

# The Long View

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## Future-proofing Liberation

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no Longer Bind

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A Straightforward  
Question

**João Silva Jordão**  
The Northern Megastate  
Danger and the Geopolitical  
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# In the Name of Allah, the Most Beneficent, the Most Merciful

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Cover image: 'Gaza to Grenfell: Art in  
service of liberation' mural by fearless  
collective. Photo (c) KFH Photos

The two-year mark of the Gaza genocide has passed, and the unfolding evidence of the most heinous war crimes perpetrated by Israeli forces, including after the nominal ceasefire, has made certain that the world now sees the Zionist entity for what it is. This includes the majority of the populations of the so-called West, with even the US seeing seismic shifts in this period from its taken for granted pro-Israeli public, to even dissension amongst MAGA ranks. For all its current bleakness, it is yet, a new world.

What next then? This question, as impossible as it must have once sounded, is nevertheless urgent, and also, in the wake of these epic crimes, more possible to ask and answer. This issue of The Long View seeks to interrogate just that. We cannot wait for a just and liberated future to arrive unhindered and unplanned for. What should form its bases? How does this impact activists? On the geo-political level what can be done and what should parties be wary of? Can we ever, in all of this justify working with those who have been cheerleading the genocide? How do we prevent betrayal at the highest levels from current allies whose own allegiances may not as ideologically aligned as we had hoped?

Our first essay from **Faisal Bodi** looks at UK civil society and the tensions underpinning the anti-racist movement that coalesced around rights for first and second generation immigrants in the 1960s and which continues to advocate for equality for subsequent generations. The somewhat incongruous and hitherto almost unchallenged role of Zionist actors in this field is the focus of Bodi's attention. Muslim and pro-Palestinian civil society groups have, by and large, acquiesced to the existence of such actors within the movement without serious objection, justifying it on the bases of expediency ("we must focus on the UK scene") and or representation ("almost all British Jews are Zionist"). Bodi argues that these scenarios (which are also interrogated) can no longer justify (if they ever did), supremacist voices and organisations within anti-racist movements. This is no longer about abstract arguments regarding narratives of supremacism, but open support for genocide. If Muslims and pro-Palestinian activists in the UK are worth their salt they must begin to push back against dishonest voices in local liberation movements, which can no longer (and arguably never were able to be) divorced from liberation movements worldwide.

**Richard Sudan's** piece on reparations is our second essay. Looking at existing calls from CARICOM's commission, he argues that reparations cannot be excluded from future negotiations between erstwhile empires and post-colonial nations. The particularities of native genocide, trans-Atlantic enslavement and the ongoing traumas and inequalities generations after so-called emancipation and or sovereignty, demand restitution on multiple levels. It is a reset on

the road to global recovery – economically, politically, but above all, morally.

The current moment has seen the rise of alliances between Russia and many non-aligned countries. Increasingly its activities in West Asia have seen it ally with axis of resistance countries. In Africa it has helped shore up revolutionary movements. But how much can Russia be relied upon as a long term partner? **João Silva Jordão** looks at the internal tensions created by the major civilisation narratives being heard in the Russian political sphere. Rather than envisaging a new world wherein it plays a role alongside rising civilisations and nations, there remains a strong westward looking trend. This trend places Russia at the nexus of a Northern Megastate – one that may eventually encompass the Northern hemisphere. Whilst these visions can be argued to be outliers, it is nevertheless fact that Russian political thinking contains heavy strains of westoxification still. Silva Jordão argues that Muslims in particular but social justice movements generally need to beware of this current in their current and future plans and negotiations. Not all is well in Russia. This essay is taken from the forthcoming book from IHRC, *Is the Sun Setting on the Western Empire? Exploring Shifts in Global Power and Islamophobic Thinking*, published in early 2026. The book contains presentations and essays from the conference of the same name held in 2022, with additional thoughts and essays from organisers. Since being presented the shudders of the old order collapsing, and the carnage it has created, have brought those discussions into sharp relief.

