

BURKE'S REDEMPTIVE CYCLE OF RHETORIC
APPLIED TO EIGHT FATWAS ISSUED BY SAUDI ARABIA
REGARDING SAUDI PARTICIPATION IN THE FIRST GULF WAR

BY

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Dedication & Acknowledgements

Dedication

This master's thesis is dedicated to Kyle Holton (1987-2011). Kyle's personality and spirit will continue to motivate me to do my best work.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	vi
Abstract	vii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Introduction	1
Significance of the Study	4
The Fatwa as a Site for Rhetorical Invention	5
Understanding United States Foreign Policy towards Saudi Arabia	6
Religious Interpretation and Lawmaking in Saudi Arabia	8
Review of the Literature	10
Studies about Presidential Rhetoric during the First Gulf War	11
Studies about United States Media Representations of the First Gulf War	13
Studies about Saudi Media Representations of the First Gulf War	15
Studies about the Impact of Fatwas on Muslim's Attitudes and Actions	16
Method	17
Dramatism	17
The Redemptive Cycle of Rhetoric	18
Order	20
The Secret	20
The Kill	22
Conclusion	23
Summary of Fatwas	23
Chapter Preview	25
End Notes	28
Chapter Two: Order	34
Introduction	34
Order, Defined by God	35
Multiple uses of the term <i>Order</i> in the Gulf War Fatwas	37

Order as a Noun _____	37
Order as a Verb _____	41
The Incentive to Uphold Order _____	44
Explaining the Existence of Disorder _____	48
Interpreters of Order(s) _____	49
Conclusion _____	53
End Notes _____	54
<i>Chapter Three: The Secret</i> _____	57
Introduction _____	57
Order Implies Disorder _____	57
Guilt and Sin _____	59
The Iraqi Invasion _____	64
The American Intervention _____	68
Saddam Hussein: The Scapegoat _____	74
Conclusion _____	76
End Notes _____	77
<i>Chapter Four: The Kill</i> _____	80
Introduction _____	80
Guilt Needs Redemption _____	81
The Role of Sacrifice _____	84
Jihad as Redemption _____	86
Greater Jihad _____	86
Smaller Jihad _____	90
Emphasizing Smaller Jihad over Greater Jihad _____	96
Conclusion _____	98
End Notes _____	99
<i>Chapter Five: Conclusion</i> _____	102

Introduction	102
Saudi Arabia: Lessons from the Gulf War	102
The Power of Rhetoric	105
Coping with Imperfection	109
Conclusion	111
End Notes	112
<i>Bibliography</i>	113
<i>Appendices</i>	120
Appendix A: Text of the “Internationally Broadcasted” Fatwa	120
Appendix B: Text of the “Important Lecture” Fatwa	121
Appendix C: Text of the “Questions after the Lecture” Fatwa	133
Appendix D: Text of the “What are Muslims to do?” Fatwa	138
Appendix E: Text of the “Advice to Muslims” Fatwa	143
Appendix F: Text of the “Grave Crime” Fatwa	146
Appendix G: Text of the “Sinful Aggression” Fatwa	149
Appendix H: Text of the “Liberating the State” Fatwa	153
<i>Curriculum Vitae</i>	157
Educational Background	157
Academic Awards, Honors, & Memberships	157
Participation in Academic Organizations	157

List of Tables

<i>TABLE 1: ABBEVITATED TITLES OF FATWAS</i>	24
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Abstract

This master's thesis is a rhetorical analysis of eight fatwas issued by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, intended to legitimate the actions taken by the Saudi Government in regards to the first Persian Gulf War. Using Burke's redemptive cycle of rhetoric, this thesis analyzes the rhetorical constructions of Order, the Secret, and the Kill within the fatwas.

This thesis draws three main conclusions. First, the rhetorical strategy of scapegoating is inevitable in international politics, where security and the economy are prioritized. Second, rhetorical appeals to perfection and order, and the rhetorical strategy of identification, can guide humans to act in ways that they might not have absent rhetoric. And third, while the drive towards Order and perfection is inevitable, the most important task for humanity is attempting to absolve guilt in a manner that minimizes human suffering.

Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

The first Persian Gulf War began when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990. Iraqi ruler Saddam Hussein initiated the invasion for two reasons: first, Hussein claimed the oil fields in Kuwait belonged rightfully to Iraq and not to the Western-influenced Kuwait; second, Iraq had defaulted on debt payment to Kuwait.¹ King Fahd of Saudi Arabia depicted his nation as vulnerable to attack for two similar reasons: first, Saudi Arabia possessed oil and their oil policies were largely Western-influenced; second, Iraq had defaulted on debt payment to Saudi Arabia. As a result of this vulnerability, King Fahd formally invited the United States to deploy troops in Saudi Arabia on August 6, 1990.²

King Fahd's decision to bring the American troops into the Muslim Holy Land sharply divided Arab governments and peoples, making the Gulf crisis "the most significant political question for Arabs in the 1990s."³ Hundreds of thousands of ordinary Muslims sided with Iraq. They did so under the banner of Islam, and not always in accordance with the policy of their governments. Many of these Muslims were Saudi Arabian citizens frustrated with their King's decision to invite a non-Muslim force to fight against a Muslim force.⁴

The domestic and international legitimacy of Saudi Arabia (as one of the two Muslim theocracies that exist in the world) is intrinsically tied to adherence to Islam. This is especially true considering the Qur'an is the constitution in Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia,

in theory, is to be governed by the tenets of Islam and Islam only. As such, any policy – domestic, economic, or foreign – must be justified along religious lines.⁵ The Saudi Arabian government must constantly involve itself in the process of legitimizing its actions to its people and the wider Muslim community.

Saudi Arabia attempts to legitimize its actions to its own people through the issuance of fatwas. A fatwa is “a ruling or point of Islamic Law that is given by a recognized authority.”⁶ In the context of Saudi Arabia, this authority is the Grand Mufti. The Grand Mufti is the head of the *ulama*, or the religious establishment, and is therefore the religious leader of Saudi Arabia.⁷

The ulama of Saudi Arabia have traditionally issued religious rulings in line with the political agenda of the Saudi royal family. The events following a takeover of Saudi Arabia’s Grand Mosque in 1979 is an example of such deference. A group of dissidents seized the Grand Mosque – the holiest mosque in Mecca where Muslims perform the pilgrimage – on the grounds that the Saudi government had wrongful authority over the holy land.⁸ Immediately following the takeover, Saudi rules turned to the ulama for support. The ulama then issued a Fatwa sanctioning the government’s use of force against those whom had captured the mosque.⁹ The ulama were clearly demonstrating their deference to the king, by delegitimizing the rebellion and urging support for the state’s leaders.¹⁰

Again during the Gulf War, the ulama issued fatwas to sanction the government’s use of force. Anger was brewing in Saudi Arabia over the Western-led invasion of Iraq, and the legitimacy of the Saudi state stood at a crossroads. This was especially true

considering Osama bin Laden's public backlash towards the Saudi government regarding their decision to ally with the United States in the war.

Osama bin Laden had issued his own fatwas which interpreted Islamic law to prohibit joining forces with a non-Muslim entity such as the United States Army. Bin Laden, who lived in Saudi Arabia and had significant political support in the region, characterized the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia as "cause for renewed commitment to defensive jihad and the promotion of violence against the Saudi government and the United States."¹¹ He argued that invitation of non-Muslim troops onto the Arabian Peninsula endangered the sanctity of the birthplace of Islam and disrespected the entire Muslim community, and he expressed a desire to secure the withdrawal of American forces from the region at all costs.¹²

The Saudi government could not allow Osama bin Laden to go unanswered; the fatwas were necessary to provide an alternate (religious) explanation of the events that were occurring. This is especially true considering the role of the media during the first Persian Gulf War; the war has been labeled the "first televised war."¹³ The expanded role of the media during this time broadened the audience that Saudi Arabia had to direct their rhetoric towards. Muslims world-wide were being exposed images of American troops in the two holy cities (Mecca and Medina) daily. The fatwas were a unique way for Saudi Arabia to reach out to the wider Muslim community and provide a religious explanation for their actions.

Saudi Arabia faced a crisis in its legitimacy both domestically (as an Islamic theocracy) and internationally (as protector of Islam's two holiest cities). In the face of this crisis, it was necessary for the government of Saudi Arabia to produce an

interpretation of the Qur'an that provided justification for entrance into the first Gulf War. As such, the ulama, led by the Grand Mufti Abd al-Aziz bin Abdullah ibn Baaz (heretofore referred to as ibn Baaz), began the war with the issuance of several fatwas that gave religious sanction to the government's invitation for American troops to enter Saudi Arabia to drive the Iraqi forces out of Kuwait.¹⁴ These fatwas are the centerpiece of my rhetorical analysis.¹⁵

This thesis will utilize Kenneth Burke's *redemptive cycle of rhetoric* to argue that despite the existence of political and economic motivations for the Saudi Arabian government to enter the first Gulf War, Saudi Arabia's position required the government to produce a justification strictly along religious lines to legitimize Saudi Arabia's alliance with the United States during the first Gulf War. This thesis, therefore, will analyze eight Fatwas issued by the Grand Mufti ibn Baaz as justification for Saudi Arabia's entrance into the first Persian Gulf War.

Chapter one is divided into four sections. The first section will discuss the significance of this master's thesis study. The second section will provide a review of the literature surrounding this study, concluding that the analysis conducted by this thesis is unique. The third section will discuss the method of rhetorical analysis used in this thesis, i.e. Kenneth Burke's *redemptive cycle of rhetoric*. Finally, the fourth section will provide a preview of the chapters of the master's thesis.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant for three reasons. First, the fatwa is a unique site for rhetorical invention. Second, understanding the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States and determining the correct course for United States foreign policy

towards Saudi Arabia requires an examination of Islamic legal interpretation, i.e. fatwas. Third, the events that precipitated the issuance of the fatwas provide a unique situation for scholars of discourse to examine how a rhetor can justify controversial public policy with religious interpretation. This section will further discuss all three of these significances.

The Fatwa as a Site for Rhetorical Invention

Rhetoric plays an important role in legitimizing the state of Saudi Arabia. Every citizen of Saudi Arabia is a Muslim by law. Roughly ninety percent are Sunni Muslim and ten percent are Shi'i Muslim.¹⁶ In areas of passionate religious conviction such as Saudi Arabia, institutionalized versions of religious belief remain compatible with traditions that “clearly embody the structure of oppositional relation corresponding to pre-modern metaphysics.”¹⁷ This pre-modern metaphysics – or “cathartic metaphysics” – preconditions reliance upon the scapegoating mechanism, particularly in times of crisis.¹⁸ In other words, the rhetorical process of scapegoating is particularly important in persuading religious people to act.

Muslims value the Qur'an as the word of God and believe that the Qur'an “engages all experiences in this life and the life to come.”¹⁹ In other words, adherence to the mandates of the Qur'an is very important to Muslims because failing to adhere to its mandates could result in an afterlife in Hell, which would be longer and more painful than life on earth. Muslim communities therefore derive legal norms and rulings from the Qur'an, through jurisprudential religious science.²⁰ These religious interpretations are the starting point for lawmaking within the Saudi State, which has implications on the

daily lives of Saudi citizens. This demonstrates the importance of religious interpretation and justification of public policy in Saudi Arabia.

The connection between the constitution of Saudi Arabia and the Qur'an limits the source of rhetorical invention available for the government to use. There is a difference between a fatwa and, for example, an executive order issued by the president of the United States, because the fatwa is political *and* religious in nature: it is limited to the text of the Qur'an. Fatwas allow a rhetor to provide one interpretation of the Qur'an, although it is important to remember there is no fixed interpretation of the Qur'an. As such, fatwas are an important point of discussion because they are an important means by which the state of Saudi Arabia dictates its religious interpretations, which are supposed to represent the state of Saudi Arabia and of Islam. The fatwa, therefore, is a unique site for rhetorical invention.

Understanding United States Foreign Policy towards Saudi Arabia

The history of the relationship between what became Saudi Arabia and the United States began with the discovery of oil in Arabia in the early 1930s. Before this point, United States policymakers regarded Saudi Arabia as nothing more than *terra incognita*, or undiscovered land.²¹ Soviet expansionism brought the Middle East, and in particular Saudi Arabia, to center stage. According to Gilbert Achcar, it was imperative that “the Middle Eastern oil fields... be preserved and protected on the Western side of the Iron Curtain to assure the economic survival of the entire Western world.”²² For the United States, controlling oil interests in the Middle East was imperative to their post-war economic strategy. Saudi Arabia was especially relevant considering its role in the oil

market as the country with the greatest margin of variation in its oil exports, meaning it could offset unexpected drops in production.²³

Oil was Saudi Arabia's ticket to international support for, and recognition of, its independence. The Saudi-United States oil partnership was particularly crucial to legitimizing the political leadership of the Saudi royal family. From the beginning, the basics of the Saudi-United States relationship were clear: the United States would have exclusive right to explore and exploit Saudi oil, giving it de facto control over Saudi energy and foreign policy, in return for American protection of the Saudi family's rule.²⁴ The United States and other key international players officially recognized the unified Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932. In 1933, the United States and Saudi Arabia signed a friendship and trade treaty.²⁵ The power of the Saudi state was strengthened during the Roosevelt years. While Saudi Arabia was experiencing financial troubles, the United States State Department and Saudi Arabia forged a deal that would ensure the existence of the state of Saudi Arabia through the perpetuation and solidification the oil-for-security relationship.²⁶

The Saudi-United States oil partnership was a key factor not only in legitimizing the acceptance of Saudi Arabia as a political entity, but also in legitimizing its role as a religious entity. Saudi Arabia is an Islamic theocracy rooted in the principles of Wahhabism, a conservative branch of Sunni Islam.²⁷ During the initial stages of Saudi state formation, however, Wahhabism was a subordinate ingredient; without the massive influx of American economic and military aid, Wahhabism would never have played as significant a political role as it does today.²⁸

This is not to say that Wahhabism did not or does not include a religious aspect, but rather to demonstrate that the religious nature of the movement depended on the political circumstances of the time (i.e. the opportunity for state formation). However, the concept of the state in the Arabian Peninsula was rejuvenated on the basis of religion, providing both the political and the ideological forces to push the process of state-building forward. Religion played a unique role in state-building because it served as the only source of education, discourse, and law. In such a context, political themes were most successfully articulated using religious terms.²⁹

The indoctrination of religion into politics starting with the creation of the state of Saudi Arabia provides a necessary backdrop for understanding the importance of religious interpretation for the legitimacy of the state of Saudi Arabia; from the beginning of Saudi Arabia's existence as a state, religious interpretation and justification of law has been vital to the legitimacy of the state.³⁰ Therefore, understanding the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States and determining the correct course for United States foreign policy towards Saudi Arabia requires an examination of fatwas.

Religious Interpretation and Lawmaking in Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia's status as the protector of Islam's two holiest cities, Mecca and Medina, implied from the beginning that its Islamic policies would have international implications.³¹ Saudi Arabia adopted Wahhabism as their official state religion. Every Saudi receives what As'ad AbuKhalil describes as "a high dosage of religious indoctrination at all levels of education, through the state-owned media which still observe the times of prayer five times a day, and through roving religious police that enforce the rules in the streets and public places."³²

When the state of Saudi Arabia was formed, it rooted itself into a contradiction that would put the legitimacy of the government into a continual state of crisis. Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, the founder of Saudi Arabia, built his government based both upon two principles that are at odds with one another: Wahhabism and dependence on the United States. Wahhabi law is at odds with dependence on a non-Muslim party because in some cases, Wahhabi Muslims interpret their faith so as close alliances with non-Muslims is prohibited.³³

To reconcile this contradiction, Abdul Aziz ibn Saud, the founder of Saudi Arabia, took steps to demonstrate to Saudis and Muslims throughout the world that Wahhabi and Western ideologies were not inherently incompatible.³⁴ From the beginning, ibn Saud sent clear signals that he would welcome external assistance and that he would depend on such assistance for the political strength of his state.³⁵ At the core of ibn Saud's foreign policy was the notion that Saudi Arabia and the United States shared values and interests that required a special relationship.³⁶

Saudi Arabia chose to ally with the United States because its existence as a state depended on it. Given the indoctrination of Wahhabism, however, ibn Saud had to find religious justifications for his partnerships with the United States. Initially, he was able to frame the matter of Saudi state sovereignty as a religious necessity, and paint Saudi economic expansion as in the name of God. This rhetorical maneuvering has not escaped the political scene of Saudi Arabia since the day of its inception. A specific application of this rhetorical strategy is the subject of my rhetorical analysis; the events that precipitated the issuance of these three provide a unique situation for scholars of

discourse to examine how rhetors justify controversial public policy with religious ideology.

The background information provided in this section demonstrates the larger role of religious interpretation and the fatwa in Saudi Arabian society. Because religion is structurally indoctrinated into all aspects of Saudi culture – public and private – the importance of the fatwa as site for rhetorical invention cannot be over-estimated. The significance of this study is pertinent to Saudi domestic policy but it also extends to the realm of United States foreign policy. In order for the United States to take a proper foreign policy stance towards Saudi Arabia, United States diplomats must have at least a basic understanding of the relationship between religion and the state in Saudi Arabia. The first Persian Gulf War best illuminated the tension inherent in this relationship, which demonstrates that this historical event is a unique opportunity to study this relationship.

Review of the Literature

In the field of communication, literature surrounding the topic(s) my study concentrates on can be divided into four categories: studies about presidential rhetoric during the first Gulf War, studies about United States media representations of the first Gulf War, studies about Saudi media representations of the first Gulf War, and studies about the impact of fatwas on Muslims' attitudes and actions. In this section, I will review the relevant literature as it fits into these four categories. I conclude that although the first Gulf War is a widely-researched topic area, there is a lack of research on Saudi Arabia's issuance of fatwas during the Gulf War.

Studies about Presidential Rhetoric during the First Gulf War

Most of the studies surrounding the rhetoric of George Bush (Senior) during the Gulf War examine his attempt to justify the invasion and of Iraq.³⁷ Francis A. Beer and Robert Hariman analyze narratives of just war theory in political discourse, and specifically in the Gulf War debate. They argue that narratives of just war theory construct institutions of a normative international regime, or the New World Order. More specifically, they argue that the use of just war rhetoric during the Gulf War demonstrates how national interests – articulated through rhetoric of a normative democratic process – shape and justify foreign policy.³⁸

Benjamin R. Bates analyzes George Bush's Persian Gulf War addresses as they relate to two metaphoric clusters: the *savage* cluster, used to justify response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, and the *civilization* cluster, used to justify American-led response. He argues that international audiences should be considered when analyzing war rhetoric.³⁹

There has also been some academic attention regarding demonization rhetoric in the first Gulf War. J. Michael Hogan, for example, argues that the Gulf War illustrated the public appeal and power of demonization and hate rhetoric. Hogan examines the ways in which demonization rhetoric manifested during the first Gulf War and the American people's reaction to that rhetoric.⁴⁰ Robert L. Ivie also analyzes the president's demonization of Saddam Hussein. In doing so, he argues that Gulf War rhetoric should be understood within the conceptual framework of the rhetorical republic, rather than as a function of the rhetorical presidency.⁴¹

There have also been several studies regarding the *rally effect* in presidential rhetoric and its use in getting public support for initiation of or entrance into war.⁴² Douglas

McLeod, William Eveland, Jr., and Nancy Signorielli study this phenomena as it occurred during the Gulf War and conclude that when the “rally around the flag” period dissipated (one year after the war began) public support for the war and confidence in the president declined significantly.⁴³ John E. Mueller also affirmed a positive relationship between the rally effect and positive public opinion of the president.⁴⁴

Most research regarding rally effects in presidential war rhetoric concentrates on rally effects’ relationship to presidential popularity or support for the immediate entrance into the war. One exception is Suzanne Parker’s study, which examines the rally effect and its relationship to: support for the president and congress, trust in the federal government, and expectations for the economy. She argues that rally effects invoke feelings of allegiance toward institutions and their policies, thereby influencing evaluations of national conditions and well-being.⁴⁵

David Bailey analyzes George Bush’s attempt to enact redemption rhetorically. He argues that although George Bush was not known for his skill as a rhetor or his willingness to initiate conversation about religion in public, Bush’s Gulf War rhetoric was informed by the religious and rhetorical form of atonement. Atonement is used by rhetors to enact redemption. Bailey concludes that Bush’s atonement was incomplete, thereby rendering his rhetoric ineffective.⁴⁶

B. Lee Artz and Mark A. Pollock conduct research that examines the rhetorical exchanges between the United States Executive Branch and Saudi Arabia in the prelude to the first Gulf War.⁴⁷ They argue that the United States engaged in coercion towards Saudi Arabia during the first Gulf War. Artz and Pollock set a standard for the defense of coercion: “Coercion can only be defended when the degree of human urgency exceeds

the opportunity for further meaningful discourse.” In the case of the Gulf War, they argue that the degree of human urgency did not outweigh this opportunity.⁴⁸

Instead of researching the president’s attempt to garner support for the Gulf War, Gordon Mitchell examines how the president utilized an effect of the Gulf War to garner support for broader conceptions about United States hegemony. The supposed success of the PATRIOT missile defense system, according to Mitchell, “served as the centerpiece of a rhetorical campaign to portray Desert Storm as ushering in a new era of US military dominance.” Mitchell explains how the public was mislead, assesses the “rhetorical windfall” that came as a result of deception, and criticizes the Bush administration’s campaign of strategic deception, which he argues is normatively bankrupt.⁴⁹

Studies about United States Media Representations of the First Gulf War

There is quite a bit of communications research on the American media representations of the first Gulf War. Arthur E. Rowse analyzes news coverage in the first month of the war and how it affected public opinion. From day one, military options took center stage on national television. This media strategy heavily influenced peoples’ beliefs on whether or not military action was a necessity.⁵⁰ Stephen Borrelli and Brad Lockerbie conduct research that concludes the wording of questions in surveys about the Gulf War changes the results of the public opinion regarding the Gulf War.⁵¹

A majority of the media studies literature regarding the Gulf War argue that the American media was a biased source of information that only served to perpetuate the goals of the government.⁵² These studies describe the media as nothing more than propaganda and accuse the media of silencing the opposition to the war. Martin A. Lee and Tiffany Devitt, for example, argue that United States coverage of the Gulf War

lacked diverse and antagonistic news sources. The press censored itself when it “bought the Bush administration’s party line.”⁵³ Similarly, Brian Schriner argues that the media was not objective in reporting the Gulf War crisis. Schriner attempts to bring a greater degree of objectivity to the table, both methodologically and substantively, by explaining the effects of American media biases on the depiction of the war and exposing a counter-narrative of the war from a non-Western perspective.⁵⁴

James McCartney agrees that the press consistently joins in supporting whatever policy the reigning administration tried to sell, from Vietnam to the Gulf War. In foreign policy crises, he argues, the critical faculties of the news media shut down.⁵⁵ Stephen Reese and Bob Buckalew examine how practices of television news add up to coherent “frames of reference” toward the Gulf War, ultimately affirming the conclusion that the media supports the administration’s policies, while creating an illusion of triumph.⁵⁶ Several communication scholars have examined photos used by journalists to affirm a trend in media compliance with government policy regarding the Gulf War.⁵⁷ Peter Turnley exposes a counter-narrative of the war through a photo-essay about military and civilian casualties.⁵⁸

Apart from justifying the war to the American public and wider public audiences, there has also been research commenting on the media’s perpetuation of American exceptionalism. For example, Dina Gavrilos analyzes news stories about Arab American reactions to the Gulf War. She concludes that the news media represented and reinforced a hegemonic construction of America as a “unified, inclusive imagined community” through ethnic differences. Arab Americans’ ethnic position and wartime struggles came to represent the meaning of a patriotic American, says Gavrilos.⁵⁹ Keith Solomon argues

that media's emphasis of technology and spectacle turns viewers into "tacit supporters of the imperial project."⁶⁰

Most studies of the media campaign during the Gulf War, including most of the studies described above, use the Gulf War as a particular affirmation of broader theses about the function of the media in American culture.⁶¹ Garth S. Jowett, on the other hand, argues that the Gulf War opened up a new potential for the role of communication technologies. In his case study of the Gulf War as the "first true televised war," he explores the potential of Gulf War communication technologies in creating a "post-modern 'global village.'"⁶²

Studies about Saudi Media Representations of the First Gulf War

The majority of research in the field of communication that focuses on the first Gulf War analyzes either United States presidential rhetoric or Western media representations. There has been, however, research conducted about Saudi media representations of the first Gulf War.

Several scholars have analyzed the role of the media in Saudi Arabian politics. Referred to by scholars as the "petrodollar media," Saudi Arabia's media campaign is used to ensure publicity, silence criticism, and co-opt dissenting voices. According to Madawi Al-Rasheed, Saudi Arabia sponsors an intense media campaign to market "pious politics and new models of piety" in an attempt to convince the Arab world that its politics are in the service of Islam.⁶³ Adam Feinstein similarly notes a trend of censorship in the Saudi Arabian state-owned media.⁶⁴

Few scholars have studied the role of the media more broadly in Saudi Arabia, and even fewer have studied Saudi media representations of the first Gulf War. Stephen

Franklin examines the Saudi media response to the Gulf War, concluding the response depended heavily on censorship. Franklin uses the Gulf War as a test case to prove the importance of media in maintaining power and legitimacy of the state of Saudi Arabia.⁶⁵

Safran al-Makaty, Douglas Boyd, and G. Norman Van Tubergen surveyed the Saudi population to determine the media's effect on Saudi opinions of the Gulf War. They explore how Saudi Arabian citizens sought and placed credibility in information disseminated through the media during the Gulf War. Their survey divides Saudi citizens into two categories: global-oriented, usually urban individuals, and traditional or village oriented, usually rural individuals. Both groups of individuals relied more heavily on broadcast media than print media.⁶⁶

Studies about the Impact of Fatwas on Muslim's Attitudes and Actions

There is almost no research in the field of communication on fatwas and how they are perceived in Muslim societies. As far as my research indicates, the closest study conducted on the way fatwas affect public opinion in Saudi Arabia was an empirical study conducted by Fowzan Alkuraya and Ramzi Kalani. Their study tests the knowledge of faith in fatwas as it relates to opinion and action regarding prenatal diagnosis and abortion of fetuses with hemoglobinopathies. Their study concludes that education about religious rulings significantly affects parents' attitudes toward accepting either prenatal diagnosis or abortion.⁶⁷

As evidenced by a review of the literature, there is a lack of research on my thesis topic in the field of communication. Most research is focused on United States presidential rhetoric or Western media representations of the first Gulf War. While there

has been some research in the areas of Saudi media representations and public perception of fatwas, this research is not similar to my study.

Method

The method of rhetorical analysis I will be using in this study will rest on Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism and more specifically his explanation of the *redemptive cycle of rhetoric*. In this section, I will first provide background information on Burke's notion of dramatism. I will then go on to explain the redemptive cycle of rhetoric, which is a specific application of dramatism. In this section I will explain the appropriateness of applying this method to Islamic religious texts. Finally, I will break down the redemptive cycle of rhetoric into its individual stages, providing an explanation of each: Order, the Secret, and the Kill.

Dramatism

Perfection is embedded in language and demands completion. According to Kenneth Burke, the principle of perfection motivates humans to carry out terministic possibilities to their logical conclusion.⁶⁸ Burke's theory of dramatism (which uses drama as a model of human behavior) depicts human activity as involved in conflict, in purpose, and in change.

At the base of dramatism is the distinction between action and motion. Action is a term for the kind of behavior possible for a typically symbol-using animal (i.e. a human), in contrast with the non-symbolic operations found in nature. Motion is the "animal side" of human beings. With motion, human acts are determined; humans are passive reactors to external conditions. Action implies assessment of situations, and reflection upon interests, sentiments, and purposes.⁶⁹

Burke describes his theory as dramatism because in the realm of human action, language necessarily creates a pseudo-reality that can be described as a drama. Because there will always be a discrepancy between a word and what the word is attempting to describe, Burke explains that “there is a sense in which language is *not* just ‘natural,’ but really *does* add a ‘new dimension’ to the things of nature.”⁷⁰

The Redemptive Cycle of Rhetoric

In *The Rhetoric of Religion*, Burke presents a specific application of dramatism, what he deems as logological “terms for order.” Burke explains these terms for order as a cyclical, psychologically, and balanced rhetorical process that is inherent to human nature and our drive for perfection. He presents the terms in the form of a poem:

Here are the steps
In the Iron Law of History
That welds Order and Sacrifice

Order leads to guilt
(for who can keep commandments!)
Guilt needs Redemption
(for who would not be cleansed!)
Redemption needs a Redeemer
(which is to say, a Victim!).

Order
Through Guilt
To Victimage
(hence: Cult of the Kill)⁷¹

This symbolic “cult of the kill” can be simplified into three terms: Order, the Secret, and the Kill.⁷² “The Kill” represents the transformations of death and renewal in sacrifice, victimage, redemption, transcendence, and purification. The entries in this last cluster are all names for the catharsis necessary to complete the cycle and restore

order to a divided and conflicted world. Burke claims that this cycle is the central and inescapable issue underlying all rhetoric.⁷³

Burke most commonly applies the redemptive cycle of rhetoric to Christian rhetoric, which may be a limitation to the application of his theories to the Gulf War fatwas. However, the characteristics of the Christian rhetoric that Burke analyzes can be found universally, regardless of which religion (if any) the rhetor or audience proscribes to. Burke describes the redemptive cycle of rhetoric as an inevitable result of humans' natural and ontological desire for completeness.⁷⁴

Even atheists have a tendency to use language to find order in a world that is inherently chaotic. Hitler's rhetoric leading into the Holocaust and the Second World War – his construction of an economic order and his construction of Jews as a threat to this order – is one example of the redemptive cycle of rhetoric in secular rhetoric.⁷⁵ This example provides proof that the assumption of a Christian God is not a prerequisite for utilizing the redemptive cycle of rhetoric.

To study “the nature of rhetoric, the relation between rhetoric and dialectic, and the application of both to human relations in general is to circulate about three motives [Order, the Secret, and the Kill].”⁷⁶ Kenneth Burke's theories of Dramatism and the redemptive cycle of rhetoric can be described as “keys for unlocking the divisive complexities of language-using.”⁷⁷ Because language-using is a characteristic unique to all humans, the redemptive cycle of rhetoric can be applied to the rhetoric of all humans, including the Saudi Arabian government.

Order

Logic directs people towards mutual agreements regarding problematic circumstances. Humans have a metaphysical temptation to avoid the chaos that would be come as a result of complete moral relativism.⁷⁸ Part of avoiding that chaos is putting faith in a higher being. The higher being can be God, a system of government, a CEO of a corporation, etc. Robert Heath explains that either way, “the entelechial principle manifests itself in forms such as transcendence, hierarchy, and order which are fraught with the desire for perfection. It leads us to imagine and seek transcendence. In this way, we develop hierarchies, including those of social order.”⁷⁹

The notion of order requires humans to establish hierarchies. Burke applies the term order both to the realm of nature and to the “special” realm of human sociopolitical organizations. However, he pays particular attention to the sociopolitical aspect because he is fearful that “our ideas of the natural order can become secretly infused by our ideas of the sociopolitical order.”⁸⁰ Sociopolitical organizations, such as systems of government and religion, are natural products of the human desire to establish order through hierarchy. Otherization, therefore, is the rhetorical product of our drive towards what Burke calls “the spirit of hierarchy.”⁸¹

The Secret

Order itself is a polar term, which implies a corresponding idea of disorder. These terms in turn involve ideas of obedience or disobedience to the authority that is implicit in order. On the side of order, there are variants of faith (where one accepts a given command or statement as authoritative) and reason (where one’s acceptance is

contingent upon proofs established by weighing doubts and rebuttals).⁸² Pollution results when either intentionally or unintentionally the order is rejected or disturbed.

Disorder is inevitable in a world where order is constructed through language or rhetoric. Chris Allen Carter argues that order is necessarily complimented by disorder because it is impossible for everybody to abide by all rules at all times. The result, he explains, “is ubiquitous guilt. Insecure individuals are driven by the motives of order and hierarchy to raise their own status in the social order, by lowering the status of someone else.”⁸³ In conclusion, humans cannot create harmony without avoiding the polarity of disharmony.

In order to absolve guilt, humans attempt to identify a scapegoat. Burke refers to this process as victimage. The purpose of the scapegoat is to provide a mechanism for us to purify the imperfection of our order. Burke explains that the scapegoat is “charismatic.” As such, “it is profoundly consubstantial with those who... would ritualistically cleanse themselves by loading the burden of their own iniquities upon it.” Burke concludes that “the scapegoat represents the principle of division in that its persecutors would alienate from themselves to it their own uncleannesses. For one must remember that a scapegoat cannot be ‘curative’ except insofar as it represents the iniquities of those who would be cured by attacking it.”⁸⁴

Creating and using a scapegoat is a natural mechanism for coping with disorder. People are more likely to associate together if they are *against* some other group or force.⁸⁵ In other words, people want to identify a cause for disorder, so they can come to terms with it and purify the order.

The Kill

Victimage produces a kind of identification that can unify a people. When based upon socially approved motives, ‘the kill’ can sanction many actions against a shared enemy.⁸⁶ The ontological desire to achieve perfection, explains Michael Hyde, “is known to be a satisfying and pleasant experience – so much that people will fight for its presence in their own lives as well as in the lives of others.”⁸⁷

In order to gain redemption, we must dispose of the enemy, hence: “the cult of the kill.” Transformation can be active, passive, or reflexive, in that a person can kill, be killed, or commit suicide.⁸⁸ Whether we kill our enemy actually or symbolically, ‘the kill’ always implies transformation. Burke further explains that “the so-called ‘desire to kill’ a certain person is much more properly analyzable as a desire to *transform the principle* which that person represents.”⁸⁹

Sacrifice, victimage, redemption, transcendence, and purification are all names for the catharsis necessary to complete the cycle and restore order to a divided and conflicted world. Catharsis, which is literally defined as *cleansing*, is akin to the practice of medicine in the manner that it heals. Ancient Greek society understood cathartic symbolic acts as medicine:

A synonym for *katharma* was *pharmakos*: poisoner, sorcerer, magician; one who is sacrificed or executed as an atonement or purification for others; a scapegoat. It is related to *pharmakon*: drug, remedy, medicine, enchanted potion, philter, charm, spell, incantation, enchantment, poison.”⁹⁰

Burke emphasizes the dual nature of a drug: depending on the dose, a medicine can become a poison; a medicine that heals can also be a poison that kills.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this master's thesis project is designed to investigate eight fatwas issued by the Saudi Arabian government regarding participation in the first Gulf War. This study is significant because this rhetoric (and the rhetoric employed in fatwas more generally) has implications for the legitimacy of the Saudi government and for the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States. Furthermore, scholars of discourse should utilize this event as a unique opportunity to examine how a rhetor can justify controversial public policy with religious interpretation. An analysis of this rhetorical strategy using Burke's theories of dramatism and the redemptive cycle of rhetoric help to reveal the importance of language in shaping particular realities and in persuading certain actions.

