters wherein he was liberal towards them.

Furthermore, the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace was the most knowledgeable of people concerning Allah and the most fearfully aware of them. He used to behave with the people under his charge according to the extent of their states. He used to endure the roughness of the nomadic Arabs and he was forbearing with the offenses of the hypocrites. This went on until the people said to him: 'You should be harsh towards them!' He showed forbearance towards them in order to be connected to their notables. He would present the majority of the treasury to them in some cases in order

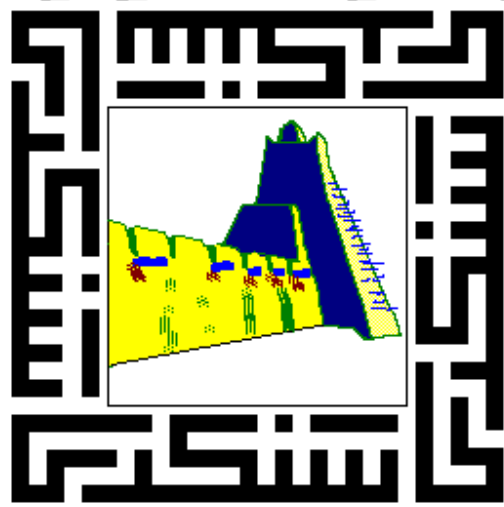
to fix *imaan* firmly in their hearts and to return them back to belief in Allah ta'ala. He would make a place for them in the gatherings and soften their hearts with gifts of carpets and cushions. He would be happy with them coming to him and show concern for their relatives. He would also approve and avail them whenever possible. The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace said: "Honor the noble people when they come to you." He used to put the people of strong *imaan* in charge of teaching the beliefs to the nomadic Arabs and hypocrites. He used to tolerate them compassionately in accordance with the strength of their *imaan*. There are many other examples like this from the noble character of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace. Whoever is aquatinted with the books of the biography of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace is well aware of what has been transmitted concerning his tolerant character. Allah ta'ala says: "*There has come to you a Messenger from among yourselves who grieves over your discomforts, full of concern for you and compassionate and merciful to the believers. But if they turn away say: Allah is enough for me there is no deity except Him, upon Him do I rely and He is the Lord of the Tremendous Throne.*"

This work was completed with the praise of Allah and the best of His help. Peace and blessings be upon the one who was sent with the guidance and the religion of Truth.



SANKORE'

SANKORE'



Institute of Islamic-African Studies International

Institute of Islamic-African Studies International