Our last essay is another of our periodical extracts from Imam Muhammad al-Asi's tafseer of the Holy Qur'an. The extract focuses on verses from the third chapter that discuss the context surrounding and details of the Battle of Uhud in 3 AH (625 CE). Al-Asi argues that the verses make clear that the inequities and iniquities of the established order were based around *riba* (interest) and thus a battle for justice had to and did ensue between its defenders and upholders and the nascent Muslim community. In this he sees that parallels in today's world, focusing on the Iraq war and the corruption that caused the travesty of the 2003 US-led invasion. The lessons for Muslims, and how to overcome them, are both, he argues, in plain sight.

And plain sight is indeed what we have today. No-one can seriously claim that the broken systems of governance, the inordinate injustices – from genocide at military hands to evisceration by cultural and political control – are anything other than the result of increasing power in fewer hands. If we are to achieve liberation for all oppressed peoples, then we must genuinely seek it. If we are to seek it, we must be honest in our search for answers. Join the search.

Join the conversation by emailing us on [info@ihrc.org](mailto:info@ihrc.org), tweeting [@ihrc](https://twitter.com/ihrc) or find us on Facebook. We now also record podcasts and videos called The Long View Conversations looking into the deeper issues raised by multiple essays with some of our authors. You can find these at [www.ihrc.org.uk/video-multimedia/](http://www.ihrc.org.uk/video-multimedia/) We are now also recording some of our essays so you can listen to them on the go. Find them in the same section.



# The Ties That no Longer Bind

The civil society scape of antiracism in the UK needs to ask itself serious questions, argues **Faisal Bodi**. Specifically, can those who have supported the genocide of Palestinians be allowed to continue as partners in the movement?

**T**he genocide in Gaza has opened our eyes to many things, not least the brutality of the Zionist occupation of Palestine. The savage amorality of Israel's response to the October 7, 2023, resistance attack by Palestinian factions underscored the zero sum, Zionist ideal of a Jewish national homeland to be preserved at all costs, even if that involved wiping out tens of thousands of civilians and the infrastructure they depend on to survive.

By its abominations, the beast has revealed its face. If there is a silver lining to be salvaged from the rubble left of Gaza, it is that it has forever punctured the myth of an embattled nation of persecuted people seeking refuge from oppression. Increasingly, Israel is a global pariah, shunned by nation states, civil society, businesses and ordinary people.

This new dynamic has huge implications for relationships between pro-Israel Jews and other minority communities in the West, particularly in the field of anti-racism work where the status quo ante-bellum was one of mutual cooperation in the pursuit of justice. Can and should we work with Zionists who support religio-racial supremacy abroad yet claim to fight for equality at home?

In exposing the savage religio-racial supremacist nature of Zionism, the slaughter in Gaza has drawn a line in the sand between activists who are genuinely committed to tackling racial inequality and those who effectively undermine it with their support for a genocide and an [apartheid practising state](#).

Historically, since their immigration to the UK in large numbers from Nazi persecution in the 1930's and 1940's, Jews have played a leading role in the anti-racism

movement. Their involvement was necessitated by the resurgence of long standing anti-Semitism in the UK against the new community as it sought to establish roots, particularly in the East End of London where, in a now fabled confrontation in Cable Street, they organised to see off the threat posed by fascists led by Oswald Mosley. While the imperative of staving off anti-Semitism was their immediate aim, Jews were also instrumental in the wider fight against racism, finding common cause with the large numbers of immigrants arriving to the UK from the Commonwealth after the Second World War. Many were instrumental in bringing into force the Race Relations Act in the 1960's, the first significant racial equality legislation to be enacted in the UK, offering legal protection against discrimination to immigrants and their descendants.

However, a schism between within Jewish activists within anti-racism movements slowly grew along the frontline regarding Zionism: one part saw Zionism as another racism that must be confronted; another strand developed that encompassed pro-Israel and supremacist voices based in Zionist thinking. This dysfunction within the British anti-racism movement can be charted back to the 1960s when across different western settings, the strategic and ideological alliance between groups within anti-racist and anti-colonial groups began to fray, after Israel's seizure of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. The occupation laid bare the fundamentally racist nature of Zionist expansionism, exposing for the first time for this generation of anti-racist activists, the underlying tension between a racially supremacist and exclusivist

ideology and the inclusivist, egalitarian demands of anti-racism. Leading global anti-racism campaigners such as Malcom X shone the spotlight on Zionism, highlighting what they saw as a colonial, and therefore, racist project. In 1975 the United Nations general assembly adopted Resolution 3379 determining "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination". Defiant Palestinian resistance, first from the PLO, then Hamas and Islamic Jihad, raised the profile of the Palestinian struggle, transforming it into a totemic, global anti-colonial cause celebre.