Summary of Fatwas

This thesis is a rhetorical analysis of eight fatwas issued by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia during the first Persian Gulf War. In order to "defuse possible criticism from religious quarters, the King acted quickly in the first few days after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait to ensure that the *ulama* were publicly supportive."⁹¹ The first fatwa was issued on August 13, 1990, just before the counter-attack on Saddam Hussein. The rest of the fatwas were issued within the next few months.⁹²

The titles of the fatwas will be abbreviated throughout the thesis. The following table (*table 1*) lists each fatwa chronologically and then states the abbreviated title that will be used for this thesis:

TABLE 1: ABBEVITATED TITLES OF FATWAS

Full Title	Abbreviated Title
Title Unknown: Broadcasted internationally on Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio. ⁹³	“Internationally Broadcasted”
An important lecture on the Iraqi ruler's invasion of Kuwait. ⁹⁴	“Important Lecture.”
Questions and Answers After the Lecture. ⁹⁵	“Questions after the Lecture.”
What are Muslims obligated to do regarding the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait? ⁹⁶	“What are Muslims to do?”
Advice to all Muslims regarding Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. ⁹⁷	“Advice to Muslims.”
Iraq's invasion is a grave crime. ⁹⁸	“Grave Crime.”
The Action Waged by Saddam is a Sinful Aggression. ⁹⁹	“Sinful Aggression.”
Liberating the State of Kuwait from the Aggressors is a Divine Great Bounty and Victory against Tyranny, Aggression and Atheism. ¹⁰⁰	“Liberating the State.”

The texts of the eight fatwas are retrieved from “Alifta,” a website created by the *Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta’* of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. On this website, the entire text of every Fatwa issued by Abd al-Aziz ibn Baaz is provided in chronological order. This website is available in Arabic, French, and English translations.

One limitation of this study is that since I am not studying the text in Arabic, I may not be able to uncover some of the subtle intricacies of the language used in the fatwas. However, this thesis investigates Burke's redemptive cycle of rhetoric, which is clearly apparent in the English translations. Additionally, the Saudi Arabian Government's decision to translate these fatwas itself demonstrates the importance of analyzing the text, even if it is a translated text. At the very least, my textual analysis is designed to investigate the Saudi Fatwas that are directed towards audiences in English.

Chapter Preview

The three subsequent chapters are similar in that they all provide a rhetorical analysis of the eight fatwas listed above. What makes each chapter unique in that it will focus on one of the three motives that Kenneth Burke defines as central to the nature of rhetoric and its relation human relations in general: Order, the Secret, and the Kill.¹⁰¹

Chapter two is an examination of Order and is divided into five sections. The first section explains the appeal towards God as an ultimate unifying concept and examines the fatwas' appeals to the unification of God. The second section explores multiple ways that the term order can be used in language (e.g. either as a noun or as a verb). It then examines the application of these specific uses in the Gulf War fatwas. Section three examines appeals to the afterlife as part of the quest for an Ultimate Order; promises of Paradise (Heaven) and threats of Fire (Hell) motivate humans to obey the Order(s) of God. The fourth section attempts to account for disorder amongst God's supposedly perfect Order; disorder in the worldly life is explained as part of God's trial, or his test to determine fate in the afterlife. Finally, the fifth section explores hierarchy

between groups of people, explaining why religious authorities have the right to issue orders (fatwas) to other Muslims in the first place.

The third chapter is an examination of the Secret and is also divided into five sections. The first section examines the connectedness between order and disorder, concluding that order cannot be articulated without a corresponding notion of disorder. The second section examines Burke's notion of guilt, or humanity's feeling of responsibility for disorder. For religious people like the Saudi's, free will and sin provide an explanation for the existence of guilt. The third section of chapter three analyzes the attempt by ibn Baaz to frame the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait as a sin, or a pollution to God's order. The fourth section analyzes the attempt by ibn Baaz to cope with the guilt associated with inviting United States forces onto Saudi soil. Finally, the fifth section explains the attempt by ibn Baaz to frame Saddam Hussein as a scapegoat.

Chapter four is an examination of Redemption and is divided into four sections. The first section explains that in world where disorder and guilt are inevitable, redemption is also inevitable, for redemption is the final step to restoring order to a divided world. The second section discusses the role of sacrifice, or a vessel worthy of pushing guilt unto, i.e. the scapegoat. The third section discusses the Muslim concept of *jihad*, or the struggle to obtain justice. In Islam, jihad can be interpreted to sanction various actions: "greater jihad" is explained as the inner struggle to resist sin, whereas participation in military jihad is explained as "smaller jihad." The fourth section analyzes the potentially negative consequences of the Kill, especially when "smaller jihad" or military adventurism is emphasized over "greater jihad" or internal reform.

Chapter five is the conclusion of this master's thesis. It reviews ibn Baaz's particular completion of the redemptive cycle of rhetoric, including construction of Order, the Secret and finally the Kill. Although ibn Baaz has completed the cycle of redemption, the process will continue; order can only be restored temporarily. The rhetorical construction of order and disorder used to justify redemption is used by politicians like ibn Baaz who seek certain political outcomes. It is in this way that rhetoric motivates action.

End Notes

¹ Raymond William Baker, "Contested Islam in the Gulf Crisis," in The Gulf War and the New World Order: International Relations of the Middle East, ed. Tareq Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1994), 473.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ As'ad AbuKhalil, The Battle For Saudi Arabia: Royalty, Fundamentalism, and Global Power, (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2004), 37.

⁶ WordNet, 3rd ed., s.v. "Fatwa." <http://wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn?s=fatwa>

⁷ Anders Jerichow, The Saudi File: People, Power, Politics (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 54.

⁸ F. Gregory Gause III, "Official Wahhabism and the Sanctioning of Saudi-U.S. Relations," in Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State, ed. Mohammad Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2008), 138.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, 139.

¹¹ Christopher M. Blanchard, Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology, *CRS Report for Congress* (July 2007).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Garth S. Jowett, "Propaganda and the Gulf War," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* (September 1993).

¹⁴ Gause III, "Official Wahhabism," 140.

¹⁵ The texts of the fatwas used for rhetorical analysis were obtained from the website <http://www.alifta.com>. Alifta is a website that is owned by the Saudi Arabian Government. On this website, the entire text of every Fatwa issued by Abd al-Aziz ibn Baaz is provided in chronological order. This website is available at first in Arabic, but French and English translations are provided. I will be using the English Translations.

¹⁶ United States Department of State, "Saudi Arabia," *International Religious Freedom Report* (2008), <http://www.state.gov>.

¹⁷ Gregory Desilet, Cult of the Kill: Traditional Metaphysics of Rhetoric, Truth, and Violence in a Postmodern World (USA: Gregory Desilet, 2002), 26.

¹⁸ Ibid, 25.

¹⁹ Anna M. Gade, The Qur'an: An Introduction (Oxford: OneWorld Publications, 2010), 109.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Nathan J. Citino, From Arab Nationalism to OPEC: Eisenhower, King Sa'ūd, and the Making of U.S.-Saudi Relations (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 1.

²² Gilbert Achcar, The Clash of Barbarisms: The Making of the New World Disorder, 2nd ed., trans. Peter Drucker (New York: Paradigm, 2006), 45.

²³ Ibid, 46.

²⁴ AbuKhalil, The Battle For Saudi Arabia, 185.

²⁵ Ibid, 181.

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- ²⁶ Anthony Cave Brown, Oil, God, and Gold: The Story of Aramco and the Saudi Kings (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999), 120.
- ²⁷ John O. Voll, "The Impact of the Wahabbi Tradition," in Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State, ed. Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009), 162.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Joshua Teitelbaum, "The Struggle over Religious Edicts in Saudi Arabia," *BESA Center Perspectives Paper*, 119 (November 11, 2010), <http://www.biu.ac.il>.
- ³¹ Achcar, The Clash of Barbarisms, 51.
- ³² AbuKhalil, The Battle for Saudi Arabia, 37.
- ³³ John S. Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi State," in Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State, ed. Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009), 70.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Thomas Lippman, "A Most Improbable Alliance: Placing Interests over Ideology," in Religion and Politics in Saudi Arabia: Wahhabism and the State, ed. Mohammed Ayoob and Hasan Kosebalaban (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009), 124.
- ³⁶ Habib, "Wahhabi Origins of the Contemporary Saudi State," 70.
- ³⁷ See Nicholas Rangel, "Selling this war to the people: Contrasting the first Persian Gulf War with the Vietnam War," *Conference Paper at the National Communication Association* (2007), 1-39.
- ³⁸ Francis A. Beer and Robert Hariman, "Post-realism, Just War, and the Gulf War Debate," *Ninth SCA/AFA Conference on Argumentation: Argumentation and Values* (1995). For more research on just war rhetoric during the Gulf War, see Kenneth L. Vaux, Ethics and the Gulf War: Religion, Rhetoric, and Righteousness (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).
- ³⁹ Benjamin R. Bates, "Audiences, Metaphors, and the Persian Gulf War," *Communication Studies*, 55 (Fall 2004), 447-463.
- ⁴⁰ J. Michael Hogan, "Demonization, Public Opinion, and the Gulf War," *Ninth SCA/AFA Conference on Argumentation: Argumentation and Values* (1995).
- ⁴¹ Robert L. Ivie, "Tragic Fear in the Rhetorical Republic: American Hubris and the Demonization of Saddam Hussein," *Ninth SCA/AFA Conference on Argumentation: Argumentation and Values* (1995).
- ⁴² For analysis of rally effects applied to war in general, see: Richard Brody and Catherine Shapiro, "The Rally Phenomenon in Public Opinion," in Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support, ed. Richard A. Brody (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 45-77. John E. Mueller, "Presidential Popularity from Truman to Johnson," *American Political Science Review*, 64 (1970), 18-34. John E. Mueller, War, Presidents, and Public Opinion (New York: Wiley, 1973).
- ⁴³ Douglas M. McLeod, William P. Eveland, Jr., and Nancy Signorielli, "Conflict and Public Opinion: Rallying effects of the Persian Gulf War," *Journalism Quarterly*, 77 (1994), 20.
- ⁴⁴ John E. Mueller, "American Public Opinion and the Gulf War: Some Polling Issues," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 57 (1993).

⁴⁵ Suzanne L. Parker, "Toward an understanding of 'rally' effects: Public Opinion in the Persian Gulf War," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 59 (1995), 526-46.

⁴⁶ David Bailey, "Kicking the Vietnam Syndrome: George H.W. Bush, public memory, and incomplete atonement during Operation Desert Storm," *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the NCA, 94th annual convention* (San Diego, 2008), <http://www.allacademic.com>.

Although this research focuses on American presidential rhetoric, it is related to my study in as much as it studies the rhetoric of redemption. Bailey chooses to focus on Bush's wartime rhetoric and his attempt to frame the war as a necessary action for the restoration of order in the Middle East. This restoration of order is what constitutes redemption. My thesis will be conducting a similar analysis, however I will concentrate on the Saudi government's attempt to frame the war as necessary for the restoration of order.

⁴⁷ Although this rhetoric is not of President Bush, it examines the rhetoric of executive agencies and thus fits most appropriately into this category.

⁴⁸ B. Lee Artz and Mark A. Pollack, "The Rhetoric of Unconditional Surrender: Locating the Necessary Moment for Coercion," *Communication Studies*, 48, 159-173.

⁴⁹ Gordon R. Mitchell, "Placebo Defense: Operation Desert Mirage? The Rhetoric of PATRIOT missile accuracy in the 1991 Persian Gulf War," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 86, 121-145

⁵⁰ Arthur E. Rowse, "The Guns of August," *Columbia Journalism Review* (March/April 1991), 25-26. See Van-Hwei Lo and Ching Ching Chang, "Knowledge about the Gulf Wars: A Theoretical Model of Learning from the News," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 11 (Summer 2006), 135-55. Also see Andrew Hoskins, *Televising War: From Vietnam to Iraq* (London: Continuum, 2004).

⁵¹ Stephen Borrelli and Brad Lockerbie, "A Question of War: Question Wording, Framing, and Support for the two Gulf Wars," *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association* (Chicago, 2005).

⁵² One exception to this rule is a content analysis of five elite newspapers conducted by Barbara Harville, Maria Wawrzyniak, and Lynda Lee Kaid. They argue that the press functions as a conflict articulator, reflecting government attitudes and societal beliefs. See B. Harville, M. Wawrzyniak, and L. L. Kaid, "Constructing Conflict: The Case of the International Elite Press and the Gulf War," *World Communication* (2003).

⁵³ Martin A. Lee and Tiffany Devitt, "Gulf War Coverage: Censorship begins at Home," *Newspaper Research Journal* (Winter 1991), 14-22.

⁵⁴ Brian Schriner, "The Miami Herald and the Middle East: A case study of an Aggrandizement of Values," *Florida Communication Journal*, XIX (1991), 35-44.

⁵⁵ James McCartney, "Rallying the Flag," *American Journalism Review* (September 1994), 40-46.

Many more communication theorists come to similar conclusions. See John R. MacArthur, *Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the 1991 Gulf War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). See also Douglas Kellner, *The Persian Gulf TV War: Critical Studies in Communication and in the Cultural Industries* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

⁵⁶ Stephen D. Reese and Bob Buckalew, "The Militarism of Local Television: The Routine Framing of the Persian Gulf War," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 12

(1995), 40-59. Also see The Media and the Persian Gulf War, ed. Robert E. Denton, Jr. (Westport: Praeger, 1993).

⁵⁷ See Cynthia King and Paul Martin Lester, "Photographic Coverage during the Persian Gulf War and Iraqi Wars in three U.S. newspapers," *Journalism and Mass Media Quarterly*, 82 (Autumn 2005), 623-37. Also see Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf, ed. H. Mowlana, G. Gerbner, and H. Schiller (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).

⁵⁸ Peter Turnley, "The Unseen Gulf War: A photographer portrays Human Suffering in War," *Nieman Reports*, 57 (Spring 2003), 86-90.

⁵⁹ Dina Gavrilos, "Arab Americans in a nation's imagined community: How news constructed Arab American reactions to the Gulf War," *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 26 (2002), 426-45.

⁶⁰ He does so through an analysis of the Hollywood film "Apocalypse Now." See Keith Solomon, "The Spectacle of War and the Specter of 'The Horror': Apocalypse Now and American Imperialism," *Journal of Popular Film and Television*, 35 (Spring 2007), 22-31.

⁶¹ See also Frank Esser's research on the changes in meta-coverage of media from the first Gulf War to the second Gulf War. Frank Esser, "'Metacoverage' of Mediated Wars: Framing the News Media and Military News Management in the Gulf War coverage of 1991 and 2003," *Conference Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Communication Association* (New York, 2005).

⁶² Jowett, "Propaganda and the Gulf War."

⁶³ Madawi Al-Rasheed, "Introduction: an assessment of Saudi Political, Religious, and Media Expansion," in Kingdom without Borders: Saudi Political, Religious, and Media Frontiers, ed. Madawi Al-Rasheed (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 1-38.

⁶⁴ Adam Feinstein, "Saudi Arabia," *IPI Report* (January 1997), 80-81.

⁶⁵ Stephen Franklin, "The Kingdom and its Messengers," *Columbia Journalism Review* (July/August 1991), 24-27.

⁶⁶ Safran S. al-Makaty, Douglas A. Boyd, and G. Norman Van Tubergen, "Source credibility during the Gulf War: A Q-Study of rural and urban Saudi Arabian citizens," *Journalism Quarterly*, 79 (1994), 55-64.

⁶⁷ Fowzan S. Alkuraya and Ramzi A. Kilani, "Attitude of Saudi families affected with hemoglobinopathies towards prenatal screening and abortion and the influence of religious ruling (Fatwa)," *Prenatal Diagnosis*, 21 (2001), 448-51.

⁶⁸ Kenneth Burke, "The language of poetry 'dramatically considered,'" *Chicago Review* (1955), 9.

⁶⁹ Joseph R. Gusfield, "Introduction," in Kenneth Burke: On Symbols and Society, ed. Joseph R. Gusfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 9.

⁷⁰ Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 8.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 5.

⁷² Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 260.

⁷³ Desilet, Cult of the Kill, 108.

⁷⁴ Burke, Rhetoric of Motives, 279.

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- ⁷⁵ Desilet, Cult of the Kill, 109.
- ⁷⁶ Burke, Rhetoric of Motives, 265.
- ⁷⁷ Desilet, Cult of the Kill, 39.
- ⁷⁸ Michael J. Hyde, Perfection: Coming to terms with Being Human (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 26.
- ⁷⁹ Robert L. Heath, Realism and Relativism: A perspective on Kenneth Burke (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986), 104.
- ⁸⁰ Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, 183.
- ⁸¹ Kenneth Burke, "Dramatism," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 7 (1968), 450-51. Reprinted by Permission of Macmillan Publishing in: Kenneth Burke: On Symbols and Society, Ed. J.R. Gusfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 280.
- ⁸² Ibid, 279.
- ⁸³ Chris Allen Carter, "Kenneth Burke and the scapegoat process," *Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory*, 17 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).
- ⁸⁴ Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, 406.
- ⁸⁵ Heath, Realism and Relativism, 225.
- ⁸⁶ Ibid, 224.
- ⁸⁷ Hyde, Perfection, 219.
- ⁸⁸ Heath, Realism and Relativism, 224.
- ⁸⁹ Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives, 13.
- ⁹⁰ Kenneth Burke, "Othello: an essay to illustrate a method," in Othello: Critical Essays, ed. S. Snyder (New York: Garland, 1988), 127-168.
- ⁹¹ Tim Niblock, Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy, and Survival (London: Routledge, 2006), 69.
- ⁹² Ibid.
- ⁹³ This fatwa was published in international press soon after it was issued and it is the most commonly cited fatwa. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio, "Saudi Arabia Supreme Religious Council Supports Help From 'Non-Arab States,'" *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio* (Aug. 13, 1990).
- ⁹⁴ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "An Important Lecture on the Iraqi Ruler's Invasion of Kuwait," *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:92 (1990).
- ⁹⁵ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "Questions after the Lecture and their Answers," *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:116 (1990).
- ⁹⁶ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "What are Muslims Obligated to do regarding the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait?" *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:130 (1990).
- ⁹⁷ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "Advice to all Muslims regarding Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait," *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:137 (1990).
- ⁹⁸ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "Iraq's Invasion is a Grave Crime" *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:142 (1990).

⁹⁹ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, “The Action Waged by Saddam is a Sinful Aggression” *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta’*, “Ibn Baaz Fatwas,” 6:150 (1990).

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, “Liberating the State of Kuwait from the Aggressors is a Divine Great Bounty and Victory Against Tyranny, Aggression and Atheism.” *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta’*, “Ibn Baaz Fatwas,” 6:156 (1990).

There is another fatwa – the first of the fatwas – that is not titled. This fatwa is not published on the Saudi Arabian website *Alifta*. However, The citation is: Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio, “Saudi Arabia Supreme Religious Council Supports Help From ‘Non-Arab States,’” *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio* (Aug. 13, 1990).

¹⁰¹ Burke, *A Rhetoric of Motives*, 265.

Chapter Two

Order

Introduction

Inherent and unique to the nature of human beings is our desire to locate and obtain Order. Kenneth Burke's theory of dramatism can help explain why humans possess this unique method for approaching the world. Dramatism (which uses drama as a model of human behavior) depicts human activity as involved in conflict, in purpose, and in change. At the base of dramatism is the distinction between motion and action.

Motion is the "animal side" of human beings. With motion, human acts are determined; humans are passive reactors to external conditions. With the introduction of a system of symbols, or language, comes action. Language necessitates the assessment of situations, and reflection upon interests, sentiments, and purposes.¹ Robert L. Heath explains that "because of abstraction, language provides infinite means for describing reality, structuring social relations, and motivating behavior."²

Despite the inherently chaotic nature of the universe, humans, as symbol-using creatures, are inherently driven towards order.³ Humanity's desire for order is fueled by its desire for perfection. Perfection as a fundamental human motive is "implicit in the nature of language as such, since each language has within it certain 'proper' ways of designating things, its own peculiarly proper grammar, syntax, tonal inflections, and the like."⁴

Perfection is embedded in language and demands completion. According to Burke, the principle of perfection motivates humans to carry out terministic possibilities to

their logical conclusion.⁵ Humans use logic, in the form of syllogisms and enthymemes, to derive “perfect conclusions from small bits of data... by generating logical entelechies based on ‘rhetorical principles.’”⁶

The process of using logic to derive “perfect conclusions” is the process of rhetorical justification utilized by humans when attempting to define and/or uphold an established order, whether that order be natural or sociopolitical. The fatwas issued by Grand Mufti ibn Baaz regarding the first Persian Gulf War provide a unique opportunity to study this rhetorical process in action. This chapter looks deeper into the rhetorical construction of Order in eight fatwas issued by ibn Baaz regarding the first Persian Gulf War.

Order, Defined by God

Logic directs people towards mutual agreements regarding problematic circumstances. Humans have a metaphysical temptation to avoid the chaos that would be come as a result of complete moral relativism.⁷ Part of avoiding that chaos is putting faith in a higher being. The higher being can be God, a system of government, or a parent. Either way, Robert L. Heath explains “the entelechial principle manifests itself in forms such as transcendence, hierarchy, and order which are fraught with the desire for perfection. It leads us to imagine and seek transcendence. In this way, we develop hierarchies, including those of social order.”⁸

Order in its most perfect form would account for everything; all the happenings in the world would have a reason. It is humanity’s desire for such a perfect order that we are driven towards unification. The ultimate unifying concept is God. The monotheistic God is thus the ruling principle of a rational and orderly cosmos.⁹ As for

a unitary concept of God, Kenneth Burke discusses that “its linguistic analogue is to be found in the nature of any name or title, which sums up a manifold of particulars under a single head (as with the title of a book, or the name of some person or political movement). Any such summarizing word is functionally a “god-term.”¹⁰ God is the ultimate unitary concept because God “sums up a manifold” of all particulars.

Order, therefore, can be defined by God in the ultimate sense. To complete the process of perfection, humans take the form that they believe God intended for them to take. God is goodness in its perfect form – the highest reference point in coming to terms with perfection.¹¹ References to “God’s creative fiat” infuse the natural order with the verbal principle, so that “insofar as God is represented as speaking words to the first man and woman, the principle of human personality... has its analogue in the notion of God as a super-person, and of nature as the act of such a super-agent.”¹²

The fatwas issued by ibn Baaz regarding the first Persian Gulf War emphasize “God’s creative fiat” and the oneness and completeness of God (translated in Arabic as Allah).¹³ Ibn Baaz references both the story of creation and the all-encompassing nature of God in his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa, when he explains:

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: *And I (Allâh) created not the jinn and mankind except that they should worship Me (Alone).*¹⁴ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam), and from him (Adam) He created his wife [Hawwâ (Eve)], and from them both He created many men and women; and fear Allâh through Whom you demand (your mutual*

*rights), and (do not cut the relations of) the wombs (kinship). Surely, Allâh is Ever an All-Watcher over you.*¹⁵

The story of Adam referenced here by ibn Baaz is a good example of God being represented as “speaking words to the first man and woman,” which is what gives God “saying power.”¹⁶

Belief in the oneness of Allah is repeatedly emphasized throughout the fatwas. The fatwa cited above stresses Allah’s nature as “ever an all-watcher” over humanity. In his “liberating the state” fatwa, ibn Baaz emphasizes the importance of observance of *Tawhid* (the belief in the Oneness of Allah) and of being sincerely devoted to Allah, including avoiding others in worshipping Him.¹⁷ God is represented at the forefront of right and wrong; ibn Baaz "declares in his “important lecture” fatwa that “we must judge our deeds so that we follow the right way and avoid any other.”¹⁸ This declaration implies that there is only one right way and that is the way of God, or the Ultimate Order.

Multiple uses of the term Order in the Gulf War Fatwas

The word *order* is not restricted to one meaning; the word can be used many ways in many contexts. Burke explains that the term “Order” is ambiguous in the sense that it can be used as either a verb, “in which orders can be obeyed or disobeyed,” or as a noun, as in “an orderly arrangement of powers and responsibilities.” Ibn Baaz takes advantage of the ambiguity of the term Order (and its synonyms) throughout the eight fatwas issued to justify participation in the First Persian Gulf War.

Order as a Noun

As Burke makes apparent, order can be deployed in language either as a noun or as a verb. Order as a noun refers to the established state of society, which is usually defined

by a body of rules. For Muslims, God created an Order that all other beings are obligated to live under. Ibn Baaz refers to this Order throughout the Gulf War fatwas. For example, ibn Baaz states in his “important lecture” fatwa that “Allah knows everything and nothing is hidden from Him; He encompassed all things in His Knowledge. Allah (Exalted be He) says *that you may know that Allah has power over all things, and that Allah surrounds all things in (His) Knowledge.*”¹⁹ In this example, ibn Baaz is describing the world as being subject to Order where everything is prescribed or predestined by God.

The assumption of monotheism entails that any conception of order as a set of conditions necessarily implies a set of conditions predestined by God. For Muslims, this set of conditions was communicated by God to Muhammad and transmitted in the Qur’an. The “liberating the state” fatwa references Surah Al-Ma’idah, where the Qur’an states that “*We have sent down to you (O Muhammad) the Book (this Qur’an) in truth, confirming the Scripture that came before it and Muhaymin (trustworthy in highness and a witness) over it.*”²⁰ Muslims value the Qur’an as the word of God and believe that the Qur’an “engages all experiences in this life and the life to come.”²¹ Interpretation of the Qur’an, therefore, is necessary to discovering God’s intended Order.

Ibn Baaz clearly refers to an Order entirely pre-determined by God. For example, ibn Baaz, in his “advice to Muslims” fatwa, guides Muslims to “trust in and rely on Allah (Exalted be He) and to believe that He is the Supporter and the Disposer of all affairs, and that every thing is in His Hand (may He be Exalted and Glorified).”²² Not only is God said to be the “disposer of all affairs,” but he is also said to be watching down upon all

affairs. Ibn Baaz then warns that “every Muslim should reproach himself and remember that he is always watched by his Lord.”²³

Because God sees everything and accounts for everything, all actions must be approved of by God. The appeal to God in times of need is common for religious audiences. Again in his “liberating the state” fatwa, ibn Baaz emphasizes “the necessity of resorting to Allah (Glorified be He) in all matters, seeking His Help and Support Alone.”²⁴ It is through the assistance of God and God only that the audience is lead to believe they can obtain victory. As ibn Baaz further explains:

He (Glorified and Exalted be He) is the Only One Who grants victory rather than any one else. Allah (Glorified be He) says: *And there is no victory except from Allâh.*²⁵ He (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: *If Allâh helps you, none can overcome you; and if He forsakes you, who is there after Him that can help you? And in Allâh (Alone) let believers put their trust.*²⁶

The establishment of an Order pre-determined by God which accounts for everything is the broad context underlying the specific assumptions made by ibn Baaz about the current political context (i.e. the first Persian Gulf War). Although ibn Baaz represents a more particular social order in need of protection, that particular order is always encompassed within the One Order of God.

While ibn Baaz emphasizes the all-encompassing nature of God’s pre-determined Order, he also articulates a more specific, sociopolitical order – that is the security of the Arab Region. For Saudi Arabia, participation in the first Gulf War was an attempt to bring order to its neighbors, Iraq and Kuwait. Order, in this particular sense, is defined

by national security and freedom from oppression. In his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz gives an official account of the beginning of the war: “the Iraqi ruler invaded his neighboring country, Kuwait. His transgressing and destructive troops invaded the country. They stole property, caused bloodshed, violated honor and made citizens homeless. The invasion has sparked international condemnation.” Ibn Baaz continues to explain the response: “the entire world therefore mobilized troops on the Saudi borders and exerted great effort to convince the Iraqi ruler to withdraw his troops from this country. However, he refused and insisted on his transgression and aggression.”²⁷ The purpose of the war, as stated by ibn Baaz, was to restore order to Kuwait and to return “property” and “honor” to the families who were oppressed by Saddam Hussein.

Security is a concept that is repeatedly represented as inherent to Order. In his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa, for example, ibn Baaz asks God “to grant success to all Muslim leaders, whether Arabs or non-Arabs, and guide them to all that brings happiness, goodness, and security for all.”²⁸ When ibn Baaz asks for “success,” he means victory in the war against Saddam Hussein. In his “liberating the state” fatwa, he explains that “attaining victory in the worldly life” is important for “achieving security, a comfortable life, [and] happiness in the worldly life and hereafter.”²⁹

Happiness is a concept ibn Baaz repeatedly associates with security. In the two examples above, ibn Baaz implies that a victory in the war will bring both security and happiness to Muslims. In his “liberating the state” fatwa, ibn Baaz also advises Muslims to “enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil since this brings them happiness and safety both in the worldly life and the Hereafter.”³⁰ In his “grave crime” fatwa, ibn Baaz similarly states that Muslims will achieve happiness and safety if they follow the proper

method of salvation.³¹ Happiness and security are repeatedly represented as the most valuable or desirable aspects of the human lifestyle. Thus, ibn Baaz is describing participation in the first Persian Gulf War as necessary to uphold to order of happiness and security for all Muslims.

Although ibn Baaz employs a more particular application of order, the notion of bringing security and happiness to the Middle East is never meant to be detached from God's prescribed order; Allah supports participation in the war, according the ibn Baaz. This is evidenced in the "important lecture" when ibn Baaz preaches: "May Allah (Exalted be He) appoint a pious man over Iraq to rule justly according to Shari`ah and implement Allah's command, for He (Glorified and Exalted be He) is the Most Generous!"³² Here, ibn Baaz is describing participation in the war as imperative to restore Allah's command to Kuwait.

Order as a Verb

Order can be defined as a command, usually given by a superior. But the command itself can also be defined as an order, as in to give instructions to. According to the Muslim faith, the Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad as a message from God – a message to heed God's word.³³ Heeding God's word, or being a true Muslim, requires taking actions that God mandates and refraining from actions that God forbids.

Muslims believe that every action will be assessed by God on the final day (judgment day). God's assessments of actions range along a spectrum between two clear poles, from obligatory (fard, wajib) to forbidden (haram). The implementation of God's orders, or commands, is obligatory for Muslims. Therefore, these actions are the

most important actions for Muslims to take.³⁴ The fatwas issued by ibn Baaz are laden with examples of orders, given from God to His people.

Ibn Baaz declares in his “important lecture” fatwa that “it is obligatory upon everyone to hold fast to Allah’s command.”³⁵ In his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa, he reminds his audience that Humanity’s purpose in life is to adhere to the orders, or the commands, of God:

Allah (may He be Praised) explains that He (Glorified and Exalted be He) created man and jinn to worship Him and He **orders** them to do so. Allah (may He be Praised) states that He **orders** all people to worship and fear Him. He **orders** the believers in particular to fear Him and fulfill His rights. Allah (may He be Praised) also **commands** them to hold fast to His Rope (i.e. this Qur’ân) and to adhere to His Shari’ah. He **ordered** them to ward off from themselves and their families the Punishment of Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He). He (Glorified and Exalted be He) **orders** them to beware of Fitnah (affliction and trial) which affects not only those who do wrong but also all good and bad people [Emphasis Added].³⁶

The fatwa here describes following the orders of God as essential fulfilling humanity’s purpose in the worldly life.

Ibn Baaz would have his audience obey the commands of God not only because God put humans on earth to obey his commands, but also because obeying God’s commands ensures victory “in all times and places,” as ibn Baaz states in his “important lecture” fatwa.³⁷ When Muslims obey Allah’s commands and avoid His

prohibitions, ibn Baaz explains (again in his “important lecture” fatwa) that they “make the truth victorious.”³⁸ According to ibn Baaz, in his “advice to Muslims” fatwa, “every good in this life and in the Hereafter is the result of obeying Allah (Exalted be He) and following his Shari’ah.”³⁹ In other words, the key to obtaining order (earlier defined as security and happiness) is to follow the orders of God.

Throughout the fatwas, ibn Baaz emphasizes broadly the importance of obeying the commands of God. However, ibn Baaz also points out particular orders given from God, in the context of the first Persian Gulf War. Ibn Baaz attempts to demonstrate God’s willingness to engage in war against Saddam Hussein with examples from the Qur’an. Ibn Baaz reasons in his “grave crime” fatwa that “Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says in his Glorious Book: *O you who believe! Take your precautions.*”⁴⁰ Thus, Allah (Exalted be He) orders us to take our precautions against our enemies.”⁴¹

Ibn Baaz attempts to depict warfare as an order from God. Warfare, ibn Baaz states in his “important lecture” fatwa, is necessary to protect the Order of Islam: “The enemy could be a Muslim, a disbeliever, or a Muslim tyrant. Allah (may He be Exalted) ordered that the latter should be fought until they comply with Allah's Command.”⁴² Here, ibn Baaz is prescribing participation in the war as an order from God, declaring the end result will be compliance with God’s commands.

Not only does God order Muslims to engage in warfare, but God also orders Muslims to have particular qualities about them “upon meeting the enemies, engaging in Jihad and confronting aggression,” explains ibn Baaz in his “important lecture” fatwa.⁴³ Those qualities are as follows: to remain steadfast in the truth, to remember Allah, to obey Allah and his messenger, and to adhere to cooperation and unity.⁴⁴

Taking precaution against enemies is one of the orders given by God, according to ibn Baaz. However, there are other orders that ibn Baaz applies specifically to the context of the first Persian Gulf War. Supporting the oppressed is one of these orders. Ibn Baaz, again in his “important lecture” fatwa, explains: “*The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) ordered us to do seven things; among them helping the oppressed.* It is obligatory upon every Muslim to support the oppressed, when they are able to.”⁴⁵

In the context of the first Persian Gulf War, the oppressed are the people of Kuwait, and the oppressor is Saddam Hussein. Ibn Baaz, continuing in his “important lecture” fatwa, explains the situation as one “where this oppressor transgressed and insisted on his transgression and did not comply with Allah’s command.” In this situation, ibn Baaz declares that “Allah (may He be Praised) ordered us to fight the transgressing party, even if they are believers, until they comply with the command of Allah.”⁴⁶

Construction of the enemy will be discussed further in chapter three. For now, however, it is worthy to note that ibn Baaz is attempting to provide an interpretation of the Qur’an which makes participation in the first Persian Gulf War appear to be an action that is obligatory. As discussed earlier in this chapter, actions that are obligatory are placed at the top of the spectrum for God’s assessments of actions. If an action is not obligatory, it is either recommended, indifferent, disapproved, or forbidden.⁴⁷ If an action is only recommended and not obligatory, there is less of an incentive for Muslims to take such an action.