By the time the UN held its third world conference on racism in Durban, South Africa in 2001, the tension had already spilled out into open conflict, with Israel and Zionism squarely in the crosshairs of the global anti-racism movement. The NGO forum (in which Islamic Human Rights Commission participated) declared Zionism to be a form of racism, while an attempt to include similar language in the declaration only faltered after a walkout by the United States and Israel.

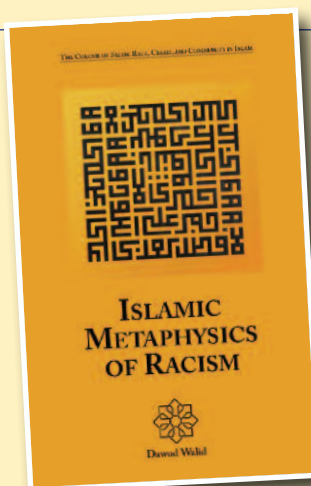
The genocide in Gaza, inspired as it is by a racial supremacist ideology, has refocused attention on the nature of Zionism, leading people to question the virtue of partnering with people who support it or hold it as a belief. The macro picture ostensibly supports the view that Jews in Britain seem more animated than ever by the need to back Israel, despite its conspicuous barbarity. Since 7 October 2023, according for the Institute for Jewish Policy Research, [identification with Israel has increased](#) with 75% of British Jews now feeling emotionally attached; 49% report being "very attached" (equivalent figures

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just before the October 7 attacks were 72% and 40%). And 45% say 'support for Israel' is "very important" to their Jewish identity, up from 38% in 2022. Charitable giving also reflects this strengthening affiliation, with 15% now prioritising Israel-focused charities compared to 5% in 2022, while support for UK Jewish charities has declined. These figures supposedly reflect the dominance that Zionist ideology exerts over British Jewry, an idea that Zionist institutions are loathe to see being challenged. Earlier this year, the Board of Deputies of British Jews, a body that claims to be the main voice of British Jews, [censured 36 of its members](#) after they sent a joint letter to the Financial Times criticising Israel for its conduct in Gaza.

It is worth noting however that the work of IJPR and associated organisations like the [Community Security Trust](#) have been criticised for [their research framing](#): in particular the framing of anti-Semitism in a way that reproduces racialised 'logics' that exclude dissenting Jewish voices on the issue of Zionism and Israel, as well as undermining the universality of anti-racism struggles including that related to Holocaust remembrance<sup>1</sup>.

Whether you take on board the research or not, the choice facing the anti-racism movement broadly and Muslims and pro-Palestinian advocates more particularly is stark: can continued co-operation with organisations claiming to be anti-racist by virtue of 'representing' Jewish minorities or by virtue of research itself contested as regurgitating racist logic, be justified when those racialised logics at play are supremacist and currently justifying a genocide? The answer surely is no?

To be fair, this "Israel First" approach that used anti-racism as a cover was very much in evidence even before the genocide, most markedly in the pro-Israel-led witch-hunt that brought down Jeremy Corbyn. The popular Labour ex-leader faced a relentless smear campaign targeting him and his party with accusations of anti-Semitism and designed to prevent a pro-Palestinian PM from being installed in 10 Downing Street. What was remarkable about this virulent, totally fraudulent campaign was that it attracted the involvement of no less than the then Chief Rabbi to warn against the "racist" threat posed by Corbyn's Labour.