The Incentive to Uphold Order

If an action is obligatory, Muslims are required to take that action. But what exactly is the incentive for Muslims to uphold the *Order* – and follow the *orders* – of

God? According to Islam, each human's actions will be recounted and evaluated by God upon the final day, or judgment day. Those who took all the actions that were obligatory and refrained from the actions that were forbidden will be admitted into paradise; those who refrained from the actions that were obligatory and/or took actions that were forbidden are subject to eternal damnation in fire.⁴⁸

Paradise (Heaven) is the incentive to obeying God's orders, while Fire (Hell) is the disincentive to disobeying God's orders. Ibn Baaz makes reference to both both the incentive and the disincentive in his fatwas regarding the first Persian Gulf War. In the following passage of the "important lecture" fatwa, for example, he references both Hell and Heaven:

Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *O you who believe! Shall I guide you to a trade that will save you from a painful torment?*⁴⁹ The same meaning is further explained in His saying, *That you believe in Allâh and His Messenger (Muhammad) and that you strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allâh with your wealth and your lives: that will be better for you, if you but know!*⁵⁰ *(If you do so) He will forgive you your sins, and admit you into Gardens under which rivers flow, and pleasant dwellings in 'Adn (Eden) Paradise; that is indeed the great success.*⁵¹

Heaven is depicted as eternal paradise, consisting of "pleasant dwellings" where "rivers flow." This positive imagery can be found throughout the fatwas. For example, ibn Baaz claims in his "what are Muslims to do?" fatwa that the pious will be rewarded in Paradise, where they will be amidst "Gardens and water-springs."⁵² Ibn Baaz explains in his

“important lecture” fatwa that “Paradise is “a reward for... genuine faith and good deeds.”⁵³

Whereas observance of faith and the carrying out of good deeds earn Muslims the reward of Paradise, the failure to observe faith and carry out good deeds subject Muslims to Fire, or eternal damnation. In his “questions after the lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz describes Fire as “painful torment.” The image of Hell is a deep pit of fire – those who God designates as disbelievers or hypocrites are will be caste into the “lowest depth (grade) of the Fire,” according to ibn Baaz.⁵⁴ Here, ibn Baaz is attempting to incite fear into his audience; if Muslims do not behave according to God’s orders, they will be punished in the hereafter.

The fear of punishment in the hereafter is a common theme in the fatwas issued by ibn Baaz regarding the war. His “important lecture” fatwa contains one example of his attempt to incite fear into his audience of retribution in the afterlife: “Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, *And fear the Fitnah (affliction and trial) which affects not in particular (only) those of you who do wrong (but it may afflict all the good and the bad people), and know that Allah is Severe in punishment.*”⁵⁵ Ibn Baaz interprets this passage to mean “that man should fear Allah (Exalted be He) by doing good deeds, obeying Him, striving in His Cause and adhering to the truth.”⁵⁶

Corresponding to a notion of Order is a fear of God’s of punishment. A fear of Allah’s “severe” punishment is presented as an implicit justification for upholding God’s Order. This justification is made more explicitly when ibn Baaz claims, again in his “important lecture” fatwa, that “whoever adheres and observes [to Allah’s cause]... will be saved and the good end will be his in this life and the Hereafter.”⁵⁷ Maintaining Order

in the worldly life and following God's orders is essential for a good life in the hereafter, which is eternal.

Appeals to the hereafter, i.e. eternal life after death, are inevitable in the quest for what Burke would describe as the *Ultimate Order*. Burke explains that in nature, "order could be thought to go on existing even if all human beings, with their various sociopolitical orders, were obliterated."⁵⁸ Burke believes that the desire to reach the ultimate level is inherent in language, "a motive force calling man to transcend the 'state of nature.'"⁵⁹

Appeals to God and the Ultimate Order rise out of humanity's need for motives that are broad enough to unite all sub-groups of society; "the entelechial principle impels us to look for ever-more encompassing motives."⁶⁰ The process of uniting around a common symbol, such as God, can bring individuals together.⁶¹ God is appealing as an ultimate unifying force because he accounts for everything, and thus God can encompass the identities of the most people.

The Ultimate Order is an Order that can explain everything, even apparent inconsistencies or contradictions amongst human opinions or ideologies. Competing voices or ideologies can be placed in a hierarchy, or evaluative series, "so that, in some way, we [can go] by a fixed and reasoned progression from one of these to another, the members of the entire group being arranged developmentally with relation to one another."⁶² In other words, all aspects of human life are accounted for by God's Order, including the disorder(s) inherent to the human condition.

Explaining the Existence of Disorder

If God exists and represents perfection, why does imperfection exist? Why does disorder exist? In other words, why does Sin exist? According to the Muslim faith, God places obstacles for humanity to overcome, as a test to determine individuals' courses in the hereafter.⁶³ Even if the endpoint of perfection is not in sight, we must not give up the desire to reach our fullest potential, i.e. what God wants us to be. Failure to live up to this potential "risks the wrath of the Lord," explains Michael Hyde.⁶⁴

The worldly life, or life on Earth, is but a short trial for determining the fate of life in the hereafter, which is eternal. As discussed above, Ibn Baaz would like his audience to believe that the way they react to Hussein's invasion of Kuwait is part of God's test and will be taken into consideration upon trial (judgment day). He makes this point explicit when he states in his "important lecture" fatwa that "the Fitnah [trial] may include war, doubtful matters which mislead many people, forbidden lusts and many others."⁶⁵

Continuing in his "important lecture" fatwa, ibn Baaz explains that "the test is beneficial for the believers and those who are sane."⁶⁶ In order to prepare themselves for *Fitnah* (trial), "Muslims, nations and individuals, need to obey Allah's commands and avoid His prohibitions."⁶⁷ Ibn Baaz gives a specific account of the *Fitnah*: "it is Allah (Exalted be He) with His deep Wisdom and absolute proof that He tests His servants with prosperity and adversity, grace or calamity to distinguish the wicked from the good, and the believers and those who have Taqwa (fearing Allah as He should be feared) from the hypocrites and disbelievers, and those striving patiently from those who are not."

Ibn Baaz continues to explain: "this test is also given to people to show those who seek and call for establishing the truth and those who do not. Allah (Glorified and Exalted

be He) says, *and We shall make a trial of you with evil and with good. And to Us you will be returned.*⁶⁸ This trial refers to testing people to distinguish the truthful from the liar, the pious from the wicked, and the good from the evil.”⁶⁹ Faced with disorder or imperfection, Muslims are required to act to uphold God’s Order and follow God’s orders, as they will be rewarded with perfection upon entering Paradise.

Interpreters of Order(s)

As the examples above illustrate, ibn Baaz has done much work through his issuance of fatwas to define an Order predetermined by God and to outline orders given by God. However, could the fatwas themselves not be interpreted to be orders given by a religious establishment? Why does the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia have the authority to interpret God’s Order and his orders?

As discussed above, the notion of Order requires humans to establish hierarchies; as otherization is the rhetorical product of our drive towards “the spirit of hierarchy.”⁷⁰ Sociopolitical organizations, like systems of government, are natural products of the human desire to establish order through hierarchy. The government is placed higher in order than average citizens (yet still obviously lower than God).

Leaders of states are laden with the responsibility of perfecting the state. Coming to terms with perfection is a “rhetorical process that calls on our ability to find the right and fitting words and other symbolic devices for communicating to others in the most enlightening, truthful, and effective ways possible whatever it is that we understand and hold to be ‘right,’ ‘good,’ and ‘true’: something that is especially worthy of consideration and respect, inspires us to better our lives and the lives of others, to achieve our full potential.”⁷¹

Political leaders chooses particular words to communicate to their constituents what is happening and what actions need to be taken; their responsibility is to help his constituents come to terms with perfection and imperfection. The “saying power” of the political leaders’ language enables their discourse to give expression to issues that call for attention.⁷² Analyzing the rhetoric of ibn Baaz is particularly important because as a political and religious authority, his words have an effect on the laws of Saudi Arabia and thus the lives of Saudi Arabian citizens.

The Qur’an is the word of God and has ultimate authority in Islamic jurisprudential matters.⁷³ While Muslims have always prioritized the Qur’an, however, the Qur’an has never been their sole source of authority. Omid Safi explains that “Muslims’ understanding of God, humanity, and reality was always shaped by the Qur’an, but never solely by it.” Therefore, Safi continues, “Muslims always approached the Qur’an through the authority of interpreters. In other words, they understood that scripture never speaks by itself but is always interpreted and mediated through human voices.”⁷⁴ In traditional Sunni systems, like Saudi Arabia, there are many types of recognized legal experts with specialized training in interpreting the Qur’an. Muftis are responsible for issuing legal orders, or fatwas.⁷⁵

Muslim legal scholars, including muftis, are expected to have had an education that began with memorization of the Qur’an and knowledge of the *hadith* (para-Qur’anic material documenting the life and journeys of the Prophet Muhammad).⁷⁶ In order to exercise independent opinion with regards to the interpretation of the Qur’an, one must possess these two traits, as well as several others: be Muslim, and mature of age; be trained in logic, capable of making sound judgment; have a knowledge of Arabic; be

trained in the legal content of the Qur'an; know the content of legal handbooks; understand the objectives of law; be a trusted, upstanding person.⁷⁷

The requirement that an interpreter be “trained in logic” and “capable of making a sound judgment” is worth examining. To acknowledge that interpreting the Qur'an requires logic and judgment is to acknowledge that the Qur'an itself may not be capable of explaining how humanity should react in every instance. Furthermore, even if the Qur'an can explain how humanity should react, humanity must employ reasoning to discover how the passages of the Qur'an can guide their actions. Anna Gade describes the process:

Classical Islamic legal thought treats statements of the Qur'an and *hadith* as free-floating units or rules (*ahkam*), in much the same way that verses are taken as discrete units in “traditional” Qur'an exegesis. In jurisprudential practice, these “rulings” can be decontextualized (although the authority of the ruling as based in Qur'an or *sunnah* is retained) and then recentered to provide legal norms. This process occurs, for example, through the reasonings of analogy.⁷⁸

Thus, there are certain situations where interpretation of the Qur'an by a credible authority is necessary.

Ibn Baaz does not go without acknowledging the need for authority, especially in situations where there is a breach of peace, such as the first Persian Gulf War. For example, ibn Baaz states in his “sinful aggression” fatwa that “all disputes arising between countries, individuals, and tribes should be referred to Shari'ah judgment by forming Shar'i court comprising of true Muslim scholars and followers of the Sunnah

who can issue their judgment concerning the subject of dispute between Muslims.”⁷⁹ The method that ibn Baaz describes here is almost identical to the method described above by Anna Gade.

Religious authorities (like Muftis) are designated as higher in the Order than ordinary Muslims, and are thus responsible for the guidance of ordinary Muslims. This does not mean, however, that ordinary Muslims are free of the responsibility provide guidance to other ordinary Muslims. In three of the eight Gulf War fatwas, ibn Baaz references this passage of the Qur’an: “Accept those who believe (in Islâmic Monotheism) and do righteous good deeds, and recommend one another to the truth {i.e. order one another to perform all kinds of good deeds (Al-Ma’ruf) which Allâh has ordained, and abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds (Al-Munkar) which Allâh has forbidden}.”⁸⁰ It is the obligation of Muslims, as stated here, to order one another to accomplish good deeds. And because good deeds are ultimately defined by God, it is actually the obligation of Muslims to order one another to follow the orders of God.

The idea that ordinary Muslims should order other Ordinary Muslims not to stray from God’s path is similar to the idea of society coming to terms with perfection. Remember that coming to terms with perfection, or coming to terms with Order, is a rhetorical process used to derive what we understand to be right, good, and true.⁸¹ Coming to terms with perfection “inspires us to better our lives and the lives of others, to achieve our full potential.”⁸² Coming to terms with perfection, or coming to terms with Order, is a process that must include all people, regardless of their position in the social hierarchy.

Conclusion

According to Islam, Order is ultimately defined as the set of conditions entirely pre-determined by God, including the actions God intends for humans to take (i.e. God's orders). In the eight fatwas issued regarding the first Persian Gulf War, ibn Baaz validates this Order, determined by God. While ibn Baaz emphasizes the oneness of God and His Order(s), he also articulates a more particular sociopolitical order – that is security and happiness for the Kuwaiti people. Participation in the first Persian Gulf War, according to ibn Baaz, is an obligation for Muslims; warfare is an order from God.

Although the existence of disorder fits within the Order of God, it is during times of disorder that humans are the most compelled towards Order. In Saudi Arabia, instances of disorder such as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, leave the population feeling discomforted, seeking answers from religious authority about why the disorder exists and what can be done to eliminate it. These instances of disorder usually create the impetus for issuance of fatwas in the first place; the Saudi Arabian religious leadership issues specific commands with specific incentives so that society can find Order in a time of perceived chaos.

End Notes

- ¹ Joseph R. Gusfield, introduction to Kenneth Burke: On Symbols and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 9.
- ² Robert L. Heath, Realism and Relativism: A perspective on Kenneth Burke (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986), 96.
- ³ Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 267.
- ⁴ Kenneth Burke, Language as Symbolic Action: Essays on Life, Literature, and Method (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 484.
- ⁵ Kenneth Burke, "The Language of Poetry 'dramatistically considered,'" *Chicago Review*, 9 (1955), 63.
- ⁶ Stan A. Lindsay, Implicit Rhetoric: Kenneth Burke's Extension of Aristotle's concept of Entelechy (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 65-66.
- ⁷ Michael J. Hyde, Perfection: Coming to terms with Being Human (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2010), 26.
- ⁸ Heath, Realism and Relativism, 104.
- ⁹ Hyde, Perfection, 44.
- ¹⁰ Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, 2.
- ¹¹ Hyde, Perfection, 39.
- ¹² Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, 202.
- ¹³ Allah is the Arabic translation for God. Allah and God will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis.
- ¹⁴ "Surah Al-Dharyat," Qur'an, 51:56.
- ¹⁵ "Surah Al-Nisa," Qur'an, 4:1. Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "What are Muslims Obligated to do regarding the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait?" *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:130 (1990).
- ¹⁶ Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, 202.
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Chapter Three

The Secret

Introduction

According to Kenneth Burke, “the idea of Disorder is implicit in the idea of Order.”¹ These terms involve ideas of obedience or disobedience to the authority that is implicit in order. On the side of order, there are variants of faith (where one accepts a given command or statement as authoritative) and reason (where one’s acceptance is contingent upon proofs established by weighing doubts and rebuttals). Pollution results when either intentionally or unintentionally the order is rejected or disturbed.² The result is guilt, “a social ‘shame’ or ‘secret’ of some sort.”³

This chapter looks deeper into the rhetorical construction of the secret, or disorder, in eight fatwas issued by ibn Baaz regarding the first Persian Gulf War. Before getting into the particulars of the Gulf War, ibn Baaz discusses the cause of disorder: sin. After he is finished explaining the existence of disorder, ibn Baaz attempts to isolate the specific pollution to God’s Order. Ibn Baaz uses rhetoric to construct Saddam Hussein as principally opposed to Islam, or as an enemy to Islam. In doing so, he provides justification for his alliance with the United States and for using Saddam Hussein as a scapegoat.

Order Implies Disorder

As discussed in the previous chapter, Burke ascribes humans’ desire for order as inherent in our character as symbol-using creatures. Similarly, Burke explains that disorder is an inevitable consequence of the introduction of language into a society.

Going back to the distinction between motion and action, Burke contends that humans are unique from other animals because their ability to use symbols gives them *choice*. Language introduces choices for humans to reactions to situations, making us actors rather than movers.⁴

Recall from chapter one the poem that Kenneth Burke wrote to summarize his Terms for Order. The second stanza reads “Order leads to Guilt / (For who can keep commandments!)”⁵ The logic of Burke’s argument is simple: if making a rule is possible, breaking that rule is possible. Any order has the potential to be disobeyed; therefore order implies disorder. Burke explains that “man is *in principle* in revolt against the principle of authority (since he has the conscientious and/or guilt-laden capacity to apply the negative principle against itself).”⁶

Disorder is not only inevitable because of its possibility. Disorder is also an inevitable consequence of humans attempting to excel and obtain perfection. As discussed in chapter one, the human desire to secure order drives us to establish hierarchies.⁷ Insecure individuals are driven the motives of order and hierarchy to raise their own status in the social order, by lowering the status of someone else.⁸ This is the natural and inevitable process of otherization.

Otherization is the rhetorical product of our drive towards “the spirit of hierarchy.”⁹ Gregory Desilet further explains how “the desire to excel makes necessary order through selective choosing – an order for the sake of which certain choices or alternatives must be denied or repressed.”¹⁰ In other words, the act of establishing an order in the first place requires the exclusion of certain acts, which makes disobedience and disorder inevitable.

The tendency to gravitate towards perfection explains the existence of hierarchy and

disorder. In attempting to achieve perfection, humans will inevitably fall short, which is another way of explaining the inevitability of disorder. Robert L. Heath explains that “to the extent that individuals fall short of being perfect, they suffer a sense of guilt.”¹¹ The concept of guilt will be discussed in the next section, but for now it can be equated to disorder.

When we experience disorder, we are experiencing imperfection. According to Michael J. Hyde, we are most likely to “lose our bearings in life” when we find ourselves in situations that “disrupt our current ‘comfort zones’ such that we must address these questions ‘for our own goodness,’ as well as for the goodness of others. The disruption exposes a lack in our being and thus triggers a metaphysical impulse.”¹²

The exposure of imperfection triggers an impulse to eliminate disorder through the enforcement of order. In this way, disorder is an impetus for establishment of order. The desire to obtain order in times of disorder creates the conditions for the scapegoat, which will be discussed in the last section of this chapter. What is important for now is that while order implies disorder, disorder also implies order; it is impossible to conceptualize one without the other.

Guilt and Sin

Burke argues that language relies on moral negatives, or the constant “thou-shalt-not” commands. According to Burke, “the thou-shalt-not is intrinsic to Order, inasmuch as Order, or Dominion, involves the negatives of law, the ‘No trespassing’ signs that go with the development of Property and its Rights.”¹³ These moral negatives govern people’s actions and ensure cooperation in society. However, because

it is impossible for everybody to abide by the rules all the time, the result is ubiquitous guilt, at least for those not obeying the Order.¹⁴

To experience guilt is more than just to experience disorder. Guilt carries with it additional implications, including a sense of responsibility. According to Burke, human beings “conscientiously seek to obey the law by policing [their] impulses from within.” A person experiences guilt when “he has the feeling of killing these impulses.”¹⁵ Human beings police their own impulses because they feel a sense of responsibility for their actions.

The sense of responsibility is an inevitable result of symbol-using or language-using in society. As discussed above, language paves the way for choice. Since humans have a choice in how they react to a given situation, they are responsible for their actions; this is why Burke classifies humans as actors rather than merely movers. Burke summarizes: “Societies will seek to keep order. If order, then a need to repress tendencies to disorder. If repression, then responsibility for imposing, accepting, or resisting the repression. If responsibility, then guilt.”

A sense of responsibility for one’s own actions is an inevitable consequence of our capacity to use language, according to Burke. Monotheistic religious rhetoric, however, contributes to this sense of personal responsibility by emphasizing the capacity for human error (i.e. sin) and the necessity to avoid such error.

Recall from chapter two that according to Islam, God’s assessments of actions range along a spectrum between two clear poles, from obligatory (*fard*, *wajib*) to forbidden (*haram*).¹⁶ Actions that are forbidden can also be described as sin. These actions are what Burke would describe as the thou-shalt-nots, or the negative commands of God.

Burke would contend that disorder, disobedience, or sin is an inevitable consequence of humanity's constructions of order. This explanation would not be good enough for a Muslim, however, who believes in one particular construction of order (i.e. the Ultimate Order determined by God, as discussed in chapter two). The imperfection of the human race and the human capacity for sin must fit within God's Order, since his Order is ultimate.

As discussed in chapter one, Muslims hold the belief that life on Earth is but a short trial for determining the fate of life in the hereafter, which is eternal. According to the Muslim faith, God places obstacles for humanity to overcome, as a test to determine individuals' courses in the hereafter.¹⁷ God's placement of obstacles gives humans the opportunity to sin. If humans never had the opportunity to sin, God would not be suited to properly judge them on the Final Day.

While the Qur'an explains that everything good is from God, evil comes from human choice. Because humans are susceptible to Satan's temptations, some of their choices will inevitably be influenced by Satan.¹⁸ This section of the thesis will turn towards an analysis of the eight fatwas issued by ibn Baaz to justify the first Persian Gulf War, which confirm the same messages being discussed.

The fatwas issued by ibn Baaz regarding the first Persian Gulf War also emphasize that evil is the product of human will. For example, ibn Baaz states in his "what are Muslims to do?" fatwa that "every affliction and misfortune is due to sins committed by people and violation of the Shari'ah [Islamic Law]."¹⁹ In other words, all evil is a result of mankind.

Ibn Baaz, in his “important lecture” fatwa, explained that the Gulf War was ultimately a consequence of the sins of man. “This catastrophe,” ibn Baaz proclaims, “is the result of our sins and our heedlessness.” For this reason, ibn Baaz suggests “we have to return to Allah (Exalted be He), judge our deeds and strive for His cause.”²⁰ Here, ibn Baaz is suggesting that the war was a result of humans straying from the path of God. In other words, the first Gulf War was one example of humanity being influenced by Satan’s temptations.

In his “grave crime” fatwa, ibn Baaz explains man’s responsibility for the disorder that surrounds us:

There is no doubt that every affliction, disaster, or harm that occurs to Muslims is caused by sins and disobedience. Allah (Exalted be He) says: *And whatever of misfortune befalls you, it is because of what your hands have earned. And He pardons much.*²¹ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: *Evil (sins and disobedience to Allâh) has appeared on land and sea because of what the hands of men have earned (by oppression and evil deeds), that He (Allâh) may make them taste a part of that which they have done, in order that they may return (by repenting to Allâh, and begging His Pardon).*²²

Here, ibn Baaz is confirming the responsibility of man for all instances of evil and misfortune. This passage is particularly interesting, though, because it incorporates a more complex explanation for the existence of misfortune. When ibn Baaz quotes the Qur’an in saying God “may make them taste a part of which they have done,” he is

explaining misfortune as humanity's punishment from God for not making the correct choices.

The suggestion that disorder is a punishment for disobedience to God explains why God allows for misfortune such as oppression to occur, even though this oppression would not fit within God's vision of perfection. God gave humans (Adam and his wife) the opportunity to live in a perfect world – a world without disorder. But Adam chose to disobey, which set the cycle of disorder. Adam's disobedience was punished with disorder on earth. Disorder on earth begets more disobedience, which begets more disorder, and we are still experiencing disorder today.

Ibn Baaz explains that although God allows for disorder to occur, he never allows for it to go unpunished. In his "grave crime" fatwa, ibn Baaz explains that "Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) may grant respite to the oppressor. It may be that Allah (Exalted be He) does not lay Hand upon him quickly." He then quotes the Qur'an in saying *"Consider not that Allâh is unaware of that which the Zâlimûn (polytheists, wrong-doers) do, but He gives them respite up to a Day when the eyes will stare in horror."* All sins are noted by God and all actions are assessed by God on the Final Day.

Although injustice occurs in the worldly life, God will sort out the good from the evil on the Day of Judgment. This implies that the injustice or disorder that occurs in the worldly life is just temporary. Even if oppressors are "granted respite" by God in the worldly life, they will not be granted respite in the Hereafter. The worldly life is temporary, and the Hereafter is eternal. In other words, humans who disobey God and create disorder in the worldly life will suffer eternal Disorder in the Hereafter.²³

On the other hand, humans who resist the temptation to disobey God are rewarded with eternal Paradise. Although these individuals have to endure disorder as a consequence of past sinners, beginning with Adam, their determination to resist sin and obey God will pay off in the end because they will be rewarded with Paradise (i.e. a world without disorder).²⁴ In other words, for those who obey the commands of God, disorder will only be temporary.

Burke has taught us that Disorder is inherent to Order and an inevitable product of the introduction of symbols into human society. Ibn Baaz confirms the inevitability of disorder and traces its origins to the sin of humankind. For Burke, resolving specific instances of disorder will never generate Order. For ibn Baaz and Muslims, however, resolving specific instances of disorder in the worldly life is imperative because Order can be obtained in the Hereafter.

The Iraqi Invasion

Because individuals' actions are assessed in on the Day of Judgment, ibn Baaz emphasizes in his "what are Muslims to do?" fatwa that it is important for Muslims "to make a new sincere repentance and to regret for the sins they have committed and to give up such sins and to determine firmly not to commit such sins again."²⁵ In order to "determine firmly" not to disobey God, Muslims must identify which actions constitute disobedience. The Gulf War fatwas issued by ibn Baaz attempt to identify Iraq's invasion of Kuwait as an act of disobedience.

Ibn Baaz explicitly argues that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is a violation of God's orders in his "advice to Muslims" fatwa. Here, ibn Baaz proclaims that "the incidents that happened in the Gulf are due to what has been committed by people like disobeying

the order of Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him), and violating the limits of Allah.”²⁶ In his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz similarly states that the Gulf War is a result of “our sins and our heedlessness.”²⁷ Ibn Baaz makes it clear that he interprets Iraq’s actions to be an act of disobedience. In order to give credence to this claim, he takes care to explain why Iraq’s actions constitute disobedience.

Ibn Baaz characterizes Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait as unwarranted aggression. In his internationally broadcasted fatwa, Ibn Baaz calls Kuwait a victim of “atrocities, serious crimes, and disdain for values.”²⁸ All three of these descriptors indicate disobedience to God. This is especially true of ibn Baaz’s reference to “serious crimes.” When ibn Baaz refers to an action as a crime, he is implying that the action constitutes a violation of God’s orders, since the orders of the state are all derived from the orders of God.

Because the state of Saudi Arabia observes Shari’ah (Islamic Law), any act designated a crime under Saudi Arabian laws would ultimately be a violation of God’s laws. Ibn Baaz confirms this in his “liberating the state” fatwa when he claims that “it is the duty of all Muslim rulers to abide by Allah’s Ruling (Glorified be He, rule His servants according to His Shari’ah, and find in themselves no resistance to that.”²⁹ Here, ibn Baaz is establishing that every action designated a crime by the Saudi Ulama (religious establishment) is necessarily a crime in the eyes of God.

Ibn Baaz repeats throughout his Gulf War fatwas that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is a crime and a violation of Shari’ah. In fact, one of his Gulf War fatwas is titled “Iraq’s invasion is a Grave Crime.”³⁰ In his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa, ibn Baaz characterizes the act committed by Iraq as “an abominable crime that should be condemned by Arab and Islamic countries.” He goes on to say that the act “is

condemned and abhorred by the whole world because it contradicts the purified Shari'ah and established conventions between Arab and Muslim Countries.”³¹

This last excerpt from ibn Baaz emphasizes the importance of obedience to God, but it also acknowledges the importance of adherence to “established conventions between Arab and Muslim Countries.” This is significant because ibn Baaz is appealing now not only to a religious order, but a sociopolitical order; he is making an argument about a kind of disorder that exists purely in the worldly level, i.e. on Earth. This more secularized notion of disorder would obviously be described as subsumed by God's orders (because everything is). However, the acknowledgment of a secondary order allows ibn Baaz more flexibility in framing Iraq as a violator of Order.

There are several examples where ibn Baaz characterizes the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as a violation of sociopolitical order. In his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz recalls that Iraq's “transgressing and destructive troops invaded the country. They stole property, caused bloodshed, violated honor and made citizens homeless.”³² Although individuals' property and honor are not necessarily mandated by God, they are still valued as part of the sociopolitical order. For this reason, ibn Baaz declares in his “sinful aggression” fatwa that “it is obligatory on Iraqi soldiers as well as every Muslim not to violate the property, blood, honor, or family of one's Muslim brother.”³³

The last quotation the paragraph above demonstrates ibn Baaz's attempt to tie the sociopolitical order into God's Ultimate Order. Ibn Baaz declares that refraining from violation of property, blood, honor, or family “is obligatory.” Remember from chapter one that actions designated as obligatory imply that God requires individuals take these actions in order to be accepted into Paradise upon Judgment Day. Ibn Baaz is making a

claim that any violation of another Muslim's blood, property, or honor constitutes disobedience to God.

In emphasizing the importance of a Muslim's responsibility towards other Muslims, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is represented as uniquely disobedient, because it involves one Muslim nation attacking another Muslim nation. Engaging in warfare against Muslims – God's chosen people – constitutes the gravest of crimes. Ibn Baaz makes this clear in his "sinful aggression" fatwa when he claims "It is impermissible to transgress against any Muslims' property, honor, or blood whether in Kuwait or in any other country. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: *The Muslim is inviolable for his Muslim brother, as for his blood, wealth and honor.*"

Ibn Baaz does not identify a particular passage of the Qur'an that strictly forbids the violation of blood, property, and honor of Muslims, but he still makes the attempt to describe these violations of order as violations of God's Ultimate Order. He does so first by simply stating that preserving blood, property, and honor is obligatory. Second, he quotes the Prophet Mohammed in declaring the importance of Muslims' protection of one another.

In describing the violation of Muslims' blood, property, and honor as an act of disobedience, ibn Baaz's Gulf War fatwas prompt the question: is engaging in warfare against Iraq not also a violation of Muslims' blood, property, and honor? Saudi Arabia's decided to enter into an alliance with a *non-Muslim* force (the United States) to fight a *Muslim* force (Iraq). If Iraq's actions constitute a violation of Order, how do Saudi Arabia's actions not also constitute a violation of Order?

The American Intervention

Kuwait's invasion of Iraq is the most apparent disruption to the Order. However, there is a second level of guilt ibn Baaz is forced to address in his Gulf War fatwas: a military alliance with a non-Muslim nation to counter a Muslim nation. As discussed in chapter one, the decision to participate in a Western-led attack on another Muslim nation was very controversial – much more so than simply condemning the actions of Saddam Hussein.

According to Tim Niblock, the Saudi government was “concerned at the impact which the presence on Saudi Arabian soil of non-Muslim foreign troops would have on popular opinion and on wider perceptions of Saudi Arabia in the Islamic world.”³⁴ The invitation of United States forces into Saudi Arabia threatened to undermine the religious legitimacy of the state: “the collaborative US-Saudi relationship was becoming a symbol of Saudi subservience to an anti-Islamic agenda.”³⁵ The real importance of the Gulf War fatwas, therefore, was to defend the religious legitimacy of the state and its actions.

In order to demonstrate that Saudi Actions were justified religiously, ibn Baaz attempts to frame Iraq as a greater enemy and a greater threat to Islam than the United States. Utilizing the rhetorical process that Burke refers to as identification, ibn Baaz attempts to frame Iraq as an enemy to Islam and the United States as an ally.

Identification is the process by which humans use language to reveal motives and encourage action: to overcome our inherent division, we look for ways in which interests, attitudes, values, experiences, and material properties are shared with others, or could *appear* to be shared.³⁶ Identification involves: naming something (or someone) according to specific properties; associating persons, ideas, or things, with

each other based on those specific properties; and persuading oneself or others that they share important qualities that require them to act together.³⁷ This last step is the end result of identification, or the state of being consubstantial with others.³⁸

In order for ibn Baaz to complete the process of identification and become consubstantial with the United States, he had to persuade his audience that Saudi Arabia and the United States share important qualities that require them to act together. In the instance of the first Gulf War, this shared quality was a shared enemy: Iraq (or Saddam Hussein). In order to prove that Iraq was a shared enemy, ibn Baaz had to take the initial step to dis-identify Iraq from Saudi Arabia.

Dis-identification refers to the process opposite of identification: disassociating one party with another party, to persuade others that they *do not* share important qualities that require them to act together. In order to dis-identify Iraq from Saudi Arabia, ibn Baaz first and foremost has to answer the argument that Saudi Arabia and Iraq are consubstantial because they are both Muslim nations.

Although Iraq is a Muslim nation and Saddam Hussein was a proclaimed Muslim, ibn Baaz uses the Gulf War fatwas to attempt to prove otherwise. Throughout the fatwas, ibn Baaz depicts Saddam as un-Islamic. In his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz pronounces that Saddam Hussein is “an irreligious Ba’athist and is not among the believers. He calls to the principles of misguidance... and deceives people in the name of Islam. He calls to Jihad hypocritically and falsely.”³⁹ Saddam Hussein’s politics, according to ibn Baaz, constitute disobedience to the Muslim Order.

Recall from chapter one that Saudi Arabia adheres to Wahhabism, a strict form of Sunni Islam. Saddam Hussein’s more secular Ba’athist regime can therefore be

characterized as un-Islamic.⁴⁰ In his “sinful aggression” fatwa, ibn Baaz labels Saddam Hussein’s Ba’athist party “a nationalistic, not an Islamic party.”⁴¹ In his “questions after the lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz states that Saddam Hussein “is a disbeliever even if he utters the testimonies of Islam or offers Salah (prayer) and Sawm (fasting) as long as he does not disavow the principles of atheistic Ba’thism and declare his repentance to Allah from them and what they call for.”⁴²

Ibn Baaz argues that Hussein’s political beliefs alone are enough to constitute disobedience to God. In his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz states that if Hussein was truthfully a Muslim, “he would have given up transgressing, withdrawn from the country and performed Tawbah [repentance] for having adhered to his principles, which oppose Islam where the source of legalization is the Qur’an.”⁴³ Here, ibn Baaz is defining Saddam Hussein’s principles as in opposition to Islam and the Qur’an.

Remember from chapter one that Saudi Arabia is theoretically a pure representation of Islamic politics. The rhetoric of ibn Baaz that was analyzed in chapter two confirms that Saudi Arabia considers itself as in accordance with Shari’ah (Islamic Law). In other words, ibn Baaz uses rhetoric to identify Saudi Arabia with Islam. In the passage above, ibn Baaz uses rhetoric to dis-identify Saddam Hussein with Islam. Saddam Hussein’s politics, in principle, stand in opposition to Islam, and therefore stand in opposition to Saudi Arabia. Ibn Baaz has dis-identified Saddam Hussein from Saudi Arabia.

Ibn Baaz wants his audience to believe that Saddam Hussein is not only anti-Islam, but that he is the enemy of Islam. In his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa, ibn Baaz explicitly labels Saddam Hussein as an enemy to Islam.⁴⁴ In his “questions after the

lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz refers to Saddam Hussein as “an irreligious enemy whose harm is severer than that of the Jews and Christians.”⁴⁵ Here ibn Baaz is implying that even if Jews and Christians are enemies, Saddam Hussein is a worse enemy.

By defining Saddam Hussein as the enemy to Islam, ibn Baaz has completed the process of dis-identification with Saddam Hussein. Ibn Baaz can now establish a shared identity between the United States and Saudi Arabia based on a common enemy. He is employing the basic logic of ‘an enemy to my enemy is my friend.’ Robert L. Heath explains that “people are more likely to associate together if they are *against* some group or force.”⁴⁶ In other words, it is easier for people to put aside their differences if they are both threatened by a third party.

Ibn Baaz makes an argument based on necessity for the alliance with the United States. In his “grave crime” fatwa, ibn Baaz provides the following justification for Saudi Arabia’s participation in the first Persian Gulf War: “As for what was done by the Saudi government of seeking the help of many countries to defend and protect Muslim countries because their enemy may attack them, as done against Kuwait, there is no harm in doing so.”⁴⁷ Here, ibn Baaz is arguing that Saudi Arabia needed external support to protect itself from an invasion.

While ibn Baaz gives practical justifications for participation into the war, he substantiates his argument with backing from the Qur’an. In his “advice to Muslims” fatwa, ibn Baaz argues that God orders Muslims to seek all possible means because:

Allah (may He be Praised) says: *And make ready against them all you can of power.*⁴⁸ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *O you who believe! Take your precautions.*⁴⁹ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *When you (O*

*Messenger Muhammad) are among them, and lead them in As-Salât (the prayer), let one party of them stand up [in Salât (prayer)] with you taking their arms with them.*⁵⁰

These three Qur'an citations together provide a religious justification for the military alliance with the United States. The first and second Qur'an citations establish the necessity of taking precautions for the sake of protection. The third citation establishes the necessity of creating alliances.

Ibn Baaz argues that even if the United States is an enemy to Islam, the alliance is justified. As mentioned above, ibn Baaz refers to Saddam Hussein as an enemy worse than the Christians or Jews.⁵¹ In his "important lecture" fatwa, ibn Baaz claims that "there is nothing wrong with seeking help of the enemies, who advocate for the Muslims and are able to achieve victory."⁵² Later in the same fatwa, he claims that "we can benefit from an enemy until Allah (Exalted be He) helps us combat the other enemy and force him out of the country."⁵³ Here ibn Baaz makes it pretty explicit that using one enemy against another enemy is justified in times of necessity.

Another line of reasoning that ibn Baaz uses to justify the alliance with the United States is an argument by analogy. Ibn Baaz argues that the actions of Prophet Muhammad when his forces were in similar situations demonstrate the necessity to form alliances with enemies for the sake of self-protection. In his "important lecture" fatwa, ibn Baaz gives three examples.

The first example is when "the Prophet (peace be upon him), the best of creation, sought the help of Al-Mut'im ibn 'Ady who was a Kafir (disbeliever) when Abu Talib the Prophet's uncle died. Al-Mut'im, who was a popular and powerful figure,

offered protection to him.” The second example is “when Abu Talib died, the Prophet (peace be upon him) went to Al-Ta’if to call its people to Islam. He (peace be upon him) was not able to return home at Makkah fearing the people of Makkah. He sought the protection of Al-Mut`im ibn `Ady, the pagan chief, responded favorably.” The third example is “when the Prophet (peace be upon him) needed a guide to show him the way to Madinah, he hired one of the pagans to guide him to Madinah because he was sure of the latter's honesty.”⁵⁴

The analogies above demonstrate that in times of necessity, alliances with non-believers or enemies are justified. Ibn Baaz gives an even closer analogy, in his reference to Muhammad’s military activities. Ibn Baaz explains in his “advice to Muslims” fatwa that “the Prophet wore – at the battle of Uhud – two shields and he sought all possible means at the battle of Al-Khandaq. He did the same on the day of the Conquest of Makkah [Mecca].” He continues to explain that “all such matters that were done by the Prophet (peace be upon him) were out of his keenness on seeking all possible means of preparing for the enemies.”⁵⁵ Because Muslims are supposed to use the Prophet Muhammad’s actions as a guide for how to live, they should accept the necessity of alliances with enemies for the sake of protection.⁵⁶

Ibn Baaz has used examples from both the Qur’an and the Sunnah (the model of exemplary comportment of the Prophet Muhammad) to prove that the alliance with the United States was not an act of disobedience to God. However, even if the actions of the Saudi government did constitute disobedience, ibn Baaz still has one last line of argument: acts of disobedience are also justified in times of necessity. In his “questions after the lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz explains that “the Lord (Glorified and Exalted be He)

states in the Ever-Glorious Qur'an that it is permissible for the believers to do what He prohibited in cases of necessity. He (Exalted be He) says: *while He has explained to you in detail what is forbidden to you, except under compulsion of necessity.*"⁵⁷

Ibn Baaz continues to explain that when God prohibited eating the flesh of swine or the flesh of an animal killed by strangling, "He concluded the Ayah (Qur'anic verse) by saying: *But as for him who is forced by severe hunger, with no inclination to sin (such can eat these above mentioned meats), then surely, Allâh is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.*"⁵⁸ Even if forming an alliance with a non-Muslim force like the United States was considered an act of disobedience, it would ultimately be deemed acceptable by God because it was committed in a time where it was necessary for self-defense.

Saddam Hussein: The Scapegoat

The last two sections have analyzed ibn Baaz's rhetorical construction of Saddam Hussein as an enemy to all of Islam. Ibn Baaz choose mostly to narrow his criticism to one man, rather than constructing the entire peoples of Iraq or even the army of Iraq as enemies. Ibn Baaz is choosing Saddam Hussein as his scapegoat in the first Persian Gulf War.

Burke describes a scapegoat as "the 'representative' or 'vessel' of certain unwanted evils, the sacrificial animal upon whose back the burden of these evils is ritualistically loaded."⁵⁹ At one time, "the purifying function could be ritualistically delegated to an animal, as societies grew in complexity and sophistication, the tendency was to endow the sacrificial animal with social coordinates, so that the goat became replaced by the 'sacrificial King.'"⁶⁰ In the case ibn Baaz's construction of the first Persian Gulf War, Saddam Hussein is the "sacrificial King."

The scapegoat is founded upon the negative. Robert L. Heath explains that “the negative provides the basis for division; the scapegoat is ‘them’ or ‘not-us.’ Also, the negative provides the basis for the hortatory no; ‘Do not be like them.’”⁶¹ Recall from the last section that ibn Baaz attempted to define Saddam Hussein as opposed to Islam in principle, or as an enemy to Islam. This rhetorical strategy to define Saddam Hussein by *what he is not* rather than what he is lays the groundwork for using Hussein as a scapegoat.

The purpose of the scapegoat is to provide a mechanism for us to purify the guilt or the imperfection of our Order. Creating and using a scapegoat is a natural mechanism for coping with imperfection. People want to identify a cause for disorder, so they can come to terms with it and purify the order. Throughout the Gulf War fatwas, ibn Baaz appeals to the process of scapegoating.

Ibn Baaz states the necessity of finding where the fault lies in times of disorder. In his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz instructs Muslims “judge our deeds so that we follow the right way and avoid any other.”⁶² In the same fatwa, he says that all Muslims “must fear Allah (Exalted be He), be firm in religion and bring themselves to account in order to find where the fault lies.”⁶³ In other words, locating a sacrificial vessel, i.e. a scapegoat, is required of Muslims.

Another theme in the Gulf War fatwas is the necessity to condemn evil actions. In his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa, ibn Baaz defines Saddam Hussein’s actions as “an abominable crime that should be condemned by Arab and Islamic countries.”⁶⁴ In the same fatwa, ibn Baaz declares that “all Muslims should condemn this evil act, support the oppressed country, [and] repent to Allah.”⁶⁵ Ibn Baaz suggests inaction

against Saddam Hussein would be unacceptable. Thus, an act of sacrifice is required to purge the guilt associated with the first Persian Gulf War.

Conclusion

Order itself is a polar term, which implies a corresponding notion of disorder. Although Burke claims that humans are ontologically driven to obtain Order, the existence of disorder will always pervade. Islam attempts to explain the existence of disorder as sin. Ibn Baaz, in his Gulf War fatwas, attempts to frame Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait as an example of falling to temptation.

Ibn Baaz has two levels of guilt to cope with in his Gulf War fatwas: first, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait was responsible for bloodshed and destruction of the property of the Kuwaiti Muslims; second, the proceeding alliance with the United States was controversial in the sense that it was interpreted by some to be anti-Qur'anic and thus unconstitutional. In order to absolve these two levels of guilt, Ibn Baaz attempts to blame Saddam Hussein for both, thus turning him into a scapegoat for Saudi Arabia's perceived imperfections.

End Notes

¹ Kenneth Burke, The Rhetoric of Religion: Studies in Logology (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 182.

² Kenneth Burke, "Dramatism," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 7 (1968), 450-51. Reprinted by Permission of Macmillan Publishing in: Kenneth Burke: On Symbols and Society, Ed. J.R. Gusfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 279.

³ Kenneth Burke, A Rhetoric of Motives (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 280.

⁴ Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, 185.

⁵ Ibid, 4.

⁶ Ibid, 231.

⁷ Robert L. Heath, Realism and Relativism: A perspective on Kenneth Burke (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986), 104.

⁸ Chris Allen Carter, "Kenneth Burke and the scapegoat process," *Oklahoma Project for Discourse and Theory*, 17 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996).

⁹ Burke, "Dramatism."

¹⁰ Gregory Desilet, Cult of the Kill: Traditional Metaphysics of Rhetoric, Truth, and Violence in a Postmodern World (USA: Gregory Desilet, 2002), 32.

¹¹ Heath, Realism and Relativism, 173.

¹² Hyde, Perfection, 42.

¹³ Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, 223.

¹⁴ Burke, "Dramatism."

¹⁵ Burke, Rhetoric of Religion, 210.

¹⁶ Anna M. Gade, The Qur'an: An Introduction (Oxford: OneWorld Publications, 2010), 113.

¹⁷ Ibid, 100.

¹⁸ Gade, The Qur'an, 40.

¹⁹ Ibn Baaz, "What are Muslims to do?"

²⁰ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "An Important Lecture on the Iraqi Ruler's Invasion of Kuwait," *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:92 (1990).

²¹ Qur'an, 35:45

²² "Surah Al-Rum," Qur'an, 30:41. Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "Iraq's Invasion is a Grave Crime" *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:142 (1990).

²³ See Chapter Two's discussion of Fire.

²⁴ See Chapter Two's discussion of Paradise.

²⁵ Ibn Baaz, "What are Muslims to do?"

²⁶ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "Advice to all Muslims regarding Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait," *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:137 (1990).

²⁷ Ibn Baaz, "Important Lecture."

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- ²⁸ Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio, "Saudi Arabia Supreme Religious Council Supports Help From 'Non-Arab States,'" *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio* (Aug. 13, 1990).
- ²⁹ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "Liberating the State of Kuwait from the Aggressors is a Divine Great Bounty and Victory Against Tyranny, Aggression and Atheism." *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:156 (1990).
- ³⁰ Ibn Baaz, "Liberating the State."
- ³¹ Ibn Baaz, "What are Muslims to do?"
- ³² Ibn Baaz, "Important Lecture."
- ³³ Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "The Action Waged by Saddam is a Sinful Aggression" *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:150 (1990).
- ³⁴ Tim Niblock, *Saudi Arabia: Power, Legitimacy, and Survival* (London: Routledge, 2006), 87.
- ³⁵ Ibid, 72 and 144.
- ³⁶ Burke, *Rhetoric of Motives*, 55.
- ³⁷ Ibid, 41.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Ibn Baaz, "Important Lecture."
- ⁴⁰ Niblock, *Saudi Arabia*, 72.
- ⁴¹ Ibn Baaz, "Sinful Aggression."
- ⁴² Ibn Baaz, abd al-Aziz, "Questions after the Lecture and their Answers," *Kingdom of Saudi Arabia: Portal of the General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta'*, "Ibn Baaz Fatwas," 6:116 (1990).
- ⁴³ Ibn Baaz, "Important Lecture."
- ⁴⁴ Ibn Baaz, "What are Muslims to do?"
- ⁴⁵ Ibn Baaz, "Questions after the Lecture."
- ⁴⁶ Heath, *Realism and Relativism*, 225.
- ⁴⁷ Ibn Baaz, "Grave Crime."
- ⁴⁸ "Surah Al-Anal," *Qur'an*, 8:60.
- ⁴⁹ "Surah Al-Nisa," *Qur'an*, 4:71.
- ⁵⁰ "Surah Al-Nisa," *Qur'an*, 4:102. Ibn Baaz, "Advice to Muslims."
- ⁵¹ Ibn Baaz, "Questions after the Lecture."
- ⁵² Ibn Baaz, "Important Lecture."
- ⁵³ Ibid.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid.
- ⁵⁵ Ibn Baaz, "Advice to Muslims."
- ⁵⁶ Gade, *The Qur'an*, 48.
- ⁵⁷ "Surah Al-An'am," *Qur'an*, 6:119. Ibn Baaz, "Questions after the Lecture."
- ⁵⁸ "Surah Al-Fussilat," *Qur'an*, 41:32. Ibn Baaz, "Questions after the Lecture."
- ⁵⁹ Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 39-51. Reprinted by Permission of the University of California Press in: *Kenneth Burke: On Symbols and Society*, Ed. J.R. Gusfield (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 294.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Heath, Realism and Relativism, 225

⁶² Ibn Baaz, “Important Lecture.”

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibn Baaz, “What are Muslims to do?”

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Chapter Four

The Kill

Introduction

Burke explains that humans, as symbol-using creatures, inevitably construct Order, which leads to inevitable Guilt, or the Secret. Only one more step is necessary in order to complete the redemptive cycle of rhetoric: Redemption, or the Kill. With the understanding of Order and the Secret as presented in chapters two and three in mind, let us recall the poem Kenneth Burke uses to summarize his Terms for Order:

Here are the steps
In the Iron Law of History
That welds Order and Sacrifice

Order leads to guilt
(for who can keep commandments!)
Guilt needs Redemption
(for who would not be cleansed!)
Redemption needs a Redeemer
(which is to say, a Victim!).

Order
Through Guilt
To Victimage
(hence: Cult of the Kill)

The completion of this symbolic process is what Burke describes as the “cult of the kill.” *The Kill* represents the transformations of death and renewal in sacrifice, victimage, redemption, transcendence, and purification. The entries in this last cluster are all names for the catharsis necessary to complete the cycle and restore order to a divided and conflicted world. Burke claims that this troubling cycle is the central and inescapable issue underlying all rhetoric.¹

The “cult of the kill” is a troubling cycle because it motivates humans to carry out extreme, often violent acts, to cleanse themselves of guilt. Nazism provides an example of how the rhetoric of redemption can be used to justify some heinous actions. While the analogy to Nazism is over used and often misused, it is worth it to note that Burke was actually able to predict the Holocaust by analyzing the rhetoric of Adolph Hitler. Hitler used rhetoric to construct a sociopolitical and economic Order and frame the Jews as an existential threat to that Order, in an attempt to justify extermination of the Jews.²

According to Burke, “Nazism provides the most drastically obvious instance of the ways in which such ‘cleansing’ operates, by an ideology depicting a ‘perfect’ victim in the guise of a ‘total’ enemy.”³ This chapter will argue that ibn Baaz’s construction of the first Persian Gulf War in a series of seven fatwas also depicts a perfect victim (Islam) in the guise of a total enemy (Saddam Hussein).

Guilt Needs Redemption

Redemption is the act of redeeming oneself, to “‘pay’ for one’s wrongdoings by suffering punishment... to cancel one’s debt, to ransom or to ‘buy back,’” according to Burke.⁴ All three of these metaphors relate to situations in which something needs to be restored back to an original state: canceling one’s debt is when one gives back what one took from another; ransoming or buying back is when one obtains something taken from one. Either way, the end result is that each has what they initially begun with. In other words, Order is restored.

Chapter two explains how humans, as symbol-using animals, are motivated to act in the interest of Order. Chapter three explains that disorder is inevitable, and humans are

thus also motivated to act out of guilt. Thus, humans are driven towards redemption, in order to restore order through the act of victimage, or persecution. Robert L. Heath explains that:

Because of action, and its concomitant transformations, societies can resort to persecution and victimage. The basic equation starts with this premise, “If action, then drama,” and continues, “If drama, then victimage.” The key to victimage is “that prime invention of The Word, the *Negative*.” It provides the foundation for preserving Order, the Thou-shalt-not.” With “Victimage and Thou-shalt-not” comes “Victimage in behalf of law ‘n’ Order.”⁵

Victimage, or the act of constructing oneself or another as a victim, is inevitable in human society, according to Burke. Because humanity is fraught disorder but desires to obtain Order, humans will attempt to displace disorder onto another agent, thereby allowing for the disposal of that agent and with it the temporary state of disorder.

The Kill as victimage can foster social cohesion by uniting people against a common enemy. Chapter three discussed Burke’s theory of identification (the act of persuading oneself or others that they share important qualities that require them to act together). Two groups of people that might not otherwise identify with each other often come together in situations where the threat of a shared enemy exists. In other words, “a strong sense of cohesiveness can be achieved from sharing an enemy. Such is the redemptive force of victimage”⁶

The kill sanctions many actions against a shared enemy. Two options exist for disposing of an enemy: actually or symbolically kill the enemy.⁷ However, Burke

explains that these types of kill become blurred: “the so-called ‘desire to kill’ a certain person is much more properly analyzable as a desire to *transform the principle* which that person *represents*.”⁸ Whatever the kind of kill, it always implies transformation. Heath describes the process of transformation, “whereby something passes from one stage, through another, to become something else; the progression is drawn toward a perfect end.”⁹ Transformation is the process of perfecting Order.

In his series of Gulf War fatwas, ibn Baaz refers to the need to restore and perfect Order. In his “important lecture” fatwa, for example, ibn Baaz calls for a restoration of “Islam and Ihsan (the perfection of Faith).”¹⁰ In his “grave crime” fatwa, ibn Baaz proclaims that “there is no doubt that returning to the truth, being keen to rule by the Shari’ah, and bewaring of what contradicts it is the way of the believers. It is their means to achieve honor and dignity.”¹¹ The perfection of faith requires Muslims to adhere to all of God’s mandates by returning to a true form of Shari’ah (Islamic Law).

Ibn Baaz claims in his “important lecture” fatwa that “the matter [of the Gulf War] is dangerous and none but those whom Allah (Exalted be He) endowed with enlightened insight can understand and know the real facts and properly estimate the oppressors power.”¹² The recognition that God’s “enlightened insight” is necessary to overcome obstacles put forth unto humanity implies the necessity of redemption; humanity must continually enlighten itself by implementing God’s commands.

Ibn Baaz frames the redemptive act, i.e. engagement in the war, as necessary to bring Order and security to the people of Iraq. Again in his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz asks Allah “to appoint a pious man over Iraq who will rule according to Shari’ah and

implement Allah's command."¹³ Here, ibn Baaz is seeking establishment of the Ultimate (Islamic) Order in Iraq.

While ibn Baaz wants to restore the Ultimate Order, he also focuses on the more particular order of bringing stability and security to Kuwait. In his internationally broadcasted fatwa, ibn Baaz clarifies the need to "secure for people the safety of their religion, money, honour and blood, and preserves for them the security and stability they enjoy."¹⁴ Similarly, in his "important lecture" fatwa, ibn Baaz asks Allah "to help the soldiers who deter this oppressor to return home safely." Restoring safety and security for the people of Kuwait is a priority for ibn Baaz. A restoration of this sort would constitute redemption. In order to complete the process of redemption, ibn Baaz must frame the attack on Saddam Hussein as a sacrificial act.

The Role of Sacrifice

Burke refers to an ambiguity of sacrifice and the kill: "In the sacrifice there is a kill; in the kill there is a sacrifice," says Burke.¹⁵ The sacrificial act is required to complete the process of transformation; action must be taken to restore Order. The scapegoat, as the "sacrificial animal", bears the role of dying so that the rest may live. Burke describes the process: "the sacrificial bulls and wild game die in behalf of the slayer ('dying that he may live more intensely')."¹⁶ Disposing of an agent who bears the guilt of society helps that society transform itself into something better. Creating and using a scapegoat is a natural mechanism for coping with imperfection.

The purpose of the scapegoat is to provide a mechanism for humans to purify the imperfection of our order. Burke explains that the scapegoat "is profoundly consubstantial with those who, looking upon it as a chosen vessel, would ritualistically

cleanse themselves by loading the burden of their own iniquities upon it.” Thus, “the scapegoat represents the principle of division in that its persecutors would alienate from themselves to it their own uncleannesses... it represents the iniquities of those who would be cured by attacking it.”¹⁷ In other words, the scapegoat comes to represent not only his imperfections, but the imperfections of the victim, as well. It is in this way that transformation is possible; internal guilt can be shifted onto an external agent, which can then be eliminated.

In order to gain redemption, we must dispose of the enemy, hence: “the cult of the kill.” Transformation can be active, passive, or reflexive, in that a person can kill, be killed, or commit suicide.¹⁸ It is possible, according to Burke, for the kill to be directed internally, constituting a (metaphorical or literal) suicide. On the other hand, the process of selecting an external agent for sacrifice constitutes a (metaphorical or literal) homicide.¹⁹ Whether we kill our enemy actually or symbolically, ‘the kill’ always implies transformation: “the so-called ‘desire to kill’ a certain person is much more properly analyzable as a desire to *transform the principle* which that person represents.”²⁰

In the case of the eight fatwas regarding the first Persian Gulf War, ibn Baaz frames Saddam Hussein as the “sacrificial animal” worthy of elimination. As discussed in chapter three, the inequities associated with the current disorder are blamed on Saddam Hussein. First, the war is blamed on Saddam Hussein. Ibn Baaz emphasizes Hussein’s responsibility for the bloodshed, violation of honor, and destruction of property associated with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Second, and more importantly, the guilt associated with allying with the United States is blamed on Saddam Hussein. Ibn Baaz labels the United States an enemy, implying that under ideal circumstances Saudi Arabia would not ally militarily with the United States. However, ibn Baaz argues that Saddam Hussein is a greater enemy than the United States, posing a greater threat to Saudi Arabia. Thus, ibn Baaz concludes that the military alliance with the United States exists only because of the actions waged by Saddam Hussein. Ibn Baaz is setting up Saddam Hussein for sacrifice by pushing the guilt associated with the initial invasion of Kuwait and the proceeding military alliance between Saudi Arabia and the United States.

Jihad as Redemption

Jihad is a term that is often translated as “holy war.” However, the term *jihad* literally means “to struggle for justice.”²¹ Anna Gade explains that “within the mass politics of the nation and the state over just the past century of global change, “standing for justice” against oppression in many modes has been one of the key concerns of Muslim social thinkers worldwide.”²²

Although warfare often falls under the banner of jihad, it is not the only path to obtain justice. Therefore, it is a mistake to assume all calls for jihad are simultaneously calls for violence. In fact, Muslims delineate between “greater jihad,” i.e. the internal battle to resist sin, and “smaller jihad,” i.e. participation in armed conflict.²³

Greater Jihad

Imam Mikal Saahir describes greater jihad as “the struggle against one’s personal lower desires.”²⁴ Greater jihad is considered “greater” because it is emphasized over military conflict. According to the hadith (documented words and actions of the Prophet

Muhammad), the Prophet initially substantiated internal resistance as a greater form of jihad than warfare. As the story goes:

The Prophet upon him and his Family and Companions blessings and peace returned from one his expeditions and said: “You have come for the best. You have come from the smaller jihad to the greater jihad.” They said, “What is the greater jihad, Messenger of Allah?” He said: “The servant's struggle against his lust.”²⁵

The Prophet Mohammad emphasized the personal struggle to resist sin as the prerequisite for justice. Believers must first maintain faith and resist sin during times of disorder, before they can justify warfare on the grounds of faith.

Imam Saahir explains that for a poor person or a person suffering oppression, greater jihad will be a more intense experience, because “it is during our difficulties that we give in and lose faith in the plan of G-d, thus resorting to sin by breaking the law to get relief.” Although it is tempting to lose faith during times of disorder, Imam Saahir argues that “people of faith... cannot give in during difficult times. [They] have to maintain G-d’s plan and continue to patiently struggle for justice.”²⁶

While the actual phrase “greater jihad” cannot be found in the translated texts of the eight fatwas issued by ibn Baaz regarding the first Persian Gulf War, appeals toward greater jihad are certainly made. Ibn Baaz emphasizes the importance of upholding Order by obeying God’s orders, as discussed in chapter two. Greater jihad is the struggle for God’s Order; in order to obey all of God’s commands, one must resist the temptation to sin.

Ibn Baaz makes an appeal to greater jihad when he argues that God helps those who help God's cause. In his "liberating the state" fatwa, ibn Baaz recalls: "Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *O you who believe! If you help (in the cause of) Allâh, He will help you, and make your foothold firm.*"²⁷ Here, ibn Baaz is arguing that God will make sacrifices for humanity if humanity makes sacrifices for god. Greater jihad is making those sacrifices for God.

Another manner in which ibn Baaz appeals to greater jihad is his emphasis of the importance of struggling for justice. There are several examples of ibn Baaz calling for justice in the Gulf War fatwas. In his "questions after the lecture" fatwa, ibn Baaz argues that "one who participates in this war should purify his intention, making it solely to remove injustice and benefit Muslims."²⁸ Here, ibn Baaz identifies the need to obtain justice as the sole purpose of Muslims, even those engaged in warfare. This would indicate, as Muhammad did in the hadith discussed above, that greater jihad, or obtaining justice, subsumes the need to engage in smaller jihad, or warfare.

In his "grave crime" fatwa, ibn Baaz emphasizes the importance of "returning to truth" in order to obtain justice. As discussed above by Imam Saahir, in times of conflict the temptation to lose faith and commit sin increases. Ibn Baaz suggests that when sins have been committed and conflict has erupted, "there is no doubt that returning to the truth is good and a virtue... and this is better than persisting in doing wrong and falsehood."²⁹ In other words, just because sin and disorder exist is not a justification for allowing it to persist. Instead, Muslims should return to the truth, i.e. God's Order.

Instead of persisting in doing wrong and falsehood, ibn Baaz (continuing in his "grave crime" fatwa) advises all Muslims "to keep steady on the right course of Allah's

Religion, refer His Shari'ah, advise one another to obey Allah and avoid His disobedience, and not to rule by man-made laws and individual opinions.”³⁰ It is only in this way that Muslims will achieve justice, concludes ibn Baaz.³¹ These instructions are an appeal to greater jihad; ibn Baaz is encouraging Muslims to struggle against sin and for justice when he advises them to “keep steady” in their faith.

Ibn Baaz makes rhetorical appeals to justice, which implies the importance of greater jihad. Another argument ibn Baaz makes for the importance of greater jihad is that Muslims must repent when sins have been committed. In his “advice to Muslims” fatwa, ibn Baaz explains that “sincere repentance involves regret for past sins, giving them up, being aware of them, and truthfully be willing to not commit them again so as to show obedience to Allah.”³² In his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa, ibn Baaz describes repentance as “one of the greatest and most obligatory” deeds associated with upholding God’s Order.³³

Recall from chapter two that eternal Paradise is the Ultimate Order; according to the Muslim faith, Muslims ought to obey the commands of God so that God grants them access to Paradise on Judgment Day. Because it is inevitable that people will sin, repentance is often necessary. Ibn Baaz makes a similar argument in his “what are Muslims to do?” fatwa:

Allah (may He be Praised) tells us that repentance is a means leading to success, forgiveness of one's sins, deserving to enter Jannah (Paradise), and gaining nobility. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: *And all of you beg Allâh to forgive you all, O believers, that you may be successful.*³⁴ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *And verily, I am indeed forgiving to him*

*who repents, believes (in My Oneness, and associates none in worship with Me) and does righteous good deeds, and then remains constant in doing them, (till his death).*³⁵

Asking for the forgiveness of God is a necessary part of the process of purification, transformation, or redemption.

In his “advice to Muslims” fatwa, ibn Baaz explains that sincere repentance is an act of transformation. With an act of sincere repentance, according to ibn Baaz, “evils will be removed, security will prevail, and Allah (Exalted be He) will disperse, humiliate and make calamity of evil on enemies.”³⁶ In other words, sincere repentance is required for God to restore order to a divided world.

In his Gulf War fatwas, ibn Baaz calls upon Saddam Hussein to repent for his sins. Ibn Baaz claims in his “questions after the lecture” that Saddam is a disbeliever until he declares his repentance to Allah and acts in accordance with his repentance. “If Saddam is truthful in his claims of Islam,” argues ibn Baaz, “then he must disavow Ba`thism, leave Kuwait, return rights to their owners, declare his repentance of Ba`thism and its principles of disbelief and misguidance.”³⁷ Saddam Hussein did not meet the requirements ibn Baaz establishes for sincere repentance, which provides justification for engaging in warfare against him.

Smaller Jihad

The internal struggle to resist sin is the greater jihad, or the most important obligation for Muslims in the struggle for justice. However, smaller jihad, or warfare, is sometimes necessary. Recall from hadith story in the previous section that Muhammad labeled the battle that the Muslims were engaged in as a smaller jihad, i.e. a less important but still

necessary component of struggling for justice. Anna Gade explains that in the later phase of his life, Muhammad “turned away from pacifism and recognized that there was a time for peace and a time for war.”³⁸

Humanity’s desire to obtain Order and justice, explains Michael Hyde, “is known to be a satisfying and pleasant experience – so much so... that people will fight for its presence in their own lives as well as in the lives of others.”³⁹ When based upon socially approved motives, ‘the kill’ can sanction many actions against a shared enemy, including physical violence.⁴⁰

As discussed above, the use of an external scapegoat as a sacrificial animal is the homicidal route to redemption. Burke says that the “ultimate sacrifice does involve a dying. And dying may involve a killing.”⁴¹ Burke points out the irony in this kill-to-save mentality: “whereas sacrifice is the very essence of peace, it becomes instead the essence of war, with men piously persuading themselves that they are never so comforted as when contemplating blood-bath.”⁴² Burke would describe ibn Baaz as one of these pious men.

Throughout the Gulf War fatwas, ibn Baaz presents a case for the necessity of smaller jihad, or warfare, as a means of redemption. Recall from chapter three the attempt by ibn Baaz to frame Saddam Hussein as an existential threat to the people of Kuwait, the people of Saudi Arabia, and to Islam as a whole. This construction of Saddam Hussein as a threat warrants defensive warfare, according to ibn Baaz.

In his internationally broadcasted fatwa, ibn Baaz argues that Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait “has led the people of authority in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to take measures to defend their country, its people and its constituents from what their

neighbor Kuwait was subjected to” and to “demand the assistance of Arab and non-Arab states.”⁴³ Here, ibn Baaz frames the war and the alliance with the United States as necessary to prevent Saddam Hussein from continuing his invasion into Saudi Arabia. Thus, the war can be considered to be defensive.

Ibn Baaz again refers to the Gulf War as a defensive war in his “grave crime” fatwa. Here, he explains that the Saudi government “found itself obliged to protect itself from evil... in order to defend the country and Muslims and ward off any possible aggression from the president of Iraq.”⁴⁴ Ibn Baaz is careful to say that the Saudi government “found itself” obliged to fight the war, so as to absolve Saudi Arabia from any of the guilt associated with participation in the war; Saudi Arabia did not *choose* to fight the war, but rather it *found itself obliged* to fight the war.

Ibn Baaz argues in his “important lecture” fatwa that in order to achieve victory, Muslims “must take tangible means such as weapons, troops, and power.”⁴⁵ Ibn Baaz argues that God provides justification for defensive warfare, or smaller jihad, in the Qur’an. He substantiates this claim with two verses of the Qur’an: “Allah (Exalted be He) says: *And make ready against them all you can of power.*”⁴⁶ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *O you who believe! Take your precautions.*”⁴⁷ From these two verses, ibn Baaz deducts that “believers must prepare themselves well – and as much as they can – to fight the enemies.”⁴⁸ Seeking the assistance of United States forces is justified because Saudi Arabia is simply taking precautions and preparing as much as they can.

Ibn Baaz takes his argument a step further when he claims that warfare is not only justified by God in this instance, but rather is required by God in this instance. In his “questions after the lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz argues that “it is not permissible for the

Islamic countries to support his aggression and injustice; rather, he should be resisted and fought to put an end to his oppression against Muslims with all affordable might.”⁴⁹ He justifies this argument “upon Allah’s Saying (Exalted be He): *And fight them until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism, i.e. worshipping others besides Allah) and the religion (worship) will all be for Allah Alone.*”⁵⁰ Recall from chapter three that ibn Baaz labels Sadddam Hussein as a disbeliever and equates Ba’athism to polytheism. Therefore, engaging in a war against Saddam Hussein is fulfilling God’s order to fight until there is no more disbelief.

Chapters one and three discussed how Saudi Arabians were hesitant to engage in warfare in neighboring Kuwait because Kuwait’s population consists mainly of Muslims. Ibn Baaz argues that even if Muslims do not want to engage in unpleasant actions such as warfare, sometimes it is required of Muslims. In his “important lecture” fatwa, ibn Baaz presents this argument:

Allah (may He be Praised) says, *it may be that you dislike a thing and Allâh brings through it a great deal of good.*⁵¹ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: *Jihâd (holy fighting in Allâh’s cause) is ordained for you (Muslims) though you dislike it, and it may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you like a thing which is bad for you. Allâh knows but you do not know.*⁵² We hope this war brings good for us and all Muslims and evil for the enemies of Islam as He (may He be Praised) is the Most Knowing and Wise.⁵³

Ibn Baaz is arguing that even if Saudi Arabians think it is wrong to engage in warfare against Kuwait, they should do it anyway because God knows better than they do and only he can know what will be best in the future.

Another line of reasoning employed by ibn Baaz to justify smaller jihad, or warfare, is argument by analogy. Chapter three discussed a few examples (discussed by ibn Baaz in the fatwas) of when the Prophet Muhammad and his forces were forced to engage in defensive jihad and take all possible means in what ibn Baaz implies are similar situations to the Saudi's situation during the Gulf War.

Ibn Baaz explains in his "advice to Muslims" fatwa that "the Prophet wore – at the battle of Uhud – two shields and he sought all possible means at the battle of Al-Khandaq. He did the same on the day of the Conquest of Makkah [Mecca]." He continues to explain that "all such matters that were done by the Prophet (peace be upon him) were out of his keenness on seeking all possible means of preparing for the enemies."⁵⁴

In his "what are Muslims to do" fatwa, ibn Baaz again mentions the conquest of Mecca as justification for both allying with disbelievers and engaging in warfare for the sake of protection. Ibn Baaz recalls: "All the people of Khuza'ah, Muslims and unbelievers, fought with the army of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in the Conquest of Makkah against the unbelievers of Makkah."⁵⁵ Because Muslims are supposed to use the Prophet Muhammad's actions as a guide for how to live, they should accept the necessity of warfare for the sake of protection.⁵⁶

It is not a coincidence that ibn Baaz chooses these three battles – the battle of Uhud, the battle of Al-Khandaq, and the battle of Badr – to compare to the Gulf War. Each of

these three battles resulted in a Muslim victory.⁵⁷ Ibn Baaz compares Saudi Arabia's situation in the Gulf War to well-known battles where the Muslims were successful, while excluding battles fought in the name of Islam where Muslims were unsuccessful. In his decision to mention only the successful battles, ibn Baaz hopes to lead his audience into believing that participation in the Gulf War will result in victory.