Rabbi Ephraim Mirvis said that under Corbyn "a new poison - sanctioned from the very top - has taken root" in Labour that jeopardised the safety of Britain's Jewish community. Nothing could have been further from the truth. What Corbyn had in fact done was to reconfigure the Labour Party into a bottom-up member's party in which the less corruptible rank and file set policy instead of a compromised leadership. Naturally, its stance on Palestine reflected grassroots views that threatened to upset the pro-Israel status-quo established in the political elite.

But what was more disturbing about the Chief Rabbi's intervention was that it tacitly endorsed Corbyn's main rival, the leader of the Tories and incumbent PM Boris Johnson, a man who had contributed to the ratcheting

up of xenophobic sentiment in the country by characterising Muslim women who wear the veil as "bank robbers" and "letter boxes". Johnson had also previously also referred to black people as "piccaninnies" with "watermelon smiles". What made it all the more extraordinary was that Mirvis had thrown his weight behind a political assassination attempt aiming to take down a politician with impeccable anti-racism credentials in order to facilitate the election of an unabashed xenophobe.

**The fierce reaction in some pro-Israel quarters to the recent decision of West Midlands police to ban Maccabi Tel Aviv fans from attending their team's match against Aston Villa highlights this "Israel First" approach to community relations**

Weaponising anti-Semitism to ensure the election of an unrepentant racist effectively threw the targets of Johnson's dog whistling under the bus in order to protect Israel from the prospect of a pro-Palestine PM in Britain. It told Britain's ethnic and religious minorities that the Zionist Jewish commitment in the alliance against racism was contingent on their partners' silence regarding the racism within. At the time, IHRC criticised the Chief Rabbi, reminding him that "all minorities have a duty to stand and fight this growing menace together and not allow any single community to be put at risk with their political stance."

The fierce reaction in some pro-Israel quarters to the recent decision of West Midlands police to ban Maccabi Tel Aviv fans from attending their team's match against Aston Villa highlights this "Israel First" approach to community relations. Police announced the ban following a detailed risk assessment which included an analysis of the violence that has historically accompanied Maccabi Tel Aviv supporters on their travels, most notably in Amsterdam last year when fans cheered the genocide in Gaza and chanted insults against Arabs, as well as physically attacking residents. Notwithstanding that the police decision was supported by Birmingham's Safety Advisory Group, and the UK football policing unit, in order to stave off a replay of what happened in the Dutch capital, Zionist activists went into overdrive accusing the authorities of appeasing anti-Semitism in "banning Jews".

Leaving aside the now predicable conflation of Israelis with Jews in order to invoke the spectre of anti-Semitism, the reaction was revealing in that it again seemed to ignore the fears and feelings of other communities in the

pursuit of a communal political self-interest. Aston Villa is named after and located in Aston, a very cosmopolitan ward in Britain's second most populous city. Some 76% of its residents identify as BAME with a marginally lower number identifying as Muslim. In view of the shameful violence meted out to the Arab/Muslim residents of Amsterdam, it was perfectly reasonable to conclude that there was a high propensity for Maccabi fans to do the same in Birmingham.

The foremost priority of any governmental authority is to ensure the safety of citizens but when Birmingham officials tried to do that, they found themselves subjected to a media and political onslaught framed around anti-Semitism. The hysterical reaction, echoed by government ministers including the PM, Keir Starmer, betrayed an almost hostile indifference to the security of Muslims and other minorities in the interests of advancing a totally confected narrative (perhaps it is wishful thinking to expect anything less of a Prime Minister who climbed the greasy pole to power by fronting a pro-Israel led coup in the Labour Party). Ironically, the most vociferous opponents of the ban were the same people who have tirelessly campaigned to ban or limit the anti-genocide protests since October 7, 2023 because of the allegedly intimidatory impact they have on Jews who live or attend synagogues in their vicinity, even though there is no semblance of any equivalence between Maccabi fans with a history of hooliganism and overwhelmingly peaceful pro-Palestine demonstrators.

Zionist exceptionalism was also very much in evidence at this year's Holocaust Memorial Day commemorations. HMD Trust, the charity that organises the annual event, contemptuously ignored a call by IHRC to include Gaza in the list of genocides being remembered. That prompted IHRC to call on councils and universities around the country to boycott the official commemorations. It also compelled scores of activists, academics and celebrities [to write to King Charles](#) who is the patron of the charity, urging him to intervene.