Whereas engaging in warfare will be beneficial and lead to victory in the worldly life, ibn Baaz argues that engaging in warfare will also be beneficial for those who die fighting, or martyrs. In his "questions after the lecture" fatwa, ibn Baaz argues that "the Muslim who stands against the oppressors and fights them is expected to have great reward; if they are killed, they will be martyrs."⁵⁸ In his "advice to Muslims" fatwa, ibn Baaz explains that anyone "will be deemed a martyr if he dies while fighting for the Cause of Allah to save a Muslim country."⁵⁹ Ibn Baaz is implying that men should not fear death in battle and should be willing to die for God.

Martyrdom is commemorated in the Qur'an. In fact, in the Qur'an the words for martyr (shahid) and the witnessing of faith (Shahada) (the first pillar of Islam) are etymologically linked.⁶⁰ The Qur'an says of Muslim martyrs: "Do not think that those who are slain in God's cause are dead – for they are alive with their Lord."⁶¹ In other words, martyrs will be rewarded with eternal paradise.

Ibn Baaz makes explicitly makes the argument that participation in smaller jihad will result in the reward of Paradise. In his "important lecture" fatwa, ibn Baaz explains that included in the reward of Jihad is that "He will forgive you your sins, and admit you into Gardens under which rivers flow." Ibn Baaz then references a passage of the Qur'an: "*Verily, Allâh has purchased of the believers their lives and their properties for (the*

price) that theirs shall be the Paradise. They fight in Allâh's Cause, so they kill (others) and are killed."⁶² Killing is justified and sometimes required in the name of God.

Emphasizing Smaller Jihad over Greater Jihad

Sacrifice, victimage, redemption, transcendence, and purification are all names for the catharsis necessary to complete the cycle and restore order to a divided and conflicted world. Catharsis, which is literally defined as *cleansing*, is akin to the practice of medicine in the manner that it heals. Ancient Greek society understood cathartic symbolic acts as medicine. Burke explains: "A synonym for *katharma* was *pharmakos*: poisoner, sorcerer, magician; one who is sacrificed or executed as an atonement or purification for others; a scapegoat. It is related to *pharmakon*: drug, remedy, medicine, enchanted potion, philter, charm, spell, incantation, enchantment, poison."⁶³ Burke emphasizes the dual nature of a drug: depending on the dose, a medicine can become a poison; a medicine that heals can also be a poison that kills.⁶⁴

Further, medicines may act on the body through fundamentally different processes. Homeopathic medicines and allopathic medicines use different strategies for battling a poison. Homeopathic medicines cure by providing a small dose of potential poison that prevents greater damage to those treated. Allopathic medicine works antagonistically as an antidote to a specific poison.⁶⁵ Burke fears that adherents to "the cult of the kill" may lose their grip on the homeopathic nature of sacrifice. Beth Eddy explains that when interpreters take killing rather than internal reform to be the center of sacrificial stories, they risk poisoning the society "in the same way that a lightning rod held in the hand on a stormy night can kill the one it ought to have protected if rightly used. Too

much thoughtless fascination with lightning can make the protections of a lightning rod lethal.”⁶⁶

The emphasis of smaller jihad (i.e. the kill) over greater jihad (i.e. self-sacrifice) in the Gulf War fatwas issued by ibn Baaz is one such example of “thoughtless fascination” that can become lethal. Although smaller jihad is necessary in the most desperate of circumstances, the importance of warfare should not be over-emphasized (it is the *smaller* jihad, after all). In the terms of the analogy above, warfare is a medicine that could very easily become lethal when over-used.

Burke claims that an emphasis on purgation or purity in stories about sacrifice leads them to emphasize various forms of killing over more socially benign forms of sacrifice.⁶⁷ Smaller jihad, or warfare, can be compared to emphasis on purgation. Greater jihad, on the other hand, can be described as a more socially benign form of sacrifice. Thus, Burke would agree that greater jihad should be emphasized over smaller jihad.

Burke calls for a reinterpretation of “the kill” as “willing and reasonable self-sacrifice that owns internalized impurities for the common good of society.”⁶⁸ This reinterpretation is very similar to the idea of greater jihad. For Saudi Arabia, shifting to an emphasis on greater jihad instead of smaller jihad in the case of the first Persian Gulf War would mean ‘owning internalized impurities,’ repenting, and non-violently questioning the acts of Saddam Hussein. However, the Saudi Arabian Government’s interest in preserving security and the economy made the emphasis on smaller jihad a more attractive option for the government.

Conclusion

The call to engage in warfare against Saddam Hussein in the first Persian Gulf War was based on the necessity to purify a polluted Order. Ibn Baaz was able to frame Saddam Hussein as responsible for both the guilt associated with the initial invasion of Kuwait and the guilt associated with the Saudi alliance with the United States. The existence of this guilt necessitates action. While ibn Baaz does make appeals to greater jihad, he places a greater emphasis on smaller jihad, or entering into warfare. His decision to displace guilt onto an external agent, in this case Saddam Hussein, makes homicide a necessary part of redemption, or transformation.

End Notes

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Chapter Five

Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis has explored each stage of Burke's redemptive cycle of rhetoric and its application to eight fatwas issued by the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia regarding participation in the first Persian Gulf War. Saudi Arabia, experiencing discontent with the actions of the Saudi Government due to an interpretation of the Qur'an that forbade alliances with non-Muslim forces, was faced with an impending crisis of legitimacy. The eight fatwas issued by ibn Baaz were an attempt to both counter the interpretation of the Qur'an that forbade the Gulf War alliance and provide legitimacy for the actions of the Saudi Government.

There are three important conclusions that can be drawn from this master's thesis. The next three sections will discuss each of these lessons, from the most specific to broadest: the first section discusses lessons from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf War; the second section discusses lessons about the power of rhetoric; and finally, the third section discusses lessons about coping with imperfection.

Saudi Arabia: Lessons from the Gulf War

Burke emphasizes that although humans are ontologically driven towards perfection and order, the world is inherently chaotic which makes imperfection and disorder inevitable. The combination of the desire for order and the existence of disorder makes humans susceptible to guilt. When faced with guilt, humans are compelled to act to expunge that guilt. According to Burke, there are two options for expunging guilt:

suicidal sacrifice, where one looks inward to reform; or homicidal sacrifice, where one displaces the guilt onto an external agent and then deems the agent worthy of elimination.

In the context of the first Persian Gulf War, Saudi Arabia was faced with two instances of disorder that lead to guilt. The first instance of disorder was the bloodshed and destruction that came as a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The second instance of disorder was the controversy surrounding the Saudi military alliance with the United States. Faced with an impending crisis of legitimacy, Saudi Arabia was put in a position where rhetoric was necessary for Saudi Arabia to justify its strategy of coping with the guilt associated with the first Persian Gulf War.

Ibn Baaz, as the religious spokesperson for the government of Saudi Arabia, chose to absolve guilt via a homicidal sacrifice, i.e. scapegoating. By placing the blame for the invasion of Kuwait entirely on Saddam Hussein and then placing the blame for the alliance with the United States entirely on Saddam Hussein, ibn Baaz was displacing any guilt the government of Saudi Arabia itself faced onto an external agent.

The displacement of guilt onto Saudi Arabia, coupled with the framing of Saddam Hussein as an existential threat to Saudi Arabia and interpretations of the Qur'an that sanctioned warfare in times of existential risk, allowed ibn Baaz to paint warfare as the only available option. Thus, literal homicide was sanctioned as necessary to complete the process of redemption and restore Order.

Did Saudi Arabia have another option? Whether or not Saudi Arabia's participation in the first Persian Gulf War was necessary or justified is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is obvious that Saudi Arabia could have chosen not to engage in warfare with the United States against Saudi Arabia. Burke simplifies the options for coping with guilt

to two options: suicidal sacrifice or homicidal sacrifice. Saudi Arabia chose homicidal sacrifice. What would the world have looked like if Saudi Arabia had chosen suicide?

Burke claims that an emphasis on purgation or purity in stories about sacrifice leads humans to emphasize various forms of killing over more socially benign forms of sacrifice.¹ He calls for a reinterpretation of “the kill” as “willing and reasonable self-sacrifice that owns internalized impurities for the common good of society.”² When faced with instances of disorder or imperfection, ‘owning internalized impurities’ means accepting the inevitability of imperfection and coping with it in a responsible way.

In the context of the first Persian Gulf War, a suicidal sacrifice on the part of Saudi Arabia would have yielded drastically different results than what actually happened. Upon the initial invasion of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia would have asked itself the question: what justification did Saddam Hussein have for invading Kuwait and what justification would he have for proceeding with an invasion of Saudi Arabia?

Saddam Hussein and other Arabs and Muslims were opposed to Kuwait because its sovereignty was established under the influence of Western imperialism; Kuwait was feeding the Western world’s economy at the expense of its neighbors. The same arguments were also made against Saudi Arabia; Osama bin Laden’s attempt to mobilize opposition and the establishment of Al Qaeda are proof that this sentiment was widely perceived.³

If Saudi Arabia chose to redeem themselves through an act of suicidal sacrifice, they would have conceded that Saddam Hussein, as well as other Muslims and Arabs, had a legitimate concern that the government of Saudi Arabia was more interested in

accumulating its own wealth and power than in the good of the people of Saudi Arabia and more broadly the Middle East. Saudi Arabia would have reached out to Saddam Hussein, asked what Saudi Arabia could do to help, and make reforms that demonstrate compromise.

The description of what the government of Saudi Arabia would have to do if it chose the route of suicidal sacrifice sounds very unrealistic. This is because in an environment where security and economy of the state are prioritized, suicidal sacrifice is very unrealistic; the chance of Saudi Arabia giving up either its oil money or any of its power because of external criticism is close to zero.

Although ibn Baaz was not able to make arguments explicitly based in economic or political considerations, it is apparent that the decision to scapegoat Saddam Hussein and engage in warfare against him was motivated (at least in part) by such considerations. However, ibn Baaz was limited to using only religious justification for the actions of the Saudi Government. The first Persian Gulf War was a unique instance where political and economic justifications, while they almost certainly existed, were masked by religious justifications, whether or not they actually existed. By appealing to the Ultimate Order (with the end result being either ultimate reward or ultimate punishment), ibn Baaz was able to frame the decision to engage in warfare as a decision mandated by the highest authority, i.e. God.

The Power of Rhetoric

Kenneth Burke theory of dramatism contends that the ability for humans to use language sets us apart from the rest of the animal kingdom; whereas animals are passive reactors to external conditions, humans are active reactors, using language to assess

situations, reflect upon situations, sentiments, and purposes. Burke explains that “there is a sense in which language is *not* just ‘natural,’ but really *does* add a ‘new dimension’ to the things of nature.”⁴

The application of Burke’s theory of dramatism and more specifically his redemptive cycle of rhetoric has confirmed that rhetoric plays a very important role in motivating humans to act in particular ways. Rhetorical appeals to perfection and order, and the rhetorical strategy of identification, can guide humans to act in ways that they might not have absent rhetoric.

Kenneth Burke and Michael Hyde have demonstrated that use of language not only compels us to act in particular ways, but that it also compels us toward obtaining perfection and order. Because humans can use language to explain much of what exists in our physical and metaphysical world, we are compelled to use language to find explanation *everything* in our physical and metaphysical world. It is in this way we are driven towards ends we perceive as ultimate.

Humanity’s desire for an ultimate explanation explains why monotheistic religion is appealing for humans. God is the ultimate unifying concept because God sums up a manifold of all particulars; God is all-encompassing. According to Islam everything good that happens in the world is to the credit of God. On the other hand, everything bad that happens in the world is also intended by God. Instances of disorder are explained as a test for humanity; how one reacts will determine one’s fate in the hereafter. If one obeys the orders of God one will be rewarded with eternal Paradise. If one fails to obey the orders of God, one will suffer eternal Fire.

The construction of this ultimate order with ultimate consequences gives humans an avenue for using rhetoric to influence other humans to act in particular ways. If a person can interpret a religious text to conclude a certain action is mandated by God, that person can influence others to take that action. This is especially true when that person is in a position of perceived authority over his audience

The eight fatwas issued by ibn Baaz to justify the first Persian Gulf War provide one example of the power rhetoric can have in creating certain outcomes that have significant effects on populations. Ibn Baaz interprets the language of Islamic religious texts – mainly the Qur'an and the Hadith – to present two main arguments. First, he argues that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is a violation of God's orders. Second, he argues that creating an international alliance to engage in defensive warfare against Saddam Hussein is an obligatory order from God. Because taking actions that are forbidden by God or failing to take actions that are obligated by God both result in eternal Fire, Muslims should be much more hesitant to support Saddam Hussein in the first Persian Gulf War.

Ibn Baaz utilizes rhetorical appeals to the Ultimate Order in order to persuade his audience to support particular actions. However, this is not the only rhetorical strategy employed by ibn Baaz in the eight fatwas issued regarding the first Gulf War. These fatwas demonstrate the power that the rhetorical strategy of identification has in persuading humans to act either with or against others.

In order to overcome our inherent division, humans look for ways in which interests, values, experiences, and material properties are shared with others, or could *appear* to be shared, revealing motives that encourage action. Burke refers to this

process as identification. The process of identification involves associating persons, ideas, or things with each other based on shared properties, and persuading oneself or others to act together based on shared properties.

In times of warfare, the rhetoric of identification is often utilized because alliances during warfare are formed based on shared interests, values, experiences, and material properties. More importantly, alliances are formed based on a shared enemy, creating an impetus for action against said enemy. As Robert Heath explains, “people are more likely to associate together if they are *against* some group or force.”⁵

In the case of the Saudi Gulf War fatwas, ibn Baaz used the rhetorical strategy of identification to make two main arguments. First, that Saddam Hussein is not a Muslim but a disbeliever, and thus action should be taken against him. Second, that the alliance with the United States is justified because the United States shares the same interests as Saudi Arabia, namely the protection of Saudi Arabia and with it the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina.

Although intuitively Muslims might have believed they should side with Iraq, a nation consisting mostly of Muslims, over the United States, a nation consisting of mostly non-Muslims, ibn Baaz was able to use rhetoric to paint the opposite picture. Saddam Hussein was defined as in direct opposition to the interests of Saudi Arabians and Islam. Although the United States was still deemed by ibn Baaz as an enemy, he was able to employ the logic of ‘an enemy of my enemy is my friend’ in order to justify an otherwise unacceptable alliance.

It is impossible to calculate the exact effect that the rhetoric of the eight Saudi Gulf War fatwas had on the opinions and actions of the Saudi people and Muslims world-

wide, because it is impossible to predict what would have happened if the fatwas were never issued. However, the nature of ibn Baaz as a designated authority, the nature of the fatwa as an official religious interpretation, and the nature of the population of Saudi Arabia as devout Muslims all suggest that the rhetoric of these fatwas did have an impact on opinions and actions of the population of Saudi Arabia.

Coping with Imperfection

Within the eight Saudi Gulf War fatwas, ibn Baaz completed the rhetorical cycle of redemption: he established an order; he identified pollution to that order; and he encouraged sacrificial action as a means of redemption. Although redemption is intended to restore order, there will always arise new pollution; disorder and imperfection are inevitable. The question then becomes: how should we react? Should we accept the inevitability of imperfection? Or should we strive to overcome imperfection?

According to Burke, we have no choice but to choose the latter. As symbol-using creatures, humans have the unique ability imagine things as different from the status quo. Because we are driven towards ends we perceive as ultimate, we are ontologically oriented to better ourselves. Michael Hyde explains that “in establishing the rules and standards of excellence that are needed, we show ourselves to be metaphysical creatures: longing for stability, security, and completeness.”⁶ Although imperfection and disorder are inevitable, humans will strive for perfection and order (even if we may not always know what is best for ourselves).

The drive for perfection and order is not only an inevitable feature of humanity, but it is also a beneficial feature of humanity. In other words, the inevitability of imperfection is not a reason for humanity to give up attempting to obtain perfection. The process of

perfection entails living one's life to its fullest potential, and helping others do the same. In order for one to develop the capacity for perfection, one must contemplate the truth of things and participate in moral activities that ensure the well-being of society.

Even if perfection is unobtainable, working towards that end is better than either giving up or working away from that end. To demonstrate, let's look at donating to charity as an example. A person might donate money to a charity aimed at researching cancer. That person's contribution or even all combined contributions to this charity will not solve all instances of cancer. However, there is still a benefit in contributing to this charity; the charity will help minimize suffering for some or many cancer patients, thus benefitting society.

The charity example demonstrates that the impossibility of achieving a perfect outcome is not an argument for not attempting to achieve that outcome. When confronted with instances of disorder or imperfection, such as cancer, humans should strive to eliminate that disorder. Rhetoric is an important tool for determining the most appropriate strategies for coping with imperfection or guilt. Michael Hyde labels this process "coming to terms with perfection."

Coming to terms with perfection is a "rhetorical process that calls on our ability to find the right and fitting words and other symbolic devices for communicating to others in the most enlightening, truthful, and effective ways possible whatever it is that we understand and hold to be 'right,' 'good,' and 'true.'" ⁷ It is in this way that we better our lives and the lives of others, to achieve our full potential.

While eliminating instances of imperfection and guilt is beneficial to society, humans must be cautious about which strategies we use to eliminate said imperfection. Burke

warns that an emphasis on scapegoating, or purgation as sacrifice, leads humans to emphasize various forms of killing over more socially benign forms of sacrifice. He suggests a move towards a more homeopathic form of sacrifice, or “willing and reasonable self-sacrifice that owns internalized impurities for the common good of society.”⁸ The most important task for humanity is attempting to absolve guilt in a manner that minimizes human suffering.

Conclusion

This analysis of the eight fatwas issued by ibn Baaz during the first Persian Gulf War using Burke’s redemptive cycle of rhetoric has taught us three important lessons. First, the rhetorical strategy of scapegoating is often emphasized over Burke’s preference of a suicidal act of sacrifice, especially in times of warfare, because security and the economy are prioritized in global politics. Second, rhetoric can guide people to take actions that they may not have absent rhetoric. And third, the inevitability of imperfection or disorder cannot and should not discourage humans from attempting to obtain perfection or order; instead, humans should give more caution to the strategies we use to eliminate order. The most important task for humanity is to attempt to absolve guilt in a manner that minimizes human suffering.

End Notes

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⁸ Beth Eddy, The Rites of Identity: The Religious Naturalism and Cultural Criticism of Kenneth Burke and Ralph Ellison (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 61.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Text of the “Internationally Broadcasted” Fatwa

Full title of Fatwa Unknown. The Fatwa was broadcasted on the “Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Radio” station.

TEXT:

Thanks be to God, master of the universe, reward to the pious and aggression only against the unjust, prayers and peace be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his kinfolk, companions and those who follow his guidance and observe his Sunnah [ways] until doomsday, and now to our topic. The Supreme Ulema Council and others in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia were aware of the massing of large forces on its border and the aggression against a neighbouring country by the state of Iraq. News agency reports, media broadcasts and accounts by those fleeing the state which was the victim of the aggression, Kuwait, of atrocities, serious crimes and disdain for values, and violations of the sanctity of neighbourliness have reached the council, and those who experienced those events are the best to describe them, and happy is the one who learns from others' lessons. This has led the people of authority in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to take measures to defend their country, its people and its constituents from what their neighbour Kuwait was subjected to, and to demand the assistance of Arab and non-Arab states in order to fend off the expected danger and confront the expected aggression against the country. The development of events in Kuwait has proved that the promise of this enemy cannot be trusted and his treachery cannot be guarded against.

Therefore, stating the legal ruling on this matter is inevitable, so that people in this country and in others become aware of the matter. "And He clarifies to them reality through their Ulema" [source of quotation unknown] .

Therefore, the Supreme Ulema Council decided to hold a special session in order to issue this statement, to clarify to people the need to defend the nation and its constituents by all possible means, and the duty of those in charge of its affairs to embark on taking every means that repels the danger, halts the advance of evil and secures for people the safety of their religion, money, honour and blood, and preserves for them the security and stability they enjoy.

Therefore, the Supreme Ulema Council supports what was undertaken by the ruler, may God grant him success the bringing of forces equipped with instruments capable of frightening and terrorising the one who wanted to commit an aggression against this country. This duty is dictated by necessity in the current circumstances, and made inevitable by the painful reality, and its legal basis and evidence dictates that the man in charge of the affairs of Muslims should seek the assistance of one who has the ability to attain the intended aim. The Koran and the Prophet's Sunnah have indicated the need to be ready and take precautions before it is too late. And God's prayers and peace be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his kinfolk and companions.

[Signed] The Supreme Ulema Council Abdullah Khayyatt; Abd al-Aziz Bin Abdullah Bin Baz; Abd al- Aziz Bin Salih; Abd al-Razzaq Afifi; Ibrahim Bin Muhammad Al al-Shaykh; Muhammad Bin Ibrahim Bin Jubayr; Sulayman Ubayd; Salih Bin Ali Bin Ghusun; Abd al-Majid Hasan; Rashid Bin Khunaym; Abdullah Bin Sulayman al-Man'i; Salih Bin Muhammad al-Lihidan; Abdullah Bin Abd al-Rahman al-Ghudayyan; Salim Bin Fuwzan al-Fuwazan; Muhammad Bin Salih al-Uthaymin; Abdullah Bin Abd al-Rahman al-Bassam; Hasan Bin Ja'far al-Utmi.

Appendix B: Text of the “Important Lecture” Fatwa

Full Title of Fatwa: “An important lecture on the Iraqi ruler's invasion of Kuwait.”

TEXT:

Praise be to Allah. May peace and blessings be upon the Messenger of Allah, his family, Companions and those who follow his guidance!

It is Allah (Exalted be He) with His deep Wisdom and absolute proof that He tests His servants with prosperity and adversity, grace or calamity to distinguish the wicked from the good, and the believers and those who have Taqwa (fearing Allah as He should be feared) from the hypocrites and disbelievers, and those striving patiently from those who are not. This test is also given to people to show those who seek and call for establishing the truth and those who do not. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, ﴿ and We shall make a trial of you with evil and with good. And to Us you will be returned. ﴾ This trial refers to testing people to distinguish the truthful from the liar, the pious from the wicked, and the good from the evil. This is also to let those whom Allah (Exalted be He) wills to be happy return to the truth while those whom He wills to be wretched keep to misguidance. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, ﴿ And We tried them with good (blessings) and evil (calamities) in order that they might turn (to Allāh's Obedience). ﴾ This Ayah points out that Allah (Exalted be He) may test people with times of ease and bounties including wealth, high rank, and others, and with evil which includes calamities, difficulty, eagerness, fear, warfare, and affliction so that they might return to the truth and adhere to guidance. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, ﴿ And fear the Fitnah (affliction and trial) which affects not in particular (only) those of you who do wrong (but it may afflict all the good and the bad people), and know that Allāh is Severe in punishment. ﴾ This means that man should fear Allah (Exalted be He) by doing good deeds, obeying Him, striving in His Cause and adhering to the truth.

The Fitnah may include war, doubtful matters which mislead many people, forbidden lusts and many others.

The believers protect themselves by obeying Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him), understanding the religion, and preparing themselves for the trials ahead of time so that they may be well-prepared and informed when they occur. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, ﴿ and know that Allāh is Severe in punishment. ﴾ The severe penalty is for whoever disobeys Him and commits what He made unlawful and violates His Laws. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ Your wealth and your children are only a trial ﴾ Another kind of Fitnah is wealth and children. If man fears Allah (Exalted be He) concerning his wealth and children, he will be happy. Otherwise, he will be ruined if he prefers the worldly life to the Hereafter and seeks after forbidden lusts and whims.

He (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ And surely, We shall try you till We test those who strive hard (for the Cause of Allāh) and As-Sābirûn (the patient), and We shall test your facts (i.e. the one who is a liar, and the one who is truthful). ﴾ He tests people so that He makes evident those who strive for Allah's cause and are patient. ﴿ and We shall test your facts (i.e. the one who is a liar, and the one who is truthful). ﴾ That is to make evident - through apparent (real) knowledge - this kind of people, although Allah (Exalted be He) knows everything and nothing is hidden from Him; He encompassed all things in His Knowledge. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ that you may know that Allāh has power over all things, and that Allāh surrounds all things in (His) Knowledge. ﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) knows all things but He tests people so that He makes evident - through apparent (real) knowledge - the patient and those who strive for His cause. This fact should be clear for people and disclosed through real knowledge as He (may He be Praised) says, ﴿ And surely, We shall try you till We test those who strive hard (for the Cause of Allāh) and As-

Sâbirûn (the patient), and We shall test your facts (i.e. the one who is a liar, and the one who is truthful). ﴿

On the eleventh of Muharram, 1411 A.H., corresponding to 2 August, 1990 A.D., the Iraqi ruler invaded his neighboring country, Kuwait. His transgressing and destructive troops invaded the country. They stole property, caused bloodshed, violated honor and made citizens homeless. The invasion has sparked international condemnation. The entire world therefore mobilized troops on the Saudi borders and exerted great effort to convince the Iraqi ruler to withdraw his troops from this country. However, he refused and insisted on his transgression and aggression. This is the sound wisdom of Allah Who is the Wise and Knowing. He previously encompassed in knowledge that this affliction; i.e. this war would occur. This war which can not be ended through peaceful solutions is considered a Fitnah. Allah (may He be Praised) says, ﴿ it may be that you dislike a thing and Allâh brings through it a great deal of good. ﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿ Jihâd (holy fighting in Allâh's cause) is ordained for you (Muslims) though you dislike it, and it may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you like a thing which is bad for you. Allâh knows but you do not know. ﴾ We hope this war brings good for us and all Muslims and evil for the enemies of Islam as He (may He be Praised) is the Most Knowing and Wise. We hope this event be a warning for us and others to return to Allah (Exalted be He) and hold fast to His religion and fully prepare ourselves to confront the enemies of Islam.

The test is beneficial for the believers and those who are sane. These are requested to practice self-reckoning and self-striving. Muslims, nations and individuals, need to obey Allah's commands and avoid His prohibitions. When they do so and rectify their affairs and exert efforts as much as they can to make the truth victorious, Allah (Exalted be He) will make their affairs easy and help them overcome their enemies as He (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, ﴿ O you who believe! If you help (in the cause of) Allâh, He will help you, and make your foothold firm. ﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿ and (as for) the believers, it was incumbent upon Us to help (them). ﴾ He (may He be Praised) also says, ﴿ Verily, Allâh will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allâh is All-Strong, All-Mighty. ﴾ Those (Muslim rulers) who, if We give them power in the land, (they) enjoin Iqamat-as-Salât [i.e. to perform the five compulsory congregational Salât (prayers) (the males in mosques)], to pay the Zakât and they enjoin Al-Ma'rûf (i.e. Islâmic Monotheism and all that Islâm orders one to do), and forbid Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism and all that Islâm has forbidden) [i.e. they make the Qur'ân as the law of their country in all the spheres of life]. And with Allâh rests the end of (all) matters (of creatures). ﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿ Allâh has promised those among you who believe and do righteous good deeds, that He will certainly grant them succession to (the present rulers) in the land, as He granted it to those before them, and that He will grant them the authority to practise their religion which He has chosen for them (i.e. Islâm). And He will surely give them in exchange a safe security after their fear (provided) they (believers) worship Me and do not associate anything (in worship) with Me. ﴾ This will be a reward for their genuine faith and good deeds.

It is obligatory upon everyone to hold fast to Allah's command. Allah (Exalted be He) has shown us how to save ourselves from Fitnah. He has ordered us to have Taqwa and integrity, to strive faithfully, to be sincere, patient and persevering. The means of salvation and achieving victory are shown in His saying, ﴿ O you who believe! When you meet (an enemy) force, take a firm stand against them and remember the Name of Allâh much (both with tongue and mind), so that you may be successful. ﴾ And obey Allâh and His Messenger, and do not dispute (with one another) lest you lose courage and your strength departs, and be patient. Surely, Allâh is with those who are As-Sâbirûn (the patient). ﴾ And be not like those who come out of their homes boastfully and to be seen of men, and hinder (men) from the Path of Allâh; and Allâh is Muhîṭun (encircling and thoroughly comprehending) all that they do. ﴿

He (may He be Praised) orders the Muslims to have the following qualities upon meeting the enemies, engaging in Jihad and confronting aggression. These are as follows:

First: To be steadfast in the truth. Allah (may He be Praised) says, ﴿ O you who believe! When you meet (an enemy) force, take a firm stand against them ﴾ Being steadfast and patient in the truth is necessary, as Allah (Exalted be He) says in another Ayah, ﴿ O you who believe! Endure and be more patient (than your enemy), and guard your territory by stationing army units permanently at the places from where the enemy can attack you, and fear Allâh, so that you may be successful. ﴾ The believers adhere to the truth in times of prosperity and adversity; they do not neglect it in the time of stress.

Second: Remembering Allah (Exalted be He); you must remember Him with your heart, tongue, and deeds. Remembrance of Allah should be done out of love, fear, trust, glorifying, believing that Allah (Exalted be He) is the One Who grants victory and that there is no victory except from Him as He says, ﴿ And there is no victory except from Allâh. ﴾ They know that the means are no more than things that help achieve victory. These means may include good preparations and using weapons and other things that help achieve victory and be a message from Allah (Exalted be He) for good tidings as He says when He provided the Messenger (peace be upon him) with the angels, ﴿ Allâh made it only as glad tidings, and that your hearts be at rest therewith. And there is no victory except from Allâh. Verily, Allâh is All-Mighty, All-Wise. ﴾ In Surah'Al `Imran, Allah says, ﴿ Allâh made it not but as a message of good news for you and as an assurance to your hearts. And there is no victory except from Allâh, the All-Mighty, the All-Wise. ﴾

In times of adversity, the believer remembers the name of Allah (Exalted be He) and glorifies Him, and knows that He grants victory, inflicts harm, gives benefit and handles everything. It is He (may He be Praised) who causes harm, benefit, honor, victory and manages all affairs and nothing is hidden from Him and nothing is beyond His Capability. He (Exalted be He) makes success contingent on remembrance of Allah when saying, ﴿ and remember the Name of Allâh much (both with tongue and mind), so that you may be successful. ﴾ Remembering Allah (Exalted be He) with the heart, tongue and deeds brings victory, success and goodness. The believers, in times of prosperity and adversity, adhere to remembering, glorification of and devotion to Allah (Exalted be He). They achieve Allah's rights on His slaves and avoid His prohibitions. They adhere to Dhikr by observing Salah and protecting the limbs and the tongue from committing forbidden things. They render the rights to their owners, avoid committing what is forbidden by Allah (Exalted be He), and doing any other things that may please Him and escape His wrath. As it was mentioned above, Dhikr should be done with heart, tongue and deeds to bring success, victory and happiness. Allah (may He be Praised) says, ﴿ And obey Allâh and His Messenger ﴾ Obeying Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him) is the third quality that the believers must have. This quality is included in Dhikr, but due to its importance, Allah (Exalted be He) has stressed it. Fulfilling the commands and avoiding the prohibitions - whether it is in Jihad or otherwise - are part of obeying Allah (Exalted be He).

The fourth quality is to adhere to cooperation and unity, as Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ and do not dispute (with one another) lest you lose courage and your strength departs ﴾ Muslims have to cooperate and agree with each other and be truthful in fighting the enemies and expelling the transgressors. Accord and patience are required to confront the enemies.

The enemy could be a Muslim, a disbeliever, or a Muslim tyrant. Allah (may He be Exalted) ordered that the latter should be fought until they comply with Allah's Command. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ And if two parties or groups among the believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them both. But if one of them outrages against the other, then fight you (all) against the one that which outrages till it complies with the Command of Allâh. ﴾ This is in the case when the fighting party is a believer, so what would it be if it is a Ba'athist disbeliever who oppresses people?

The phrase "till it complies with the Command of Allah" means till it returns to the truth and renders the rights to their owners and be just. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ and be patient. Surely, Allâh is with those who are As-Sâbirûn (the patient). ﴾ The fifth quality is patience. It is necessary to have patience when fighting the enemies and do the best because Allah (Exalted be He) has

described the believers as follows, ﴿ and who are patient in extreme poverty and ailment (disease) and at the time of fighting (during the battles). ﴾ He (may He be Praised) also says, ﴿ Such are the people of the truth and they are Al-Muttaqûn (the pious). ﴾ He (may He be Praised) also said to His Prophet (peace be upon him), ﴿ And endure you patiently (O Muhammad ﷺ), your patience is not but from Allâh. ﴾

There are three types of patience:

- Patience in obeying Allah and rendering the rights.
- Patience in abstaining from sin with words and deeds.
- Patience during times of calamities and disasters such as being afflicted with diseases, wounds, and killing. It is indispensable to be patient and use all means that may lead to safety and victory. The sixth and seventh qualities are mentioned in the following Ayah. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ And be not like those who come out of their homes boastfully and to be seen of men ﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) has ordered the believers not to show off and not to fight the enemies boastfully. Rather, they should be sincere, truthful and humble in Jihad and ask Allah (Exalted be He) to grant them victory. Allah (Exalted be He) has mentioned and warned against a quality His enemies have, namely, averting people from His way. It is the disbelievers who averted people from the way of Allah (may He be Exalted) and sought to make it deviant. Unlike them, the believers are sincere, truthful, and humble in Jihad and call those who are deviant to the way of Allah and call people to the truth, guidance, and obedience to Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him). They can never be hypocrites or fight boastfully. Some people see this Fitnah, namely the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait as a doubtful matter. Some people think that it is better not to fight with either side. The same occurred during the first Fitnah which took place after the Prophet's (peace be upon him) death. It broke out between the people of the Levant (the region covering Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine) and the regions of Iraq because of the murder of `Uthman (may Allah be pleased with him). Those who had a grudge for Islam made their way into this Fitnah by means of stealth and the matter was completely chaotic. Owing to the unjust murder of `Uthman (may Allah be pleased with him), severe Fitnah took place. People pledged allegiance to `Aly (may Allah be pleased with him) as a Caliph. At the same time, Mu`awiyah (may Allah be pleased with him) and a group of people demanded that the murderers of `Uthman be brought to justice. Thus, the Fitnah intensified and Muslims were divided into two parties, one sided with Mu`awiyah (may Allah be pleased with him) and the people of the Levant and asked `Aly (may Allah be pleased with him) to surrender the murderers. The other party, which consisted of `Aly (may Allah be pleased with him) and his companions asked Mu`awiyah and his supporters to calm down and be patient and he tried to settle matters peacefully.

However, the matters worsened and two battles ensued: the Battle of the Camel and the Battle of Siffin. Some people at that time thought that it was better not to engage in this Fitnah. Some Sahabah joined neither `Aly nor Mu`awiyah.

Similarly, the current Fitnah caused people to become confused, especially that not all of them are well-informed or know what to do; some of them may have their insight blurred and can not understand the truth due to their perplexity. This Fitnah is not one that should be deserted because the truth is clear. The basic rule is that only the imperspicuous Fitnah, in which the truth cannot be distinguished from falsehood, must be avoided. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said, ﴿ There will be afflictions (in the near future) during which a person who is sitting will be better than one who is standing, and the person who is standing will be better than one who is walking, and the person who is walking will be better than one who is running, and whoever exposes himself to these afflictions, they will destroy him. So whoever can find a place of protection or refuge from them, should take shelter in it. ﴾ (Related in the two Sahih (authentic) books of Al-Bukhari and Muslim on the authority of Abu Hurayrah (may Allah be pleased with him)). He (peace be upon him) also said, ﴿ Before the Last Hour there will be commotions like pieces of a dark night in

which a man will be a believer in the morning and a disbeliever in the evening, or a believer in the evening and an disbeliever in the morning. He who sits during them will be better than he who gets up and he who walks during them is better than he who runs. So break your bows, cut your bowstrings, and strike your swords on stones. If people then come in to one of you, let him be like the better of Adam's two sons. ﴿Related by Ibn Majah and Abu Dawud﴾. This is the kind of Fitnah which the believer has to avoid because the truth is not distinct from falsehood.

As for the kind in which the truth is clear and the truth is distinguished from the falsehood and the oppressor from the oppressed, the Muslim has to engage in it to help the oppressed and deter the oppressor and fight the disbeliever. Regarding that meaning, Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿March forth, whether you are light (being healthy, young and wealthy) or heavy (being ill, old and poor), and strive hard with your wealth and your lives in the Cause of Allâh. This is better for you, if you but knew.﴾

Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Shall I guide you to a trade that will save you from a painful torment?﴾ The same meaning is further explained in His saying, ﴿That you believe in Allâh and His Messenger (Muhammad ﷺ) and that you strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allâh with your wealth and your lives: that will be better for you, if you but know!﴾ (If you do so) He will forgive you your sins, and admit you into Gardens under which rivers flow, and pleasant dwellings in ‘Adn (Eden) Paradise; that is indeed the great success. ﴿And also (He will give you) another (blessing) which you love, - help from Allâh (against your enemies) and a near victory. And give glad tidings (O Muhammad ﷺ) to the believers.﴾

In these Ayahs, Allah (Exalted be He) promises a reward for those who fight for His cause and raise the banner of truth; He (may He be Praised) says, ﴿O you who believe! Shall I guide you to a trade that will save you from a painful torment?﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) has described this act as a trade which saves from a painful torture. This is further explained in His saying, ﴿That you believe in Allâh and His Messenger (Muhammad ﷺ) and that you strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allâh with your wealth and your lives﴾ It is well-known that Jihad is part of faith, but Allah (Exalted be He) mentions it exclusively due to its great reward and the dire need to explain its virtue. Allah (may He be Praised) says, ﴿and that you strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allâh with your wealth and your lives﴾ Wealth is mentioned first because of its importance and far-reaching benefits. It may be used in buying weapons and providing fighters with food and equipment. It is, therefore, mentioned before lives in many Ayahs. Allah (Exalted be He) then says, ﴿that will be better for you, if you but know!﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) then explains how it is better in His saying, ﴿(If you do so) He will forgive you your sins, and admit you into Gardens under which rivers flow, and pleasant dwellings in ‘Adn (Eden) Paradise; that is indeed the great success.﴾ And also (He will give you) another (blessing) which you love, - help from Allâh (against your enemies) and a near victory. And give glad tidings (O Muhammad ﷺ) to the believers. ﴿All this is included in the reward of Jihad. He (Glorified and Exalted be He) says, ﴿And also (He will give you) another (blessing) which you love, - help from Allâh (against your enemies) and a near victory. And give glad tidings (O Muhammad ﷺ) to the believers.﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Verily, Allâh has purchased of the believers their lives and their properties for (the price) that theirs shall be the Paradise. They fight in Allâh’s Cause, so they kill (others) and are killed. It is a promise in truth which is binding on Him in the Taurât (Torah) and the Injeel (Gospel) and the Qur’ân. And who is truer to his covenant than Allâh? Then rejoice in the bargain which you have concluded. That is the supreme success.﴾ He (may He be Praised) also says, ﴿And if two parties or groups among the believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them both. But if one of them outrages against the other, then fight you (all) against the one that which outrages till it complies with the Command of Allâh. Then if it complies, then make reconciliation between them justly, and be equitable. Verily! Allâh loves those who are the equitable.﴾ When this party returns to the truth,

as in His saying, ﴿ Then if it complies ﴾ The believers must do what is mentioned in His saying, ﴿ then make reconciliation between them justly, and be equitable. Verily, Allāh loves those who are the equitable. ﴾

This applies to the situation where the two parties are believers. During the battles of the Camel and Saffin, the believers had to fight against the unjust party till they returned to the truth. After doing so, problematic issues must be considered and resolved through making reconciliation justly according to what is mentioned in His saying, ﴿ Then if it complies, then make reconciliation between them justly, and be equitable. ﴾ i.e. they have to use the wise ways which are ordained by Allah (Exalted be He) to resolve disputes. They have to ﴿ and be equitable. ﴾ as Allah (Exalted be He) ﴿ Verily! Allāh loves those who are the equitable. ﴾ This is true when the concerned parties are of the believers; the oppressing party should be fought until they comply with Allah's Command. How could it be if this party is not a believing one as is the case with the Iraqi ruler! He is an irreligious Ba'athist and is not among the believers. He calls to the principles of misguidance and Kufr and deceives people in the name of Islam. He calls to Jihad hypocritically and falsely. Had he been truthful, he would have given up transgressing, withdrawn from the country and performed Tawbah for having adhered to his principles, which oppose Islam where the source of legalization is the Qur'an and Sunnah.

Had he been truthful, he would have used peaceful means to resolve the dispute but not to transgress and threaten a neighboring country. His call to Jihad is no more than lying, and a form of hypocrisy and deceit. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said, ﴿ Help your brother whether he is an oppressor or an oppressed, ﴾ A man said, "O Allah's Messenger! I will help him if he is oppressed, but if he is an oppressor, how shall I help him?" The Prophet (peace be upon him) said, "By preventing him from oppressing (others), for that is how to help him. ﴾ Furthermore, Al-Bara' (may Allah be pleased with him) stressed the importance of supporting the oppressed in the authentic report recorded by Al-Bukhari and Muslim that ﴿ The Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) ordered us to do seven things; among them helping the oppressed. ﴾ It is obligatory upon every Muslim to support the oppressed, when they are able to. The worse the impact of wrongdoing is, the greater the obligation to resist it. If the oppressor is not fought, Fitnah may spread and harm may increase. He may invade other countries and worse consequences might occur, whose scope is known to none but Allah (Exalted be He).

Due to this critical situation, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia had to seek the help of Muslim and non-Muslim countries. It had to defend the country and its people and escape the evil of this irreligious criminal. Allah (Exalted be He) granted it success in doing so and we ask Him to make the consequences good, forsake the oppressor, send someone who is able to prevent his evil power, make the oppressor suffer disgraceful torment, defeat his troops and make them fall into confusion and protect us from his evil and the evil of his like. We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to make these efforts beneficial; to make the bad end for the oppressors and those who are stubborn; to make the believing pious people victorious and to help the soldiers who deter this oppressor to return home safely.

Those soldiers have one purpose, which is driving out the oppressing troops from Kuwait. Neglecting this matter and being indifferent to it is a great danger because the oppressor has a huge and well-trained army that was engaged in war for 8 years with their neighboring country, Iran. Allah (Exalted be He) facilitated the gathering of many armies to fight and deter him, back the oppressed, and render the rights back to their owners.

I ask Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) to make these means beneficial, make the good end for the oppressed, and make this event a lesson and a reminder for all. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ while He has explained to you in detail what is forbidden to you, except under compulsion of necessity ﴾ The Saudi government as well as the Gulf states are under necessity to seek help from Muslim and foreign troops to deter, fight and drive out the oppressor who refused to peacefully withdraw from the occupied country and the boundaries of Saudi Arabia. Many negotiations

regarding his requests from his neighbor were made, but in vain. He refused and behaved arrogantly, obstinately, and did not care about the rights of neighborhood, Islam and Ihsan (the perfection of Faith). Thus, it has become obligatory on the country to fight and take all necessary actions that help combat him.

We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to make these means beneficial; to give victory to the truth and its supporters; to let down falsehood and its people; and to help the wronged people return home successfully. We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to let down the oppressor, make his lot be evil consequences, and defeat his troops and lend them to disunity. May Allah protect us from the evil of this Fitnah and make it a lesson for all believers to learn from.

We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to make this Fitnah a cause for our return to Him and being firm in His religion and a good preparation for fighting our enemies.

Afflictions and Fitnah (trials) may be beneficial for the Muslims in the way that they judge their deeds and strive to support the truth and avoid the prohibitions. Showing obedience by fighting this army could be a means of achieving victory, whereas sins could lead to defeat.

The oppressed and participants in Jihad must be patient and persevering, fear Allah and adhere to His religion, observe His rights and advise each other to hold to the truth and advise each other to be patient. Success and victory will be the result, as Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿But if you remain patient and become Al-Muttaqûn [the pious - See V.2:2], not the least harm will their cunning do to you. Surely, Allâh surrounds all that they do.﴾

The Muslims will not be harmed by the plots of the enemies, if they remain patient and fear Allah (Exalted be He). The good end will be for them even if a group of them is afflicted by calamities, killed or hurt, because Allah's promise is truthful. Allah (may He be Praised) says, ﴿So be patient. Surely, the (good) end is for Al-Muttaqûn (the pious)﴾, ﴿And the good end (i.e. Paradise) is for the Muttaqûn (the pious).﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) also says: ﴿And whosoever fears Allâh and keeps his duty to Him, He will make a way for him to get out (from every difficulty).﴾ ﴿And He will provide him from (sources) he never could imagine.﴾ He (may He be Praised) also says, ﴿and whosoever fears Allâh and keeps his duty to Him, He will make his matter easy for him.﴾

All Muslims, male and female, in these countries and everywhere must hold fast to Allah's Din and preserve His commands and shun His Prohibitions and be truthful in fighting the enemies including this oppressor; namely, the Iraqi ruler and his troops. They should unite against this disbelieving enemy and his atheist party. We should implement Allah's orders and judge according to the teachings of Shari`ah to be victorious. The Muslim countries have to judge their deeds and strive for Allah's cause truthfully and apply the teachings of Shari`ah to all affairs. Like the ark of Nuh, the Islamic Shari`ah brought by the Prophet (peace be upon him) is considered to be a means of rescue for all people on earth. Whoever adheres and observes it will be saved in the worldly life and the Hereafter and when he is affected by misfortunes such as disasters or wars, he will be saved and the good end will be his in this life and the Hereafter. When the believers among the People of Nuh (peace be upon him) were afflicted with calamities, they were ordered to board the ship and He saved them due to their faith and the fact that they followed Prophet Nuh (peace be upon him). The believers at all times should be like this. They have to be patient and firm in religion until they find relief from Allah (Exalted be He) who says in Surah Fussilat, ﴿

Verily, those who say: "Our Lord is Allâh (Alone)," and then they stand firm, on them the angels will descend (at the time of their death) (saying): "Fear not, nor grieve! But receive the glad tidings of Paradise which you have been promised!﴾ ﴿"We have been your friends in the life of this world and are (so) in the Hereafter. Therein you shall have (all) that your inner-selves desire, and therein you shall have (all) for which you ask.﴾ ﴿"An entertainment from (Allâh), the Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful."﴾ Likewise, in Surah Al-Ahqaf Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿Verily, those who say: "Our Lord is (only) Allâh," and thereafter stand firm and straight on the Islâmic Faith of Monotheism, on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.﴾ ﴿Such shall be the dwellers of Paradise, abiding therein (forever) - a reward for what they used to do.﴾

All Muslims, whether they are in the Arabian Peninsula or anywhere else; men or women, rulers or subjects, must fear Allah (Exalted be He), be firm in religion and bring themselves to account in order to find out where the fault lies. It is well-known that sins may be the cause of afflictions, as Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ And whatever of misfortune befalls you, it is because of what your hands have earned. And He pardons much. (See the Qur'ân Verse 35:45). ﴾

This catastrophe, which we suffer, is the result of our sins and our heedlessness. We, therefore, have to return to Allah (Exalted be He), judge our deeds and strive for His cause. We must also avoid His prohibitions and recommend one another to the truth and patience so that Allah may make us victorious and protect us from the evil of ourselves and our enemies, as Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ But if you remain patient and become Al-Muttaqûn [the pious - See V.2:2], not the least harm will their cunning do to you. ﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) also says: ﴿ Help you one another in Al-Birr and At-Taqwâ (virtue, righteousness and piety); but do not help one another in sin and transgression. ﴾ He (may He be Praised) also says, ﴿ O you who believe! If you help (in the cause of) Allâh, He will help you, and make your foothold firm. ﴾

Allah (Exalted be He) also says: ﴿ Verily, Allâh will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allâh is All-Strong, All-Mighty. ﴾ Those (Muslim rulers) who, if We give them power in the land, (they) enjoin Iqamat-as-Salât [i.e. to perform the five compulsory congregational Salât (prayers) (the males in mosques)], to pay the Zakât and they enjoin Al-Ma'rûf (i.e. Islâmic Monotheism and all that Islâm orders one to do), and forbid Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism and all that Islâm has forbidden) [i.e. they make the Qur'ân as the law of their country in all the spheres of life]. And with Allâh rests the end of (all) matters (of creatures). ﴾ He (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ By Al-'Asr (the time). ﴾ Verily, man is in loss, ﴾ Except those who believe (in Islâmic Monotheism) and do righteous good deeds, and recommend one another to the truth [i.e. order one another to perform all kinds of good deeds (Al-Ma'ruf) which Allâh has ordained, and abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds (Al-Munkar which Allâh has forbidden)], and recommend one another to patience (for the sufferings, harms, and injuries which one may encounter in Allâh's Cause during preaching His religion of Islâmic Monotheism or Jihâd). ﴾ Those who have great faith, do good deeds, and command one another to patience and truth are the winners in all times and places.

The remedy of this Fitnah, like all others, is to be steadfast on the truth and to strive consistently by all possible means; military option, diplomacy, and all other means allowed by Allah (Exalted be He) to resolve problems, deter the oppressor, and render the rights to their owners.

There is nothing wrong with seeking help of the enemies, who advocate for the Muslims and are able to achieve victory when the latter fears to be defeated. The Prophet (peace be upon him), the best of creation, sought the help of Al-Mut'im ibn 'Ady who was a Kafir (disbeliever) when Abu Talib the Prophet's uncle died. Al-Mut'im, who was a popular and powerful figure, offered protection to him. When Abu Talib died, the Prophet (peace be upon him) went to Al-Ta'if to call its people to Islam. He (peace be upon him) was not able to return home at Makkah fearing the people of Makkah. He sought the protection of Al-Mut'im ibn 'Ady, the pagan chief, responded favorably. When the Prophet (peace be upon him) needed a guide to show him the way to Madinah, he hired one of the pagans to guide him to Madinah because he was sure of the latter's honesty.

When the Prophet (peace be upon him) was in need of the Jews after the conquest of Khaybar, they were assigned to take care of the palms and fields. They agreed that the harvest is to be divided into halves between them and the Muslims. That was because the Muslims were busy in Jihad. Although there was hostility between the Jews and Muslims, he (peace be upon him) assigned them to take care of the palms and fields of Khaybar when there was a need for that.

There is nothing wrong with seeking the help of the enemy when the latter is in favor of us against our enemies. We can benefit from an enemy until Allah (Exalted be He) helps us combat

the other enemy and force him out of the country. The case is clear for those who know the proofs of Shari`ah, the oppressor's state and acts of transgression, and the great danger he may bring. The Council of Senior Scholars, therefore, examined this event thoroughly and decided that there is no harm concerning the government seeking help of non-Muslim countries. The government did so out of necessity to avoid greater danger threatening the country if this oppressor continued in his transgression and ruined the country. Moreover, he may receive support from other people to persist in this falsehood.

The matter is dangerous and none but those whom Allah (Exalted be He) endowed with enlightened insight can understand and know the real facts and properly estimate the oppressor's power. We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to make this power against him and destroy him and protect us from his evil and that of all enemies. We also ask Allah (Exalted be He) to appoint a pious man over Iraq who will rule according to Shari`ah and implement Allah's command. May Allah protect the Iraqi people from the evil of this oppressing ruler, who caused damage and torment for the Muslims and ignited this Fitnah and huge danger.

We ask Allah to judge him with His justice and to eliminate him in order to relieve the Muslims of his Fitnah. We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to make the consequences good for the Muslims, return the oppressed to their countries, set right their affairs, implement Allah's command and protect us and them from apparent and hidden Fitn.

I saw it imperative to explain this question in detail to show the truth and validity of the decision of the government concerning seeking the help of the non-Muslim countries to fight this oppressor. Many people were confused about this situation and the severity of the government's need to do so. They do not know the reality as it is and the danger of this atheist; namely the Iraqi ruler Saddam Hussein.

Owing to their ignorance, they thought that this ruler was right and had good reasons to carry out this invasion. They thought that he is a good Muslim who calls to Islam due to his lies and hypocrisy; some of these people may even be hired by the Iraqi ruler to tell lies, while the others are not aware of the reality and are confused.

This is the real situation where this oppressor transgressed and insisted on his transgression and did not comply with Allah's command. Allah (may He be Praised) ordered us to fight the transgressing party, even if they are believers, until they comply with the Command of Allah. Consequently, it is better to fight and deter this party who are atheists and disbelievers and support the oppressed party using all available means leading to victory. For six months, the Muslims have tried and asked this ruler to reconsider the matter and withdraw from Kuwait, but he refused. Thus, war remains the last resort. It was necessary to seek help from a party who is stronger than the oppressed party to unite with them and combat and force out this oppressor. We ask Allah to eliminate him, spoil his evil plot, and strike him with the evil end. May Allah protect the Muslims from his evil, grant them victory over the enemies and steadfastness, and reform their affairs for He is All-Hearer, Ever Near.

Everyone has to learn and benefit from this Fitnah in rectifying our affairs and being firm in obeying Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger. We must judge our deeds so that we follow the right way and avoid any other. Allah (may He be Praised) has afflicted people with calamities to learn a lesson, as He says, ﴿ it may be that you dislike a thing and Allāh brings through it a great deal of good. ﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿ Jihād (holy fighting in Allāh's cause) is ordained for you (Muslims) though you dislike it, and it may be that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you like a thing which is bad for you. Allāh knows but you do not know. ﴾ We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to make this war beneficial and make its consequences good.

We must not forget what happened to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Sahabah, the best people, on the Day of Al-Ahzab. The disbelieving confederates numbered around ten thousand fighters gathered from everywhere and lay siege around Madinah. The hypocrites then said, ﴿ "Allāh and His Messenger (ﷺ) promised us nothing but delusion!" ﴾ Allah (may He be Praised) mentioned them in Surah Al-Ahzab His saying, ﴿ And when the hypocrites

and those in whose hearts is a disease (of doubts) said: "Allâh and His Messenger (ﷺ) promised us nothing but delusion!" Allah (Exalted be He) granted His Prophet (peace be upon him) victory and inflicted a heavy blow on the Confederates. As a result, tents were blown out, cooking vessels overthrown and the fighters became homeless. After this difficulty the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Sahabah experienced, Allah supported him and the Confederates returned home as losers.

Similarly, Allah (Exalted be He) supported the Muslims during the Battle of Uhud when the disbelievers gathered to invade Madinah. The Sahabah were injured and killed by the disbelievers. However, Allah eventually made them victorious and made the calamity of evil on their enemies who returned to Makkah disgraced. During this war, seventy men from the Sahabah were killed and the Prophet (peace be upon him) and many men were wounded. The disbelievers did their best to kill the Prophet (peace be upon him) but Allah (Exalted be He) supported and protected him.

When the Muslims wondered why such events took place, Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿What is the matter with you?﴾ When a single disaster smites you, although you smote (your enemies) with one twice as great ﴿The phrase 'twice as great' refers to the Muslims' victory on the Day of Badr. ﴿you say: "From where does this come to us?" Say (to them), "It is from yourselves (because of your evil deeds).﴾ The Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Sahabah suffered defeat on the Day of Uhud because of the greed of the archers. The Prophet (peace be upon him) ordered the archers to watch the Al-Rumah mountain (Archers' mountain) and not to leave it lest the enemy should enter through it. When the archers saw that the enemy was defeated and thought that the war ended, they left their stations and went to collect the booty. The enemy came through this place and defeated the Muslims. The main cause of defeat was disobeying the Prophet's order. So, Allah (Exalted be He) revealed the following Ayah, ﴿And Allâh did indeed fulfil His Promise to you when you were killing them (your enemy) with His Permission ﴿until His saying ﴿until (the moment) you lost your courage and fell to disputing about the order, and disobeyed after He showed you (of the booty) which you love. ﴿It refers to the archers who failed in their task, because of their dispute and disobeying the Prophet's command. As a result, Allah (Exalted be He) gave the enemy power over them, He says, ﴿What is the matter with you?﴾ When a single disaster smites you, although you smote (your enemies) with one twice as great, you say: "From where does this come to us?" Say (to them), "It is from yourselves (because of your evil deeds)." And Allâh has power over all things. ﴿Owing to the sins committed by some, the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his Sahabah were exposed to defeat, some were killed and others were wounded. You can imagine our situation.

Every Muslim in the world is obliged to judge their deeds, strive themselves, and examine their drawbacks to perform Tawbah. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿O you who believe! Fear Allâh and keep your duty to Him. And let every person look to what he has sent forth for the morrow ﴿You should contemplate what you have kept for yourselves of deeds for the Hereafter. If these deeds are good, be grateful to Allah (Exalted be He) and ask Him to grant you steadfastness. If they are bad, you are to perform Tawbah and return to the truth. Every believer is obliged to have Taqwa of Allah (Exalted be He) and hold themselves accountable all the time, especially at times of afflictions and diversities, which we experience in the present. We should perform Tawbah and judge our deeds and strive ourselves for Allah's cause. Allah (Exalted be He) has given power to our enemy only because of our sins. We must resort to Allah (Exalted be He) in humility and ask Him to grant us victory over this enemy, to let him down and protect us from the evil of the enemies, our own selves and Satan. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿When Our Torment reached them, why then did they not humble themselves (believe with humility)? ﴿We should follow the Prophet's (peace be upon him) example when he asked Allah (Exalted be He) in the night of the battle of Badr to grant him victory. He supplicated to Allah at night to grant him victory until Al-Siddiq (may Allah be pleased with him) came to him when the Prophet's outer garment fell down saying "This is enough, Messenger of Allah. Allah (Exalted be He) will grant you victory and

support." This was the case with the Prophet (peace be upon him), the best creation and master of Adam's sons. Our situation, therefore, necessitates us to implore Allah (Exalted be He) earnestly. We are in dire need to perform Tawbah, cry out of fearing Allah, ask Him day and night to grant us victory. Being heedless and sinful is a serious matter, so every sinful must perform Tawbah. Whoever commits any sin such as neglecting Salah, dealing with Riba, severing ties with parents or kinships, backbiting, or drinking intoxicants has to give up these sins and perform Tawbah. Everyone, whether they are ordinary employees, presidents, kings, or ministers, are obliged to judge their deeds and fear Allah (Exalted be He). They have to strive and perform Tawbah from their misdeeds including negligence of their work; they should obey their managers only in what is good and reasonable.

Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿ O you who believe! Take your precautions ﴾ The believers must prepare themselves well - as much as they can - to fight the enemies, as Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿ And make ready against them all you can of power ﴾ This power includes providing the Muslims with weapons, soldiers, and good training. When the Muslims are keen to do so, Allah (Exalted be He) will protect them from the enemy's evil and grant them victory, as He (may He be Praised) says, ﴿ How often a small group overcame a mighty host by Allâh's Leave? And Allâh is with As-Sâbirûn (the patient). ﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿ O you who believe! If you help (in the cause of) Allâh, He will help you, and make your foothold firm. ﴾ He (may He be Praised) also says, ﴿ But if you remain patient and become Al-Muttaqûn [the pious - See V.2:2], not the least harm will their cunning do to you. Surely, Allâh surrounds all that they do. ﴾ Furthermore, every Muslim has to appeal to Allah (Exalted be He) repeating his Du`a' and ask Him to grant the goodness of the worldly life and the Hereafter, as Allah (may He be Praised) says, ﴿ Invoke Me, [i.e. believe in My Oneness (Islâmic Monotheism) and ask Me for anything] I will respond to your (invocation). ﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿ And when My slaves ask you (O Muhammad ﷺ) concerning Me, then (answer them), I am indeed near (to them by My Knowledge). I respond to the invocations of the supplicant when he calls on Me (without any mediator or intercessor). So let them obey Me and believe in Me, so that they may be led aright. ﴾ He (may He be Praised) also says, ﴿ and ask Allâh of His Bounty ﴾ It should be noted that the answer of the Du`a' must not be awaited impatiently. It is authentically reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said, ﴿ Your supplication is answered unless you are impatient saying, 'I supplicated but left deprived,' then fall into regret and gave up supplication. ﴾ The believer should not give up making Du`a', even if the answer is delayed. Allah (may He be Praised) - due to His profound wisdom, delays the answer so that man might comprehend why the answer of his Du`a' is delayed. Man starts to judge his deeds and strive to take the steps leading to accepting his Du`a'. Among these steps are performing sincere Tawbah, caring about gaining lawfully, causing the heart to be attuned to Allah's commands while making Du`a', and the other things which result in beneficial outcomes. If the Du`a' is answered immediately, these great benefits will be missed.

Here is an example that shows what we mentioned above concerning delaying the answer of Du`a'. Prophet Ya`qub (Jacob) (peace be upon him) supplicated Allah (Exalted be He) to bring back his son Yusuf, but the answer of his supplication was delayed for a long time. Yusuf spent long years in jail. It should be noted that the answer may be delayed even if the one making Du`a' is a noble prophet like Ya`qub, son of Ishaq, son of Ibrahim (peace be upon them). It becomes evident that Allah (Exalted be He) has great wisdom in delaying or hastening the answer of Du`a'. It is authentically reported that the Messenger (peace be upon him) said, ﴿ Whenever a servant supplicates Allah with an invocation that does not contain a sin or severance of one's ties, Allah will give him one of three things: his supplication will be accepted in this life, his supplication may be saved for him in the Hereafter or he may be saved from similar kind of trouble. The Sahabah said: "Then we shall supplicate plentifully." He (peace be upon him) said: "Allah is more plentiful (in responding)." ﴾ (Related by Imam Ahmad in his Musnad).

In conclusion, the Muslim is prescribed, when the answer of his Du`a' is delayed, to ponder why the answer is delayed, why Allah (Exalted be He) gave the enemy power over us and why we were afflicted with such calamity.

All of us, individuals and governments, should judge our deeds and strive so that we know the drawbacks and sins and use the lawful remedy for them. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said that every disease has its remedy. The remedy of sins is performing Tawbah and obeying Allah's commands.

Everyone has to perform sincere Tawbah to get rid of his sins. It should be noted that Allah (Exalted be He) is never unjust to His servants. You may be unjust to yourself by committing the sins. The ruler of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, was unjust to Saudi Arabia as he fired it with rockets. Saudi Arabia supported him in many ways against his enemy. Saddam himself mentioned the aid offered by it in his letter sent to the Custodian of the Two Sacred Mosques. He mentioned some of the assistance yet concealed others. We called upon him to withdraw from Kuwait first and then we could discuss other problems. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia offered many favors to Saddam Hussein who was ungrateful to both of them. He fired rockets against KSA and concentrated his forces near its borders. He expelled the Kuwaiti people. He went against the saying of Allah (Exalted be He), ﴿Is there any reward for good other than good?﴾ During times of afflictions, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Gulf states offered a lot of aid and supported him as much as they could, but he reacted ungratefully and aggressively. They called upon him to withdraw from Kuwait and to make negotiations between him and Kuwait concerning the problematic issues to solve them through peaceful means. However, he urged his supporters to harm people in other countries. Meanwhile, out of wickedness and hypocrisy, he attacked the Jews in order to disunite the Arab alliance and remove the siege. Why did he leave them for such a long period and did not attack them before attacking Kuwait? He had to attack the Jews because they are the real enemies instead of attacking his neighbors and those who made favors to him. However, his cunning, transgression and hypocrisy led him to attack the Jews at that time. His aim was to disperse the Arab alliance mobilized to fight him and consequently the siege laid against him would be lifted. His evil plot was of no avail.

We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to spoil his evil plots and to respond to the Muslims' supplications against him as he is an oppressor, cunning, deceiving, and a hypocrite. He spared no effort to cause aggression and transgression.

We ask Allah by His Most Beautiful Names and Honorable Attributes to destroy him, turn the calamity of evil against him, let down and destroy his oppressing supporters, grant anyone who is confused about his case guidance and insight. May Allah grant Muslim soldiers power over whoever supports him, for He is the Most Generous! May Allah (Exalted be He) make the Muslims and whoever supports them victorious over him and his allies, by Allah's Favor, destroying the oppressor and forcing him out of Kuwait in humility! We ask Allah to appoint a pious man over Iraq to rule justly according to Shari`ah and implement Allah's command.

O brothers! Every Muslim in the world is obliged to fear Allah (Exalted be He), be firm on His religion, and strive to do so. Meanwhile, we should ask Allah (Exalted be He) to grant the pious people oppressed His rapid victory and suppress and destroy this aggressor. May Allah (Exalted be He) appoint a pious man over Iraq to rule justly according to Shari`ah and implement Allah's command, for He (Glorified and Exalted be He) is the Most Generous! There is neither might nor power except with Allah. May peace and blessings be upon His Messenger, Prophet Muhammad ibn `Abdullah, and his family, Companions and followers in righteousness until the Day of Judgment!

Appendix C: Text of the “Questions after the Lecture” Fatwa

Full Title of Fatwa: “Questions after the Lecture and Their Answers.”

TEXT:

Q 1: Some people doubt the Fatwa (legal opinion) issued by the Council of Senior Scholars concerning seeking help from Non-Muslims to defend Muslim lands and fight the ruler of Iraq, saying that there is no strong evidence that supports this Fatwa. What is the view of Your Eminence?

A: We have previously explained in many articles and pointed out that the Lord (Glorified and Exalted be He) states in the Ever-Glorious Qur'an that it is permissible for the believers to do what He prohibited in cases of necessity. He (Exalted be He) says: ﴿while He has explained to you in detail what is forbidden to you, except under compulsion of necessity﴾ When He prohibited Maytah (carrion/unslaughtered dead animals), blood, the flesh of swine, and that which has been killed by strangling, or by a violent blow, He concluded the Ayah (Qur'anic verse) by saying: ﴿But as for him who is forced by severe hunger, with no inclination to sin (such can eat these above mentioned meats), then surely, Allâh is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.﴾ This means that the country, in this case of necessity, was forced to seek the help of some non-Muslim countries against the unjust oppressor, for his danger was great and he had other perpetrators. If he gained victory, their evil would prevail. Therefore, the government of Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries saw it necessary to seek the help of superpower countries to fight this atheist unjust enemy and put an end to his evil and injustice.

The Council of Senior Scholars in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia reviewed the case and decided on the permissibility of seeking help from non-Muslim countries. It is obligatory to make use of whatever wards off evil without any delay; it is obligatory to promptly take action to ward off harm from Muslims, even if this is to be achieved by seeking the help of a group of Mushriks (ones who associate others with Allah in His Divinity or worship) to resist aggression and remove injustice. This is what they came for; not to conquer the country or seize it, but to combat aggression and injustice and then return to their countries. They were to combat the enemy and they did not purposefully kill the innocent or the civilians; rather, they wanted to kill the unjust aggressors, abort their plots, and undermine their provisions and power in war.

However, some biased rumormongers tell lies to people and say that the non-Muslims besieged Al-Haramayn Al-Sharifayn (the Two Sacred Mosques: the Sacred Mosque in Makkah and the Prophet's Mosque in Madinah). All these are rumors made to spread falsehood and distract people, out of hatred or ignorance of some people, or because they are hired by the ruler of Iraq to confuse people.

People are of different kinds; some are unaware of and uncertain about facts, some are ignorant of the Shari`ah rulings, and others are employed by unjust oppressors to disturb people and confuse Al-Haqq (the Truth). Allah is the One Whose help is sought.

Q 2: Some authorized bodies direct people to do certain things to avoid the danger of toxic gases and harmful air gases; is a Muslim to blame for following these instructions?

A: A Muslim is commanded to be cautious and follow the instructions that guard them from evil. Allah (Exalted be He) says: ﴿O you who believe! Take your precautions﴾ There is nothing wrong with following the useful and guarding means, such as using gas masks and other preventions or carrying weapons to resist any attacker or to kill a serpent or scorpion during Salah (prayer) or any other time to ward off their evil.

One is ordered to take the useful means. Allah (Exalted be He) says: ﴿And make ready against them all you can of power﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Take your precautions﴾ Likewise, in the Ayah (Qur'anic verse) concerning Salat-ul-Khawf (Prayer in times of fear), Allah orders Muslims to be ready with weapons: ﴿When you (O Messenger Muhammad ﷺ) are among them, and lead them in As-Salât (the prayer), let one party of them stand up [in Salât (prayer)] with you taking their arms with them﴾ [Surah (Qur'anic chapter) Al-Nisa']

Q 3: You know that there are non-Muslim armies fighting with us against the ruler of Iraq. Is our struggle regarded as Jihad bearing in mind that we and them fight under one banner? Are those killed among us martyrs?

A: The one who participates in this war should purify his intention, making it solely to remove injustice and benefit Muslims so that Allah (Exalted be He) rewards him and deems him as a martyr if he is killed. The armies do not fight under the banners of disbelief but every army should have its commander. Saudi armies have their commander Khalid ibn Sultan under the commander-in-chief the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques. Similarly, other armies such as the Egyptian, Syrian, British, and other armies, are controlled by a joint plan that they cannot deviate from. Allah (Exalted be He) says, ﴿and do not dispute (with one another) lest you lose courage and your strength departs﴾ There must be a kind of organization and cooperation among everyone to avoid failure and defeat by the enemy.

Once a man came and asked the Prophet, ﴿(What do you think) if a man comes to me in order to seize my possession?﴾ He (the Prophet) said, "Do not surrender your possession to him." He (the inquirer) said, "If he fights me?" He (the Prophet) remarked, "Then fight (him)." He (the inquirer) again said, "What do you think if I am killed?" He (the Prophet) observed, "You would be a martyr." He (the inquirer) said, "What if I kill him." He (the Prophet) said, "He would be in the Hell." ﴿Related by Muslim in his Sahih﴾ This is the case of a person who defends his property. Then, what do you think of a person who defends his religion, Muslim brothers and the sanctities of Islam! The Prophet (peace be upon him) said, ﴿Whoever is killed defending his religion is a martyr; whoever is killed in defense of his own life is a martyr; and whoever is killed in defense of his family is a martyr, he who is killed in defense of his property is a martyr.﴾

The warriors in this war, if Allah (Exalted be He) purifies their intentions, are simply defending the religion of Islam and the Muslims' lives, property, countries, and honor. They also save the Muslims from the danger of an irreligious enemy whose harm is severer than that of the Jews and Christians. This is great turmoil and Jihad is considered as one of the most important duties in this regard. As for those who fight by the side of the wrongdoer, they are promised Hell for they assist him in his injustice and aggression. It is even feared that those people will receive the same judgment if they approve of his Ba'thist doctrine or consider killing Muslims to be permissible. Undoubtedly, they share the sin of doing injustice and aggression. Whether or not they are outside the fold of Islam, is an issue with many details; however, they are liable to punishment even if they are Muslims because of fighting on the side of aggressors against their wronged Muslim brothers.

On the other hand, the Muslim who stands against the oppressors and fights them is expected to have great reward; if they are killed, they will be martyrs; if they are taken prisoners or hurt, they will be rewarded. They will be credited in any case, if Allah (Exalted be He) purifies their intention.

Q 4: Many people have doubts that fighting against Saddam is Jihad (fighting/striving in the Cause of Allah). They think it is for gaining material interests such as oil and land. Had the Muslims tried fighting the Jews, the coalition countries would not have stood by their side. The Jews have oppressed and occupied the lands of Muslims as did the ruler of Iraq. Nevertheless, the rights have not returned to its people until now. We would like Your Eminence to explain this point to us.

A: The Jews present another case; they have invaded the land of Palestine. Muslims should fight to drive them out of Muslim lands and help our Palestinian brothers to triumph over them and establish their Islamic state on their land. Undoubtedly, this is obligatory upon Muslim countries; but we should not confuse both issues. The case that the Islamic countries do not fight the Jews at the present time is not an excuse for Saddam to fight Muslims in the Arabian Peninsula and Kuwait or for any other Muslim to help him. In addition, it is not permissible for the Islamic countries to support his aggression and injustice; rather, he should be resisted and fought to put an end to his oppression against Muslims with all affordable might, acting upon Allah's Saying (Exalted be He): ﴿And fight them until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and polytheism, i.e. worshipping others besides Allāh) and the religion (worship) will all be for Allāh Alone [in the whole of the world].﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And if two parties or groups among the believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them both. But if one of them outrages against the other, then fight you (all) against the one that which outrages till it complies with the Command of Allāh.﴾

If the believing outrageous party should be fought till it complies with the Command of Allah and stops its oppression, then fighting against the unbelieving oppressing party like Saddam and his Ba`thist followers takes greater priority until they return to Al-Haqq (the Truth) and abandon their oppression. The Jews pose another issue and fighting them is a separate obligation; but the aggression of Saddam against Kuwait is another issue and he should be resisted and fought to get rid of his evil.

Muslims' failure to fight with the Palestinians against the Jews is not an excuse to justify their failure to fight Saddam, who went astray like the Jews and the Christians. He attacked a peaceful people and intended to invade the rest of the Gulf countries, due to his evil intentions. If Muslims had good intentions and Allah guided and supported them to fight Saddam and his soldiers and rescue Kuwait, they would, in sha'a-Allah (if Allah wills), be able to fight the Jews and save Al-Quds. This is a different Jihad (fighting/striving in the Cause of Allah) and obligation. Muslims should also fight the Kafirs (disbeliever) other than the Jews, if possible, to let them enter into the religion of Allah in multitudes or pay the Jizyah (poll tax required from non-Muslims living in an Islamic state). Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿And fight them until there is no more Fitnah (disbelief and worshipping of others along with Allāh) and (all and every kind of) worship is for Allāh (Alone).﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿Fight against those who (1) believe not in Allāh, (2) nor in the Last Day, (3) nor forbid that which has been forbidden by Allāh and His Messenger Muhammad (ﷺ) (4) and those who acknowledge not the religion of truth (i.e. Islām) among the people of the Scripture (Jews and Christians), until they pay the Jizyah with willing submission, and feel themselves subdued.﴾ Muslims should fight all the Kafirs, until the religion, all of it, is for Allah, except for whoever pays the Jizyah; if they fail to do this, they are not to blame if they fight others who commit transgressions against them. Allah (Glorified be He) says: ﴿So keep your duty to Allāh and fear Him as much as you can﴾

The Jews occupied Palestine; so all Muslims should fight by the side of the Palestinians against the Jews. Saddam invaded Kuwait and rallied armies against Saudi Arabia, aiming at a new aggression, by a stubborn unjust oppressor, who is severer than the Jews and Christians and should be fought; for the Communists and Ba`thists are worse in disbelief than the People of the Book, may Allah save Muslims from their evil!

Q 5: Is it obligatory upon all Muslims to stand by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia against the unjust oppressor?

A: This is our belief; as they should fight the Jews according to their ability, they should fight Saddam according to their ability as a worse urgent priority. They should stand on the side of Al-Haqq (the Truth) against falsehood at anytime everywhere. This is an obligation on Muslims subject to ability and might.

This is to support the wronged party and resist the wrongful party as Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) ordered and made permissible in His Saying: ﴿And if two parties or groups among the believers fall to fighting﴾ as quoted before. Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And indeed whosoever takes revenge after he has suffered wrong, for such there is no way (of blame) against them.﴾ ﴿The way (of blame) is only against those who oppress men and rebel in the earth without justification; for such there will be a painful torment.﴾ The Messenger (peace be upon him) ordered that in his saying: ﴿Help your brother whether he is an oppressor or oppressed,﴾ A man said, “O Allah’s Messenger! I will help him if he is oppressed, but if he is an oppressor, how shall I help him?” The Prophet (peace be upon him) said, “By preventing him from oppressing (others), for that is how to help him.﴾ If the Muslim oppressor should be prevented from oppression, then the Kafir (disbeliever) oppressor should, as a priority, receive the same, due to his Kufr (disbelief) and injustice, such as the ruler of Iraq and similar unjust atheists.

Q 6: Is it permissible to curse the ruler of Iraq (i.e. Saddam) taking into consideration that some people say as long as he says the two testimonies of Islam, no one should curse him? In addition, is he regarded a disbeliever? What is the opinion of Your Eminence on those who say that Saddam is a disbeliever?

A: He is a disbeliever even if he utters the testimonies of Islam or offers Salah (prayer) and Sawm (fasting) as long as he does not disavow the principles of atheistic Ba`thism and declare his repentance to Allah from them and what they call for. This is because Ba`thism involves disbelief and aberrance. He is regarded as a disbeliever, unless he declares so. A similar case to this is that of `Abdullah ibn Ubay, who is regarded as a disbeliever despite that he used to perform Salah with the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said the testimonies of Islam. This did not help him owing to his disbelief and hypocrisy. Accordingly, those who say the testimony of Islam amongst the advocates of disbelieving doctrines such as Ba`thists, communists and the like while offering Salah, which are done for worldly purposes, these things will not save them from disbelief as they are based on hypocrisy. Allah prepared for the hypocrites a severe torment in the Hereafter as indicated in Allah's Saying, ﴿Verily, the hypocrites will be in the lowest depth (grade) of the Fire; no helper will you find for them.﴾ Saddam claims that he is Muslim and says that he fights in the cause of Allah but this does not avail him or clear him from hypocrisy. He must declare that his repentance is to Allah of what he believed in and proves this with actions, so as to be regarded as a true believer. Allah (Glorified be He) said, ﴿Except those who repent and do righteous deeds, and openly declare (the truth which they concealed).﴾ Repentance involves both verbal and actual reform. If one of these elements is not fulfilled, a person is not truthful in his repentance. Accordingly, if Saddam is truthful in his claims of Islam, then he must disavow Ba`thism, leave Kuwait, return rights to their owners, declare his repentance of Ba`thism and its principles of disbelief and misguidance. I recommend those Ba`thists to return to Allah in repentance and adopt real Islam with its principles in word and action, outwardly and inwardly. They should be on the straight path of the religion of Allah and believe in Allah, His Messenger, and the Hereafter if they are truthful. However, pretense and hypocrisy is of no value to Allah or the believers. Allah (may He be Exalted and Glorified) says: ﴿Verily, the hypocrites will be in the lowest depth (grade) of the Fire﴾ ﴿They (think to) deceive Allâh and those who believe, while they only deceive themselves, and perceive (it) not!﴾ ﴿In their hearts is a disease (of doubt and hypocrisy) and Allâh has increased their disease. A painful torment is theirs because they used to

tell lies. ﴿ And when it is said to them: "Make not mischief on the earth," they say: "We are only peace-makers." ﴿ Verily! They are the ones who make mischief, but they perceive not. ﴿ And when it is said to them (hypocrites): "Believe as the people (followers of Muhammad ﷺ, Al-Ansâr and Al-Muhajirûn) have believed," they say: "Shall we believe as the fools have believed?" Verily, they are the fools, but they know not. ﴿ This is the situation of Saddam and the like of those who declare Islam hypocritically and deceptively while they affect Muslims with kinds of harm and injustice and adhere to the atheistic Ba`thist belief.

Q 7: Is the cooperation of the volunteers with police officers considered a kind of Al-Ribat (garrisoning Muslim frontiers)?

A: The cooperation of volunteers in any country with the security forces against corruption is considered Jihad (fighting/striving in the Cause of Allah) for whomever Allah has granted sincere intention. It comes under Al-Ribat for the Sake of Allah, which means keeping a guarding army ready to defend Muslims' frontiers against enemies. If the enemy lies inside the country and the security forces need Muslims' help against the enemy, those Muslims are hopefully considered among those who garrison Muslims' frontiers and will have the reward of garrisoning for protecting the country against the plots of interior enemies. Likewise, cooperation with the officers of the Committee for the Propagation of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice (CPVPV) is considered Jihad in the Cause of Allah, for whoever does this for the Sake of Allah. Allah (Glorified be He) says: ﴿ As for those who strive hard in Us (Our Cause), We will surely guide them to Our Paths (i.e. Allâh's religion - Islâmîc Monotheism). And verily, Allâh is with the Muhsinûn (good doers). ﴾

The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: ﴿ Never had Allah sent a Prophet before me to a nation but he had among his people (his) disciples and companions who followed his way and obeyed his command. Then, there came after them their successors who said whatever they did not practice and practiced whatever they were not commanded to do. He who strives against them with his hand is a believer: he who strives against them with his tongue is a believer, and he who strives against them with his heart is a believer and beyond that there is no faith even to the extent of a mustard seed. ﴾ (Related by Imam Muslim in his Sahih (authentic) Book on the authority of `Abdullah ibn Mas`ud [may Allah be pleased with him]).

Q 8: Some physicians and workers in the field of oil ask, "If they have the intention of working for the Sake of Allah, and they happen to be killed by the rockets shot by the ruler of Iraq, will they become martyrs?"

A: If they are Muslims, they will be martyrs if they are struck by rockets or anything else that causes their death. They will have the ruling of martyrs. Similarly, any Muslim who is killed wrongfully anywhere would be a martyr. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: ﴿ "He who is killed in defense of his faith is a martyr; he who is killed in defense of his property is a martyr; he who is killed in defense of his own life is a martyr and he who is killed in defense of his family is a martyr." ﴾ It is authentically reported in the Sahih (authentic) Book of Muslim, that a man came to the Prophet (peace be upon him) and said: ﴿ "O Messenger of Allah, what should I do if a man comes to seize my money? He said: 'Do not give him your money.' He said: 'What if he fights with me? He said: 'Fight him.' He said: 'What if he kills me?' He said: 'You are a martyr.' He said: 'What if I kill him?' He said: 'He is in Hell-Fire.'" ﴾ This great Hadith indicates that a Muslim killed unjustly is a martyr. All Praise and Grace are due to Allah Alone for that.

Appendix D: Text of the “What are Muslims to do?” Fatwa

Full Title of Fatwa: “What are Muslims Obligated to do regarding the Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait?”

TEXT:

This is a message from `Abdul `Aziz Bin `Abdullah Ibn Baz to whoever sees it of Muslims. May Allah guide them and us to the path of His believing servants! May Allah protect them and us from the path of those who incurred His wrath and those who went astray, Amen! As-salamu `alaykum warahmatullah wabarakatuh (May Allah's Peace, Mercy, and Blessings be upon you!): Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿And I (Allâh) created not the jinn and mankind except that they should worship Me (Alone).﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O mankind! Worship your Lord (Allâh), Who created you and those who were before you so that you may become Al-Muttaqûn (the pious - See V.2:2).﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam), and from him (Adam) He created his wife [Hawwâ (Eve)], and from them both He created many men and women; and fear Allâh through Whom you demand (your mutual rights), and (do not cut the relations of) the wombs (kinship). Surely, Allâh is Ever an All-Watcher over you.﴾

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O mankind! Be afraid of your Lord (by keeping your duty to Him and avoiding all evil), and fear a Day when no father can avail aught for his son, nor a son avail aught for his father. Verily, the Promise of Allâh is true: let not then this (worldly) present life deceive you, nor let the chief deceiver (Satan) deceive you about Allâh.﴾

Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And they were commanded not, but that they should worship Allâh, and worship none but Him Alone (abstaining from ascribing partners to Him), and perform As-Salât (Iqâmat-as-Salât) and give Zakât, and that is the right religion.﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Fear Allâh (by doing all that He has ordered and by abstaining from all that He has forbidden) as He should be feared. [Obey Him, be thankful to Him, and remember Him always], and die not except in a state of Islâm [as Muslims (with complete submission to Allâh)].﴾ ﴿And hold fast, all of you together, to the Rope of Allâh (i.e. this Qur'ân), and be not divided among yourselves﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Keep your duty to Allâh and fear Him, and speak (always) the truth.﴾ ﴿He will direct you to do righteous good deeds and will forgive you your sins. And whosoever obeys Allâh and His Messenger (ﷺ), he has indeed achieved a great achievement (i.e. he will be saved from the Hell-fire and will be admitted to Paradise).﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Fear Allâh and keep your duty to Him. And let every person look to what he has sent forth for the morrow, and fear Allâh. Verily, Allâh is All-Aware of what you do.﴾ ﴿And be not like those who forgot Allâh (i.e. became disobedient to Allâh), and He caused them to forget their own selves, (let them to forget to do righteous deeds). Those are the Fâsiqûn (rebellious, disobedient to Allâh).﴾ ﴿Not equal are the dwellers of the Fire and the dwellers of the Paradise. It is the dwellers of Paradise that will be successful.﴾

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Say (O Muhammad ﷺ to mankind): "If you (really) love Allâh then follow me (i.e. accept Islâmic Monotheism, follow the Qur'ân and the Sunnah), Allâh will love you and forgive you your sins. And Allâh is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful."﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿And fear the Fitnah (affliction and trial) which affects not in particular (only) those of you who do wrong (but it may afflict all the good and the bad people), and know that Allâh is Severe in punishment.﴾

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿The believers, men and women, are Auliya' (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another; they enjoin (on the people) Al-Ma'rûf

(i.e. Islâmic Monotheism and all that Islâm orders one to do), and forbid (people) from Al-Munkar (i.e. polytheism and disbelief of all kinds, and all that Islâm has forbidden); they perform As-Salât (Iqâmat-as-Salât), and give the Zakât, and obey Allâh and His Messenger. Allâh will have His Mercy on them. Surely Allâh is All-Mighty, All-Wise.) Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Truly! The Muttaqûn (the pious - See V.2:2) will be amidst Gardens and water-springs (Paradise).﴾

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Verily, for the Muttaqûn (the pious - See V.2:2) are Gardens of delight (Paradise) with their Lord.﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Ward off yourselves and your families against a Fire (Hell) whose fuel is men and stones, over which are (appointed) angels stern (and) severe, who disobey not, (from executing) the Commands they receive from Allâh, but do that which they are commanded.﴾

There are many Ayahs concerning enjoining righteousness and obeying Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him) and declaring the good end of the pious.

Through the Ayahs we have just mentioned, Allah (may He be Praised) explains that He (Glorified and Exalted be He) created man and jinn to worship Him and He orders them to do so. Allah (may He be Praised) states that He orders all people to worship and fear Him. He orders the believers in particular to fear Him and fulfill His rights. Allah (may He be Praised) also commands them to hold fast to His Rope (i.e. this Qur'ân) and to adhere to His Shari'ah. He ordered them to ward off from themselves and their families the Punishment of Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He). He (Glorified and Exalted be He) orders them to beware of Fitnah (affliction and trial) which affects not only those who do wrong but also all good and bad people. He (may He be Praised) explains that among the reasons that make Allah (Exalted be He) love His servants and among the signs of the servants being truthful in loving their Lord, which makes Allah (Exalted be He) love them, is that they have to follow the Messenger (peace be upon him) in all that he conveyed, and that they have to adhere to His Shari'ah in their sayings, acts, and creed. Allah (may He be Praised) makes it clear that among the characteristics and great ethics of the believers is that they are Auliya' (helpers, supporters, friends, protectors) of one another; they enjoin (on the people) Al-Ma'rûf (i.e. Islâmic Monotheism and all that Islâm orders one to do), and forbid (people) from Al-Munkar (i.e. polytheism and disbelief of all kinds, and all that Islâm has forbidden). Thus, all Muslims everywhere are obliged to worship Allah alone and to fear Him by fulfilling His commands and avoiding His Prohibitions. Muslims are obliged to love one another for the Sake of Allah. They should enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil since this brings them happiness and safety in both the worldly life and the Hereafter

This also results in their victory over their enemies and protects them from their plots and evils as Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿Verily, Allâh will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allâh is All-Strong, All-Mighty.﴾ ﴿Those (Muslim rulers) who, if We give them power in the land, (they) enjoin Iqamat-as-Salât [i.e. to perform the five compulsory congregational Salât (prayers) (the males in mosques)], to pay the Zakât and they enjoin Al-Ma'rûf (i.e. Islâmic Monotheism and all that Islâm orders one to do), and forbid Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism and all that Islâm has forbidden) [i.e. they make the Qur'ân as the law of their country in all the spheres of life]. And with Allâh rests the end of (all) matters (of creatures).﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! If you help (in the cause of) Allâh, He will help you, and make your foothold firm.﴾ Taqwa (fearing Allah as He should be feared) is obeying Allah and His Messenger (peace be upon him), steadfast adherence to His religion, devoting worship to Allah alone, and adhering to the Shari'ah through utterances, actions, and beliefs. Shari'ah is the religion of Islam with which Allah (Exalted be He) sent His Messengers and Scriptures. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿Verily, those who believe (in Islâmic Monotheism) and do righteous good deeds, for them are Gardens of Delight (Paradise).﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Whoever works righteousness - whether male or female - while he (or she) is a true believer (of Islâmic Monotheism) verily, to him We will give a good life (in this world with respect, contentment and lawful provision), and We shall pay them

certainly a reward in proportion to the best of what they used to do (i.e. Paradise in the Hereafter). ﴿Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Allâh has promised those among you who believe and do righteous good deeds, that He will certainly grant them succession to (the present rulers) in the land, as He granted it to those before them, and that He will grant them the authority to practise their religion which He has chosen for them (i.e. Islâm). And He will surely give them in exchange a safe security after their fear (provided) they (believers) worship Me and do not associate anything (in worship) with Me.﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Truly, the religion with Allâh is Islâm.﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿This day, I have perfected your religion for you, completed My Favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islâm as your religion.﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And whoever seeks a religion other than Islâm, it will never be accepted of him, and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losers.﴾

Advising His believing servants to adhere to patience and righteousness and to beware of the enemies of Allah, Allah (may He be Praised) says: ﴿But if you remain patient and become Al-Muttaqûn [the pious - See V.2:2], not the least harm will their cunning do to you. Surely, Allâh surrounds all that they do.﴾ There are many Ayahs that stress this meaning.

It is definitely obvious that Iraq has committed aggression these days against Kuwait. Iraq has invaded Kuwait with its armies and weapons of destruction, which resulted in bloodshed, usurping money, raping, displacing Kuwaiti people, and mobilizing armies at the borders between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Undoubtedly, this act committed by Iraq is a great aggression and an abominable crime that should be condemned by Arab and Islamic countries. It is condemned and abhorred by the whole world because it contradicts the purified Shari`ah and established conventions between Arab and Muslim countries, and so on. There is no doubt that what happened is due to sins, emergence of evil deeds, and lack of watchful faith and deterring power. All Muslims should condemn this evil act, support the oppressed country, repent to Allah, reckon themselves concerning this, and help one another in Al-Birr and At-Taqwâ (virtue, righteousness and piety) wherever they are. They should also advise one another to stick to truth and be patient in that i.e. to strive with one's self against the aggressors, to hold firm to the Rope of Allah altogether, and to be one row, body, and construction against the enemy and oppressor, whether a Muslim or a non-Muslim. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿Help you one another in Al-Birr and At-Taqwâ (virtue, righteousness and piety); but do not help one another in sin and transgression. And fear Allâh. Verily, Allâh is Severe in punishment.﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And hold fast, all of you together, to the Rope of Allâh (i.e. this Qur`ân), and be not divided among yourselves﴾ Then Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿By Al-`Asr (the time).﴾ ﴿Verily, man is in loss,﴾ ﴿Except those who believe (in Islâmic Monotheism) and do righteous good deeds, and recommend one another to the truth [i.e. order one another to perform all kinds of good deeds (Al-Ma`ruf) which Allâh has ordained, and abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds (Al-Munkar which Allâh has forbidden], and recommend one another to patience (for the sufferings, harms, and injuries which one may encounter in Allâh's Cause during preaching His religion of Islâmic Monotheism or Jihâd).﴾ The Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him) said: ﴿The similitude of believers in regard to mutual love, affection, and fellow-feeling is that of one body; when any limb of it aches, the whole body aches, because of sleeplessness and fever.﴾ He (peace be upon him) also said: ﴿ﷺ" A faithful believer to a faithful believer is like the bricks of a wall, enforcing each other.﴾ While saying so the Prophet (peace be upon him) clasped his hands, by interlacing his fingers.﴾ There are many Ayahs and Hadiths stressing this meaning. It is obligatory for the president of Iraq to fear and repent to Allah (Exalted be He) and hasten to withdraw his army from Kuwait. Then, he can solve his problem with Kuwait through peaceful means and fair and impartial settlement. If this cannot be reached, then it is obligatory to refer to the purified Shari`ah through forming a legal court consisting of a group of knowledgeable, graceful and fair scholars so as to judge between them. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿O you who believe! Obey Allâh and obey the Messenger (Muhammad صلى الله عليه وسلم), and those of you (Muslims) who are in authority. (And) if you differ in

anything amongst yourselves, refer it to Allâh and His Messenger (ﷺ), if you believe in Allâh and in the Last Day. That is better and more suitable for final determination.)

Allah (Glorified be He) also says: (And in whatsoever you differ, the decision thereof is with Allâh (He is the ruling Judge).) Allah (Glorified be He) also says: (Do they then seek the judgement of (the days of) Ignorance? And who is better in judgement than Allâh for a people who have firm Faith.) Allah (Glorified be He) also says: (But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muhammad ﷺ) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission.) In this noble Ayah, Allah (may He be Praised) swears that people can have no faith until they make His Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) judge in all disputes that erupt between them. We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to grant success to all Muslim leaders, whether Arabs or non-Arabs, and guide them to all that brings happiness, goodness, and security for all. We also ask Him to protect all from following their vain desires and Satan. Allah is All-Hearer, Ever Near. As for what was done by the Saudi government, which found itself obliged to protect itself from evil and seek the help of multinational forces of Muslims and others in order to defend the country and Muslims and ward off any possible aggression from the president of Iraq, it is a right and successful procedure. The Council of Senior Scholars - I am one of them - has issued a statement supporting the stance adopted by the Saudi government in this regard. The Council declared that the Saudi government was successful in what it did, in accordance with Allah's (may He be Praised) saying: (O you who believe! Take your precautions) Allah (Glorified be He) also says: (And make ready against them all you can of power) There is no doubt that seeking help from non-Muslims to defend Muslims and their countries from the conspiracy of their enemies is permissible according to Shari'ah. Even it is necessary and inevitable when there is a need for that, because this implies helping Muslims, protecting them from the conspiracy of their enemies, and warding off any expected aggression. The Prophet (peace be upon him) fought using shields he borrowed from Safwan Ibn Umayyah at the battle of Hunayn. This had happened before Safwan embraced Islam; he was a disbeliever at the time. All the people of Khuza'ah, Muslims and unbelievers, fought with the army of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in the Conquest of Makkah against the unbelievers of Makkah. It is authentically reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: (You will make a peace-treaty with the Byzantines and together you will invade and they will run away. You will be victorious and take much booty.) (Narrated by Al-Imam Ahmad and Abu Dawud with an authentic chain of narrators).

My advice to the people of Kuwait, other Muslims everywhere, and the president of Iraq and his soldiers, is to make a new sincere repentance and to regret for the sins they have committed and to give up such sins and to determine firmly not to commit such sins again, because there are numerous proofs of the Qur'an and the Sunnah indicating that all evils in this life and in the Hereafter and every affliction and misfortune is due to sins committed by people and violation of the Shari'ah. Allah says: (And whatever of misfortune befalls you, it is because of what your hands have earned. And He pardons much. (See the Qur'ân Verse 35:45).) Allah (Glorified be He) also says: (Whatever of good reaches you, is from Allâh, but whatever of evil befalls you, is from yourself.) Allah (Glorified be He) also says: (Evil (sins and disobedience to Allâh) has appeared on land and sea because of what the hands of men have earned (by oppression and evil deeds), that He (Allâh) may make them taste a part of that which they have done, in order that they may return (by repenting to Allâh, and begging His Pardon).)

When Muslims were defeated on the battle of Uhud and a great number of them fell injured and dead, because the archers did not stick to their positions, disputed with one another, failed and disobeyed the command of the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him) that they should keep fighting at their place even if Muslims achieved victory, this was hard on Muslims to accept and Allah revealed His Saying: (What is the matter with you?) When a single disaster smites you, although you smote (your enemies) with one twice as great referring to the battle of Badr (you

say: "From where does this come to us?" Say (to them), "It is from yourselves (because of your evil deeds)." And Allâh has power over all things. ﴿

In His Great Book, Allah (may He be Praised) tells us that repentance is a means leading to success, forgiveness of one's sins, deserving to enter Jannah (Paradise), and gaining nobility.

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿And all of you beg Allâh to forgive you all, O believers, that you may be successful﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And verily, I am indeed forgiving to him who repents, believes (in My Oneness, and associates none in worship with Me) and does righteous good deeds, and then remains constant in doing them, (till his death).﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Turn to Allâh with sincere repentance! It may be that your Lord will expiate from you your sins, and admit you into Gardens under which rivers flow (Paradise)﴾

Out of the greatest and most obligatory aspects of repentance is devotion to Allah alone in all deeds, beware of Shirk (associating others in worship with Allah), whether minor or major, being careful to perform the five prayers at their due times on the part of men and women, and men observing performing them in mosques where Allah orders to be raised and that His Name be mentioned, being careful to pay Zakah, to fast, and to perform pilgrimage, and to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil, to advice one another, to cooperate in righteousness and piety, and to recommend one another to hold fast to the truth and to show patience when doing so.

I implore to Allah, with His Most Beautiful Names and Attributes, to rectify hearts and deeds of Muslims, grant them deep understanding of Islam, guide all their leaders to apply, abide by, and be content with His Shari`ah (Islamic Law), keep away from what opposes it, guide their retinue to what is good, and guide them all to His Right Path. He is the One Who is Capable of doing so. May Allah's Peace and Blessings be upon our Prophet and leader Muhammad ibn Abdullah - the leader of the pious, the pattern to be followed by those who fight in the Cause of Allah, and the best servant of Allah, and upon his family, Companions, and those who followed him in righteousness.

As-salamu `alaykum warahmatullah wabarakatuh (May Allah's Peace, Mercy, and Blessings be upon you!)

Appendix E: Text of the “Advice to Muslims” Fatwa

Full Title of Fatwa: “Advice to all Muslims regarding Iraq’s Invasion of Kuwait.”

TEXT:

Q : Your Eminence Sheikh `Abdul-`Aziz Ibn Baz, some Muslims in this country are afflicted with fear and horror because they are expecting a war in the near future. Many of them hastened to buy large amounts of goods and foodstuffs to store them. Others prepare themselves to leave the city of Riyadh because they fear that war may break out at any time. What is your advice to them in this regard?

A : In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful. Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the Worlds. May Allah's Peace and Blessings be upon His Messenger, his family, Companions and those who followed his guidance!

My advice to all Muslims in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, in the Gulf countries, and everywhere is to fear Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) and to hold fast to His Religion in all times, particularly in such circumstances when we are experiencing the aggression committed by the ruler of Iraq against Kuwait. The Muslims are obliged at all times to fear Allah (may He be Exalted and Glorified), to hold fast to His Religion, and to beware of the sayings and deeds Allah (Exalted be He) prohibited for them. Forms of obedience result in worldly and eternal goodness, for they bring security and happiness and extinguish turmoil.

Sins cause evil in this life and the Hereafter. Every good in this life and in the Hereafter is the result of obeying Allah (Exalted be He) and following His Shari'ah, and conversely every evil in this life and in the Hereafter is the result of disobeying Allah (Exalted be He), associating others with Him, and deviating from His Religion.

The incidents that happened in the Gulf are due to what has been committed by people like disobeying the order of Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him), and violating the limits of Allah (may He be Exalted and Glorified) who says in His Noble Book: ﴿And whatever of misfortune befalls you, it is because of what your hands have earned. And He pardons much. (See the Qur’ân Verse 35:45).﴾

Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿Evil (sins and disobedience to Allâh) has appeared on land and sea because of what the hands of men have earned (by oppression and evil deeds), that He (Allâh) may make them taste a part of that which they have done, in order that they may return (by repenting to Allâh, and begging His Pardon).﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿Whatever of good reaches you, is from Allâh, but whatever of evil befalls you, is from yourself.﴾

Every Muslim should reproach himself and remember that he is always watched by his Lord, and this should push him to carry out Allah's commands (Exalted be He), avoid His prohibitions, and hasten to turn to Him with sincere repentance from all one's sins. Allah (may He be Exalted and Glorified) says: ﴿And all of you beg Allâh to forgive you all, O believers, that you may be successful﴾

Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Turn to Allâh with sincere repentance!﴾ Sincere repentance involves regret for past sins, giving them up, being aware of them, and truthfully be willing not to commit them again so as to show obedience to Allah (Exalted be He), glorify Him and be devoted to Him, and desire what is with Him, and be careful of His punishment.

By doing so, evils will be removed, security will prevail, and Allah (Exalted be He) will disperse, humiliate and make calamity of evil on enemies. Allah (may He be Praised) says: ﴿O you who believe! If you help (in the cause of) Allâh, He will help you, and make your foothold firm.﴾

Helping (in the cause of) Allah (Exalted be He) includes Istiqamah (standing erect) in worshipping Him, turning in repentance to Him from all sins, and being prepared to fight enemies with

patience and perseverance. By doing so, victory and support will be achieved by the allies of Allah (Exalted be He) and those who obey Him, whereas humiliation and defeat will be the share of His enemies.

Allah (may He be Praised) says: ﴿Verily, Allâh will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allâh is All-Strong, All-Mighty.﴾ ﴿Those (Muslim rulers) who, if We give them power in the land, (they) enjoin Iqamat-as-Salât [i.e. to perform the five compulsory congregational Salât (prayers) (the males in mosques)], to pay the Zakât and they enjoin Al-Ma'rûf (i.e. Islâmic Monotheism and all that Islâm orders one to do), and forbid Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism and all that Islâm has forbidden) [i.e. they make the Qur'ân as the law of their country in all the spheres of life]. And with Allâh rests the end of (all) matters (of creatures).﴾ Thus, my advice to all Muslims is to repent to, beseech, and ask Allah (Exalted be He) for victory and help Muslims to defeat enemies, hasten to do all that pleases Him and draws one nearer to Him implicitly and explicitly, and believe that He (may He be Praised) is the One in Whose Hand is victory as He (may He be Praised) says: ﴿And there is no victory except from Allâh, the All-Mighty﴾ Victory cannot be attributed to reasons; they are mere reasons. Victory cannot be achieved by armies, which are mere reasons, too. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says in His Great Book: ﴿(Remember) when you sought help of your Lord and He answered you (saying): "I will help you with a thousand of the angels each behind the other (following one another) in succession."﴾ ﴿Allâh made it only as glad tidings, and that your hearts be at rest therewith. And there is no victory except from Allâh. Verily, Allâh is All-Mighty, All-Wise.﴾ Victory is from Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) but He (may He be Praised) orders that we should seek the possible means and prepare to meet the enemies with fit weapons, as Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿And make ready against them all you can of power﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Take your precautions﴾ Thus, Muslims should equip themselves and fight against their enemies using all possible weapons and perseverance. I can give glad tidings to all my brothers that Allah (Exalted be He) will grant victory to His Religion and His party and will defeat the party of His enemy.

There is no doubt that the ruler of Iraq has committed aggression and oppression against his neighbors. He has caused great turmoil for which he will be punished unless he turns to Allah (Exalted be He) with sincere repentance and repays the rights to their owners. It is obligatory to fight against him to drive him out of Kuwait and continue to do so until he returns to the truth and what is right. Those who are fighting against this tyrant are doing great good. The one who is sincere in fighting for the Cause of Allah will deserve praise as well as a great reward if he survives, and will be deemed a martyr if he dies while fighting for the Cause of Allah to save a Muslim country, support the oppressed, and deter an oppressor committing aggression and oppression, because this situation indicates this ruler's unbelief and the wickedness of his atheistic creed.

My advice to all Muslims is to harbor good thoughts about Allah (Exalted be He) and to be sure that He (Glorified and Exalted be He) will grant them victory. Allah (may He be Praised) is the One Who grants victory to His allies and worshipers. It is Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) Who says: ﴿So be patient. Surely, the (good) end is for Al-Muttaqûn (the pious)﴾ Thus, the (good) end is for the believers who fear Allah (Exalted be He) who says: ﴿Truly, Allâh defends those who believe. Verily, Allâh likes not any treacherous ingrate to Allâh [those who disobey Allâh but obey Shaitân (Satan)].﴾

This tyrant has committed treachery. The tyrant of Iraq exchanged the favor of Allah (Exalted be He) for disbelief and was ungrateful to his neighbors who did him favors and helped him during the critical times he underwent. Yet he exchanged the favor for disbelief, was a bad neighbor, and committed oppression and transgression. Definitely he will meet his bad end.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: ﴿There is no sin more fitted in the sight of Allah to have punishment meted out in advance in this world than oppression and severing ties of relationship.﴾ Yet such a person has committed aggression and oppression. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He)

says: ﴿And whoever among you does wrong (i.e. sets up rivals to Allâh), We shall make him taste a great torment.﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And the Zâlimûn (polytheists and wrong-doers) will have neither a Walî (protector or guardian) nor a helper.﴾ There is no harm to seek the possible means at the time of war. There is no harm that Muslims seek the possible means, which benefit them at the time of war. In all matters, they are commanded to adopt the possible means to reach the desired end. They are also commanded to own weapons and prepare themselves to fight their enemies, the same as they are commanded to provide the needs of food and provisions to their families, houses, and so on.

Muslims are commanded to seek all such matters. Yet this must be accompanied by thinking well of Allah (Exalted be He), observing Istiqamah (standing erect) in His Religion, and turning to Allah (may He be Praised) with repentance of all sins. All Muslims are obliged to do so. We are commanded to seek all possible means. Though it is right to seek the possible means, this must be accompanied by placing trust in Allah (Exalted be He) which is obligatory in all matters. It involves two matters:

First, to trust in and rely on Allah (Exalted be He) and to believe that He is the Supporter and the Disposer of all affairs, and that every thing is in His Hand (may He be Exalted and Glorified). Second, to seek all possible means because Allah (Exalted be He) orders us to do so. Allah (may He be Praised) says: ﴿And make ready against them all you can of power﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Take your precautions﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿When you (O Messenger Muhammad ﷺ) are among them, and lead them in As-Salât (the prayer), let one party of them stand up [in Salât (prayer)] with you taking their arms with them﴾ The Prophet (peace be upon him) wore - at the battle of Uhud - two shields and he sought all possible means at the battle of Al-Khandaq (The Trench). He did the same on the day of the Conquest of Makkah. All such matters that were done by the Prophet (peace be upon him) were out of his keenness on seeking all possible means of preparing for the enemies. This applies to all other means, including warding off the evil of war and preparing for one's family needs. All these are required matters that neither contradict the order of Allah (Exalted be He) nor breach putting trust on Allah (Exalted be He). Rather, putting trust on Allah (Exalted be He) involves the two matters: trust in and rely on Allah (Exalted be He) and believe that He is the Supporter (Glorified and Exalted be He), along with seeking all possible means. This is what Muslims should do.

We ask Allah to grant victory to His Religion, raise His Word, defeat the ruler of Iraq, shatter his unity, and make him suffer a disgraceful torment. We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to make Muslims victorious over him, help them for every good, grant victory to the oppressed and return them their country and guide them as well as all Muslims to the Right Way.

May Allah (Exalted be He) make the consequences of all Muslims good. May He make such incidents lessons for the believers and a cause for them to achieve Istiqamah (standing erect) in His Religion and a cause for all Muslims to repent of every sin, for He is the Most Generous! May Allah's Peace and Blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his family and Companions!

Appendix F: Text of the “Grave Crime” Fatwa

Full Title of Fatwa: “Iraq’s Invasion is a Grave Crime.”

TEXT:

Praise be to Allah. May peace and blessings be upon the Messenger of Allah, his family, and Companions and whoever follows his guidance.

Regarding the incidents that have taken place these days due to the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and subsequent repercussions, bloodshed, usurping properties, and violating people's honor, I would like to illustrate for Muslims what they should do in this regard.

There is no doubt that this is a painful incident that saddens every Muslim. It is a grave crime and harsh aggression committed by the Iraqi leader against a neighboring Muslim country. He is obliged to turn to Allah (may He be Praised) in repentance of this, withdraw all his army out of Kuwait, and solve the problems with peaceful means, which Allah (Exalted be He) ordained for His servants as Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿and making peace is better.﴾ Allah (Exalted be He) says regarding a rebellious aggressive group: ﴿Then if it complies, then make reconciliation between them justly, and be equitable. Verily, Allâh loves those who are the equitable.﴾

Thus, the problems that take place between two or more countries, tribes or individuals should be solved through Shari`ah compatible means not through force, aggression or oppression. Allah (may He be Praised) says in His Great Book: ﴿O you who believe! Obey Allâh and obey the Messenger (Muhammad ﷺ), and those of you (Muslims) who are in authority. (And) if you differ in anything amongst yourselves, refer it to Allâh and His Messenger (ﷺ), if you believe in Allâh and in the Last Day. That is better and more suitable for final determination.﴾ Scholars explained that "referring to Allah" means referring to His Glorious Book, the Noble Qur'an, while "referring to the Messenger (peace be upon him)" means referring to him during his lifetime (peace be upon him) and to his Sunnah after his death.

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿And in whatsoever you differ, the decision thereof is with Allâh (He is the ruling Judge).﴾ Any disputing countries, tribes, groups, or persons should refer their dispute and problems to the ruling of Allah, except if there is a means for reconciliation, because making peace is better.

The Iraqi president is obliged to solve the dispute through reconciliation, peaceful negotiations, and asking righteous people to mediate. If there is no way to make peace, then it is obligatory to refer to the Qur'an and the Sunnah through a Shari`ah court headed by true scholars to examine the problem and give their judgment that conforms to the Shari`ah of Allah. This is what is obligatory upon every Muslim country, because Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muhammad ﷺ) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission.﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿Do they then seek the judgement of (the days of) Ignorance? And who is better in judgement than Allâh for a people who have firm Faith.﴾ Our advice to the president of Iraq is to fear Allah (Exalted be He), withdraw his troops from Kuwait, put an end to this problem, and to be content with Allah's ruling in this regard in case reconciliation is not reached.

There is no doubt that returning to the truth is good and a virtue. The person who commits himself to this should be thanked and this is better than persisting in doing wrong and falsehood. We advise all Muslims to keep steady on the right course of Allah's Religion, refer to His Shari`ah, advise one another to obey Allah and avoid His disobedience, and not to rule by man-made laws and individual opinions. It is only through this way that Muslims will achieve honor, justice, happiness, and dignity. There is no doubt that every affliction, disaster, or harm that

occurs to Muslims is caused by sins and disobedience. Allah (Exalted be He) says: ﴿ And whatever of misfortune befalls you, it is because of what your hands have earned. And He pardons much. (See the Qur'ân Verse 35:45). ﴾Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿ Evil (sins and disobedience to Allâh) has appeared on land and sea because of what the hands of men have earned (by oppression and evil deeds), that He (Allâh) may make them taste a part of that which they have done, in order that they may return (by repenting to Allâh, and begging His Pardon). ﴾Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says:

﴿ Whatever of good reaches you, is from Allâh, but whatever of evil befalls you, is from yourself. ﴾All Muslims are obliged to repent and return to Allah (Exalted be He), remain steadfast to His religion, and regret their past sins, aggression, and what they committed against Islam.

This is what is obligatory upon all the Islamic and Arab countries and Muslims everywhere. All Muslims should fear Allah (Exalted be He), honor His Shari`ah, turn to Him in repentance of their remiss and sins, and know that what has afflicted them is due to their sins and bad deeds. Thus, turning to Allah (Exalted be He) in repentance involves a great deal of goodness and happiness in the worldly life and the Hereafter. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) may grant respite to the oppressor. It may be that Allah (Exalted be He) does not lay Hand upon him quickly; rather He (Glorified and Exalted be He) grants him respite and is not unaware of him as Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿ Consider not that Allâh is unaware of that which the Zâlimûn (polytheists, wrong-doers) do, but He gives them respite up to a Day when the eyes will stare in horror. ﴾The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: ﴿ Verily, Allah gives respite to the oppressor. But when He seizes him, He does not let him escape. Then, he (peace be upon him) recited the following Ayah: ﴿ Such is the Seizure of your Lord when He seizes the (population of) the towns while they are doing wrong. Verily, His Seizure is painful, (and) severe. ﴾﴾

Thus, my advice to myself as well as to all Muslims everywhere is to fear Allah (Exalted be He), repent to Him, remain on the right course of Allah's Religion, worship Him sincerely, and to beware of what He (may He be Praised) has forbidden them. There is no doubt that returning to the truth, being keen to rule by the Shari`ah, and beware of what contradicts it is the way of the believers. It is their means to achieve honor and dignity. It is the way of justice and wisdom. It is obligatory on all Muslims, whether governments, peoples, individuals, or groups to follow such way. As for what was done by the Saudi government of seeking the help of many countries to defend and protect Muslim countries because their enemy may attack them, as done against Kuwait, there is no harm in doing so. The Council of Senior Scholars - I am one of them - has issued a statement in this regard that was broadcast through radio and published in newspapers. There is no doubt that such an act is permissible because there is no harm in Muslims to seek the help of non-Muslims to defend and protect Muslim countries from aggression.

This does not include supporting unbelievers against Muslims as stated by scholars under the title "Ruling on apostates." What scholars mean is to support unbelievers against Muslims. This is impermissible. However, seeking the help of unbelievers to ward off the evil of other unbelievers, aggressive Muslims, or Muslims expected to wage impending aggression is permissible. It is authentically reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) fought using shields he borrowed from Safwan Ibn Umayyah - who was unbeliever at the time - while fighting Thaqif in the battle of Hunayn. All the people of Khuza`ah, Muslims and unbelievers, were fighting with the Prophet (peace be upon him) while he (peace be upon him) was fighting against the unbelievers of Quraysh at the day of the Conquest of Makkah. It is authentically reported that the Prophet (peace be upon him) said: ﴿ You will make a peace-treaty with the Byzantines and together you will invade another enemy. You will be victorious and take much booty ﴾This indicates the permissibility of seeking their help in fighting enemies beyond us.

What is meant is that it is permissible to defend Muslims and their countries by Muslim or non-Muslim forces. It is permissible to use their weapons or armies to help Muslims ward off aggression and protect their countries against the evils and intrigues of their enemies.

Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says in His Glorious Book: ﴿ O you who believe! Take your precautions ﴾ Thus, Allah (Exalted be He) orders us to take our precautions against our enemies. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿ And make ready against them all you can of power ﴾ The same ruling applies to whosoever commits aggression against us, even if he was a Muslim or is associated with Islam. If Muslims fear aggression being committed against them, they can also seek the help of anyone whom they can seek their help to protect their countries and the sanctity of Muslims against the aggression or oppression of unbelievers or any aggressor. Muslims are obliged to support one another and cooperate in righteousness and piety against their enemies. Yet, if they are still in need of additional help against their enemies or against whosoever - among those belonging to Islam - forms intrigues against them and commits aggression against them, then it is permissible for them to seek the help of whosoever stretches his hand to help and ward off aggression and protect Muslim countries.

I repeat my advice to all the leaders of Muslims as well as to all Arab and Islamic countries to fear Allah (Exalted be He), rule by His Shari`ah in all matters, beware of all that contradicts His Shari`ah, and keep away from any kind of oppression. This is the way of salvation through which Muslims will achieve happiness and safety.

May Allah bless everyone with success and guidance! May He guide all Muslims to remain on the right course of Allah's Religion and repent to Him of all sins. May Allah rectify all our affairs and guide both the leaders and ordinary Muslims to all what pleases Him and all that is good for this world and the afterworld. He is the One Who is Capable of doing so. May Peace and Blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his family, Companions, and those who follow him righteously!

Appendix G: Text of the “Sinful Aggression” Fatwa

Full Title of Fatwa: “The Action Waged by Saddam is a Sinful Aggression.”

TEXT:

There is no doubt that the invasion of the State of Kuwait, committed by the Iraqi leader, and the following consequences of bloodshed, usurping properties, and violating honor form a sinful aggression, a grave crime, and an abhorrent Munkar (that which is unacceptable or disapproved of by Islamic law and Muslims of sound intellect). He should repent to Allah (Exalted be He) and hasten to pull his army from Kuwait, because this incursion and invasion is an unacceptable act that contradicts Shari`ah, conventions, and all treaties signed with Arab leaders at the Arab League.

He should solve the problems with peaceful means and negotiations. If this does not work, then he should refer the issue to a Shari`ah court, not a court of law. All disputes arising between countries, individuals, and tribes should be referred to Shari`ah judgment by forming Shar`i court comprising of true Muslim scholars and followers of the Sunnah who can issue their judgment concerning the subject of dispute between Muslims, whether being from two different countries or tribes or are two individuals. Really, this act committed by Saddam against Kuwait is an act of aggression. He must repent of this act and stop it. Returning to the right is a virtue and right. It is better than persisting in vice and error. A statement has been issued by the Council of Senior Scholars, am a member therein, of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to display the wrong of this act and describing it as aggression, crime and treachery. It became clear through the statement of the scholars of the Council that there is no harm in Muslim and Arab armies to seek help from disbelievers to ward off the aggression of any aggressor and defend Muslim countries as well as the sanctity of Islam and Muslims.

Concerning the rumors about Al-Haramayn Al-Sharifayn, they are - praise be to Allah - in safety from the Iraqi leader or others. They are safe thanks to Allah.

The point is that Saudi Arabia had to ask for the help of multinational armies, among which were the United States. This was just to cooperate with the Saudi forces to defend the country, Islam, and Muslims. There is no harm in doing so, because this is a way of seeking help to ward off oppression and to save and protect the country from the evils of wicked people and the oppression and aggression of tyrants and aggressors. There is no harm in doing so as stated clearly by the scholars. Regarding what has been rumored by some Muslim minorities who believed the claims of Saddam and his lies about the U.S. imperial interference with the affairs and sanctities of Muslims, to the end of other false rumors; actually this is a fatal misconception rumored by the party of Saddam, which is a nationalistic, not an Islamic party. Even if such people were Muslims, it is obligatory to deter them from transgression even by seeking the help of some unbelievers, particularly when proposing peaceful means to ward off evil and protect the country. The Messenger (peace be upon him) sought the help of Safwan Ibn Umayyah at the battle of Hunayn to fight against the people of Al-Ta'if. Accordingly, seeking help from unbelievers against transgressors is permissible. What is impermissible is to support the unbelievers against Muslims. As for this situation, it is a protection of Muslims and their countries from outlaws, aggressors, and unbelievers. There is a difference between the two situations: if one supports unbelievers against Muslims, this means apostasy, which is impermissible and Munkar (that which is unacceptable or disapproved of by Islamic law and Muslims of sound intellect). In the current case of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which has sought the help of unbelievers to deter and prevent the aggressor - whether a disbeliever or a believer - from entering the country and violating the sanctities of Islam, this is a required and necessary matter because this is for protecting Muslims from whoever may harm them, whether being a disbeliever or a believer. It is

obligatory upon the Iraqi leader to repent to Allah, give up the false opinions he adopts, abandon the party of (Al-Shaitan) Satan, commit himself to Islam, rule by it, and oblige Iraqi people to abide by it. We supplicate to Allah to grant him guidance.

In answering a question directed by Al-Jazeera TV channel on the possibility of establishing an international Shar`i (complying with Shari`ah) court to solve disputes amongst countries, His Eminence said:

"All Muslim and Arab countries should solve their problems through Shar`i means at Shar`i courts in every country. There should be another international court to judge among countries. The Muslim countries should have Shar`i courts because Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿And in whatsoever you differ, the decision thereof is with Allâh (He is the ruling Judge).﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿(And) if you differ in anything amongst yourselves, refer it to Allâh and His Messenger (ﷺ)﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muhammad ﷺ) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission.﴾ Thus, if two or more countries dispute it is obligatory on Muslim scholars to judge between them according to the ruling of Shari`ah. Scholars should do so in light of the Book of Allah and Sunnah, apart from man-made laws or viewpoints of men. Rather, this should be according to the Shari`ah of Allah." His Eminence advised the Iraqi army not to continue committing such unacceptable deeds. It is obligatory on Iraqi soldiers as well as every Muslim not to violate the property, blood, honor, or family of one's Muslim brother. It is impermissible to transgress against any Muslim's property, honor, or blood whether in Kuwait or in any other country. The Prophet (peace be upon him) said: ﴿The Muslim is inviolable for his Muslim brother, as for his blood, wealth and honor.﴾

The aggression committed by Iraq does not make it justifiable for the soldiers to commit aggression against Kuwaiti or any other people, usurp their money, harm them, kill them or their children, or assault their women. All such acts are Munkar (that which is unacceptable or disapproved of by Islamic law and Muslims of sound intellect), unlawful, and impermissible. It is obligatory upon them to fear Allah, be careful not to approach what Allah has made unlawful, and not to do any act that angers Allah (Exalted be He) and causes them to enter Hell-fire and be banished from Allah's Mercy and Pleasure.

In his statement to Al-Jazeera TV channel, His Eminence advised the Kuwaiti brothers to seek help through patience and fearing Allah (Exalted be He), saying:

"I advise the oppressed people of Kuwait to fear Allah, hold fast to His Din (Religion), repent to Him from their past sins, and to ask Allah to grant them victory over the enemy and return them to their country endowed with safety. Surely, Allah (Exalted be He) will recompense them with better than what has been taken from them. When turning to Allah (Exalted be He) with sincere repentance, they will regain what they lost and Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) will give them something better than that taken, because Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿And all of you beg Allâh to forgive you all, O believers, that you may be successful﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Turn to Allâh with sincere repentance!﴾ We ask Allah (Exalted be He) to confer a favor upon us and them by guiding us to repentance. All of us are liable to be tempted. Every Muslim, everywhere, in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Levant, the Yemen, or else where should call himself to account, struggle against his desires for the Sake of Allah, and be sure that what befell him would never have missed him and what missed him would never have befallen him.

Thus, our brothers in Kuwait, all Muslims in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and all Muslims everywhere should fear Allah, struggle against their desires for the Sake of Allah, and keep patient over the afflictions that befall them. They should also remain standing up for the truth and advise one another to it for Allah's Sake. May Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) remove corruption, guide the astray, recompense them with something better than what they lost, and grant them a good consequence. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿As for those who

strive hard in Us (Our Cause), We will surely guide them to Our Paths (i.e. Allâh's religion - Islâmîc Monotheism). And verily, Allâh is with the Muhsinûn (good doers).") Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿But if you remain patient and become Al-Muttaqûn [the pious - See V.2:2], not the least harm will their cunning do to you.﴾ He who fears Allah, He will grant him success and recompense him with something better than what was taken from him. We ask Allah to endow us with comprehensive mercy encompassing all one's affairs - religion, worldly affairs, and the Hereafter."

At the end of the statement of His Eminence, he said:

"My speech is a general piece of advice to all Muslims to fear Allah, abide by the Shari`ah of Allah, reflect upon the Glorious Qur'an, observe the purified Sunnah, organize their deeds in light of the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger (peace be upon him), refer all their deeds, words, and disputes to the Qur'an and the Sunnah not to positive laws. All their affairs should be judged by the glorious Book of Allah and the Sunnah of His Messenger, and to abide by this, whether individuals, groups, or nations. This is what is obligatory for Muslims to refer legislation to Allah's Shari`ah, remain standing up for the Din (Religion) of Allah, put Allah's orders into action, and give up what Allah forbade because Allah (Exalted be He) says: ﴿O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord﴾ and ﴿O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single person (Adam)﴾ and: ﴿O mankind! Fear your Lord and be dutiful to Him! Verily, the earthquake of the Hour (of Judgement) is a terrible thing.﴾

Thus, all Muslims are commanded to fear Allah and observe His religion. Allah (Exalted be He) says: ﴿O you who believe! Keep your duty to Allâh and fear Him, and speak (always) the truth.﴾ ﴿He will direct you to do righteous good deeds and will forgive you your sins. And whosoever obeys Allâh and His Messenger (ﷺ), he has indeed achieved a great achievement (i.e. he will be saved from the Hell-fire and will be admitted to Paradise).﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Fear Allâh and keep your duty to Him. And let every person look to what he has sent forth for the morrow, and fear Allâh. Verily, Allâh is All-Aware of what you do.﴾ ﴿And be not like those who forgot Allâh (i.e. became disobedient to Allâh), and He caused them to forget their ownselves, (let them to forget to do righteous deeds). Those are the Fâsiqûn (rebellious, disobedient to Allâh).﴾ ﴿Not equal are the dwellers of the Fire and the dwellers of the Paradise. It is the dwellers of Paradise that will be successful.﴾

This is what all people are obliged to do: to fear Allah, worship Him alone, refer legislation to His Shari`ah, avoid His (may He be Praised) prohibitions, abide by His Limits, and recommend and advise one another to this because Allah (Exalted be He) says: ﴿Help you one another in Al-Birr and At-Taqwâ (virtue, righteousness and piety); but do not help one another in sin and transgression. And fear Allâh. Verily, Allâh is Severe in punishment.﴾ Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿By Al-`Asr (the time).﴾ ﴿Verily, man is in loss,﴾ ﴿Except those who believe (in Islâmîc Monotheism) and do righteous good deeds, and recommend one another to the truth [i.e. order one another to perform all kinds of good deeds (Al-Ma`ruf) which Allâh has ordained, and abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds (Al-Munkar which Allâh has forbidden], and recommend one another to patience (for the sufferings, harms, and injuries which one may encounter in Allâh's Cause during preaching His religion of Islâmîc Monotheism or Jihâd).﴾ The Prophet (may Allah's Peace and Blessings be upon him) also says: "Religion is based on advising one another," he repeated it three times. Upon this we said: "For whom?" He replied: "For Allah, His Book, His Messenger and for the leaders and the general Muslims.") Jarir Ibn `Abdullah Al-Bajaly said: ﴿I pledged allegiance to the Prophet (peace be upon him) on the observance of Salah (prayers), payment of Zakah, and giving advice to every Muslim.﴾ This is what is obligatory for the people and presidents of Muslim countries: They are obliged to recommend and advise one another to truth and refer legislation to Allah's Shari`ah and not to positive laws that they make themselves."

At the end of his statement, His Eminence asked Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) to guide and grant success to all Muslims people and leaders, to entrust their affairs to the best among them, and to protect them from the evil of wicked people.

We ask Allah to protect us from the evil of everything, make the plots of enemies against their own selves, and save us from their evil wherever they may exist. May Allah grant us success!

Appendix H: Text of the “Liberating the State” Fatwa

Full Title of Fatwa: “Liberating the State of Kuwait from the Aggressors is a Divine Great Bounty and Victory against Tyranny, Aggression, and Athiesm.”

TEXT:

Praise be to Allah, Alone. May peace and blessings be upon the last Prophet Muhammad ibn Abdullah, his family, and Companions!

The grace, which Allah (Exalted be He) has bestowed upon Muslims fighting in His Cause by liberating Kuwait from the tyrant, aggressors and extorters, is one of the greatest bounties of Allah (Glorified be He) upon the people of Kuwait and other Muslims supporting the Truth and Justice. Therefore, all Muslims in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the Gulf countries and others should thank Allah (Exalted be He) for this, abide by His Din (religion of Islam) and beware of the reasons that stir His Anger for the bounty which Allah (Glorified be He) has bestowed upon them by gaining victory over the aggressors, supporting the aggrieved and answering the Du`a' (supplication) of Muslims. Allah (Glorified be He) has promised to grant His servants victory and a good end so long as they support His Din, abide by it, seek His Help (Glorified be He), prepare themselves against their enemies and beware of their plots. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿(Remember) when you sought help of your Lord and He answered you (saying): "I will help you with a thousand of the angels each behind the other (following one another) in succession."﴾ ﴿Allâh made it only as glad tidings, and that your hearts be at rest therewith. And there is no victory except from Allâh. Verily, Allâh is All-Mighty, All-Wise.﴾ He (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿Verily, Allâh will help those who help His (Cause). Truly, Allâh is All-Strong, All-Mighty.﴾ ﴿Those (Muslim rulers) who, if We give them power in the land, (they) enjoin Iqamat-as-Salât [i.e. to perform the five compulsory congregational Salât (prayers) (the males in mosques)], to pay the Zakât and they enjoin Al-Ma`rûf (i.e. Islâmic Monotheism and all that Islâm orders one to do), and forbid Al-Munkar (i.e. disbelief, polytheism and all that Islâm has forbidden) [i.e. they make the Qur`ân as the law of their country in all the spheres of life]. And with Allâh rests the end of (all) matters (of creatures).﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! If you help (in the cause of) Allâh, He will help you, and make your foothold firm.﴾ In addition to His Saying (Glorified be He):

﴿Allâh has promised those among you who believe and do righteous good deeds, that He will certainly grant them succession to (the present rulers) in the land, as He granted it to those before them, and that He will grant them the authority to practise their religion which He has chosen for them (i.e. Islâm). And He will surely give them in exchange a safe security after their fear (provided) they (believers) worship Me and do not associate anything (in worship) with Me. But whoever disbelieves after this, they are the Fâsiqûn (rebellious, disobedient to Allâh).﴾

There are many Ayahs that stress this meaning and they all indicate the necessity of resorting to Allah (Glorified be He) in all matters, seeking His Help and Support Alone, abiding by His Din and being aware of the reasons that may bring His Wrath (Glorified be He). They indicate that He (Glorified and Exalted be He) is the Only One Who grants victory rather than any one else. Allah (Glorified be He) says: ﴿And there is no victory except from Allâh.﴾ He (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says: ﴿If Allâh helps you, none can overcome you; and if He forsakes you, who is there after Him that can help you? And in Allâh (Alone) let believers put their trust.﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿How often a small group overcame a mighty host by Allâh's Leave? And Allâh is with As-Sâbirûn (the patient).﴾ Yet, despite Allah's Promise of Victory to His servants, He has also commanded them to be prepared for their enemies and beware of them in His Saying (Glorified and Exalted be He): ﴿And make ready against them all you can of power﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿O you who believe! Take your precautions﴾ Allah (Glorified

be He) has rendered victory contingent on a great reason which is supporting His Din by establishing Salah (prayer), paying Zakah (obligatory charity), enjoining good and forbidding evil, as well as adhering to Iman (faith/belief) and pious deeds.

Accordingly, all Muslims in Kuwait and other countries should take and abide by these means. They should also advise one another wherever they are, for taking and abiding by the means is one of the most important reasons for attaining victory in the worldly life, achieving security, a comfortable life, happiness in the worldly life and the Hereafter, attaining Jannah (paradise), retrieving their pride and achieving a good end in all matters, as clarified by Allah (Glorified be He) in the previous noble Ayah of Surah Al-Nur in which He says: ﴿Allâh has promised those among you who believe and do righteous good deeds, that He will certainly grant them succession to (the present rulers) in the land, as He granted it to those before them, and that He will grant them the authority to practise their religion which He has chosen for them (i.e. Islâm). And He will surely give them in exchange a safe security after their fear (provided)﴾ Moreover, Allah (Glorified be He) also clarified that in His Saying (Glorified and Exalted be He) in Surah Al-Saff ﴿O you who believe! Shall I guide you to a trade that will save you from a painful torment?﴾ ﴿That you believe in Allâh and His Messenger (Muhammad ﷺ) and that you strive hard and fight in the Cause of Allâh with your wealth and your lives: that will be better for you, if you but know!﴾ ﴿(If you do so) He will forgive you your sins, and admit you into Gardens under which rivers flow, and pleasant dwellings in ‘Adn (Eden) Paradise; that is indeed the great success.﴾ And also (He will give you) another (blessing) which you love, - help from Allâh (against your enemies) and a near victory. And give glad tidings (O Muhammad ﷺ) to the believers.﴾ In these noble Ayahs, Allah (Glorified be He) has clarified that believing in Him and His Messenger (peace be upon him), which includes fulfilling acts of obedience that Allah (Exalted be He) has obligated and abandoning the sins that He has prohibited along with striving in His Cause that is a branch of Iman (Faith/belief), are reasons for forgiving all the sins and attaining Jannah and all its delights. They are also reasons for acquiring near victory.

The people of Islam should take these means, recommend them to one another, and abide by them wherever they are, for they are the source of their esteem, victory, and security in the worldly life and their happiness in the Hereafter. Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) says: ﴿By Al-‘Asr (the time).﴾ ﴿Verily, man is in loss,﴾ ﴿Except those who believe (in Islâmic Monotheism) and do righteous good deeds, and recommend one another to the truth [i.e. order one another to perform all kinds of good deeds (Al-Ma‘ruf) which Allâh has ordained, and abstain from all kinds of sins and evil deeds (Al-Munkar which Allâh has forbidden], and recommend one another to patience (for the sufferings, harms, and injuries which one may encounter in Allâh’s Cause during preaching His religion of Islâmic Monotheism or Jihâd).﴾ The origin of Iman lies in the observance of Tawhid (belief in the Oneness of Allah/ monotheism) of Allah, being sincerely devoted to Him, and avoiding associating others in worship with Him. This is according to His Saying (Glorified and Exalted be He) in His Great Book: ﴿And your Lord has decreed that you worship none but Him.﴾ It means that Allah (Exalted be He) ordains and recommends us to do so. Allah (Exalted be He) also says: ﴿So worship Allâh (Alone) by doing religious deeds sincerely for Allâh’s sake only.﴾ ﴿Surely the religion (i.e. the worship and the obedience) is for Allâh only.﴾ Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿And they were commanded not, but that they should worship Allâh, and worship none but Him Alone (abstaining from ascribing partners to Him), and perform As-Salât (Iqâmat-as-Salât) and give Zakât, and that is the right religion.﴾ When the Prophet (peace be upon him) sent Mu‘adh ibn Jabal (may Allah be pleased with him) to the people of Yemen, he (peace be upon him) commanded him to ask them to observe Tawhid to Allah, to be devoted to Him, and to believe in His Messenger Muhammad (peace be upon him), then he commanded them to establish Salah, and pay Zakah. This is because these are the three major fundamentals of Din. Thus, whoever abides by and fulfills them will consequently abide by other issues in the Din, such as Sawm (fasting), Hajj, and the rest of that which Allah (Exalted be

He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him) have commanded. They will also abandon all that which Allah (Exalted be He) and His Messenger (peace be upon him) have prohibited. One of the most important branches of Iman and realization of the testimony that there is no deity but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah; is to rule among Allah's servants according to His Shari`ah (Islamic law). Allah (Glorified and Exalted be He) tells His Prophet (peace be upon him) in Surah Al-Ma'idah: ﴿And We have sent down to you (O Muhammad ﷺ) the Book (this Qur'ân) in truth, confirming the Scripture that came before it and Muhaymin (trustworthy in highness and a witness) over it (old Scriptures). So judge among them by what Allâh has revealed, and follow not their vain desires, diverging away from the truth that has come to you.﴾ Afterwards, Allah (Glorified be He) says: ﴿And so judge (you O Muhammad ﷺ) among them by what Allâh has revealed and follow not their vain desires, but beware of them lest they turn you (O Muhammad ﷺ) far away from some of that which Allâh has sent down to you.﴾ till His Saying (Glorified be He): ﴿Do they then seek the judgement of (the days of) Ignorance? And who is better in judgement than Allâh for a people who have firm Faith.﴾ He (Glorified and Exalted be He) also says in Surah Al-Ma'idah: ﴿And whosoever does not judge by what Allâh has revealed, such are the Kâfirûn (i.e. disbelievers of a lesser degree as they do not act on Allâh's Laws).﴾ ﴿And whosoever does not judge by that which Allâh has revealed, such are the Zâlimûn (polytheists and wrong-doers - of a lesser degree).﴾ ﴿And whosoever does not judge by what Allâh has revealed (then) such (people) are the Fâsiqûn [the rebellious i.e. disobedient (of a lesser degree) to Allâh].﴾ In Surah Al-Nisa', Allah (Glorified be He) also says: ﴿But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muhammad ﷺ) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission.﴾ So, Allah (Glorified be He) has clarified in these noble Ayahs that it is obligatory for the Messenger (peace be upon him) and all the Ummah (nation) whenever and wherever they are to make Allah's Shari`ah govern all the disputes between them regarding all their religious and worldly affairs. He (Glorified be He) has warned against following one's own desires and obeying the enemies of Allah (Exalted be He) in ruling against His Shari`ah. He (Glorified be He) has also mentioned that His ruling is the best, and that all rulings that contradict His are of Jahiliyyah (pre-Islamic time of Ignorance). He (Glorified be He) has mentioned that ruling by what He has not revealed is Kufr (disbelief), Zhulm (injustice), and Fisq (flagrant violation of Islamic law), declaring that whoever does not make the Messenger (peace be upon him) judge in all his affairs, be inclined to this, and accept this with full submission will have no Iman. Hence, it is the duty of all Muslim rulers to abide by Allah's Ruling (Glorified be He), rule His servants according to His Shari`ah, and find in themselves no resistance to that. They should beware of following their desires that contradict His Shari`ah, or obeying anyone who calls to rule by any law or regulation opposing what is established by Allah's Book or the Sunnah (whatever is reported from the Prophet) of His Messenger (peace be upon him). Allah (Glorified be He) stresses that Iman can only be attained to the people of Islam in this way. Whoever claims that ruling by the positive laws that contradict Allah's Shari`ah is permissible, or that they are more appropriate for people than Allah's Shari`ah, or even that there is no difference between ruling by Allah's Shari`ah and ruling by man-made laws that are incompatible with His Shari`ah (Glorified and Exalted be He), will be a Murtad (apostate) and Kafir (disbeliever) if they were Muslims before announcing or believing in this. This is declared by the people of knowledge and Iman among scholars of Tafsir (explanation/ exegesis of the meanings of the Qur'an) and Muslim jurists regarding the ruling on the Murtad. So, whoever is confused with any of what we have mentioned must resort to what scholars have mentioned in the Tafsir of the previous Ayahs, such as Imam Ibn Jarir, Imam Al-Baghawiy, Al-Hafizh Ibn Kathir and others. They should refer to what the scholars have mentioned concerning the ruling on the Murtad i.e. a person who converts to kufr after Islam, to know the truth and the doubtful matters then become clear to them. As for whoever rules by other than what Allah (Exalted be He) has revealed while knowing this because of taking a bribe to rule

in favor of the defendant, enmity toward a person against whom the ruling is to be issued or any other reason, they will be committing a great evil, a major sin, and an act of Kufr, Zhulm and Fisq. Yet, this does not bring them out of the pale of Islam. However, they will still be committing a serious act of disobedience and will be subject to Allah's Punishment and Torment, and they are in great danger of the relapse of their heart and attaining apostasy from Islam. We seek refuge in Allah from this. Some scholars may call this minor Kufr, Fisq and Zhulm, according to a reported related from Ibn `Abbas (may Allah be pleased with both of them) and a group of Salaf (righteous predecessors) (may Allah be merciful to them). I ask Allah to adjust the conditions of all Muslims and grant them good understanding of His Din, enable them to thank Him for His Bounty, adjust their leaders and appoint whoever is best among them to rule them. I ask Him to support His Din, rise His Word, let the enemies of Islam down wherever they are, and protect all Muslims from straying Fitan (sedition/ seduction/ trial) and the causes of His wrath. He is the All-Able to do this.
May Peace and blessings be upon our Prophet Muhammad, his family, and Companions!

Curriculum Vitae

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