HMD Trust's refusal spoke directly to the Zionist exceptionalisation of anti-Jewish racism, the creation of a hierarchy of racially inspired atrocities in which one stands apart from all others. Conveniently forgetting that it undermines the principle of "Never Again" which is claimed to lie at the heart of HMD, the refusal exposed the event as a political device to promote one genocide over all others. The actions (or inaction) of HMD was a painful reminder of the importance of civil society grasping the nettle to devise alternative commemorations ([Genocide Memorial Day being one example](#)) that are universal in scope and inclusive so that they do justice to all the victims of all genocides.

Events like Genocide Memorial Day are an essential antidote against the instrumentalization of the Holocaust by the Zionist state to provide cover for its unceasing atrocities. Contrary to received (manufactured) wisdom, Holocaust Memorial Day has never been an apolitical remembrance of man's ca-

capacity for inhumanity. It is an Israeli construct that serves to cynically exploit the memory of the Nazi Holocaust and provide a legitimisation for the very existence of the illegitimate Zionist state.

HMD was inaugurated by Israel in 1951, just three years after Zionist terror gangs had violently purged what was then Palestine of 800,000 inhabitants to make way for the new state. In the following years Zionists successfully campaigned to spread HMD, leveraging European guilt and political self-interest, to institutionalize it across the Western world. The commemoration has been accused, particularly in the last two decades, of airbrushing Palestinian and other suffering by establishing a memorial that remembered only or primarily Jewish victims of genocide. It has successfully helped to construct a narrative of unique, unparalleled victimhood that elevates the uniqueness of Jewish suffering into an unassailable political dogma. This has enabled Israel to use the Holocaust as a get out of jail card, allowing it to systematically evade adhering to international norms and values. Without the weaponization of the Holocaust, without the immunity conferred by this narrative of singular victimhood, Israel would not today enjoy the support that it still does in large parts of the Western world.

This shaping of the Holocaust into a sacred cow and the standard by which all racism should be measured is an insult to the memory of victims of non anti-Semitic racism and the millions of others targeted by Nazi supremacist genocide. It is also injurious to a cause that depends on the acknowledgement of the suffering endured by others in other genocides including Gaza. Elevating your own experience and relegating the pain of others does not make for a partnership of equals and only breeds resentment.

Despite the unprecedented exposure and discussion of Zionist agendas seeping ever deeper into our political system since the start of the Gaza genocide, the direction of travel is still deeply worrying with Zionists successfully lobbying for racism to be defined more and more through a Zionist lens. In October this year, the prime minister declared that all NHS staff in the UK would be required to [undertake mandatory anti-Semitism training](#), a decision provoked by relentless campaigning from pro-Israel organisations concerned by the growing support that Palestinian liberation has harnessed among the British public. Groups such as Campaign Against Antisemitism which have hitherto been instrumental in demonising pro-Palestine activists as racists will be contracted to advance the insidious [IHRA definition](#). The announcement came on the heels of a decision to [award £1m to the Union of Jewish Students](#), another Zionist and genocide apologist group, to continue delivering anti-Semitism training to British university staff.

The virulent hate campaign launched by some British Zionists against anti-genocide campaigners over the last two years is another barrier to continued cooperation. As if it were not depraved enough to support or

apologise for the genocide in Gaza, pro-Israel organisations have in the name of the Jewish community, often undertaken a concerted effort to vilify pro-Palestine supporters as extremists and terrorists. Whether that has been to apply pressure on regulatory bodies to strike off professionals, or lobby the government to proscribe direct action groups like [Palestine Action](#), prevailing on medical authorities to [remove from a hospital artwork by child victims](#) of the Gaza genocide or seeking the imposition of restrictions on freedom of expression as in the unsuccessful [prosecution of Marieha Hussain](#), Zionists have waged an unrelenting war against anyone who opposes Israel's racially motivated crimes.

Groups like Campaign Against Anti-Semitism, the Community Security Trust and UK Lawyers for Israel have made it their business to paint anti-genocide activists as raging Muslim extremists in a bid to delegitimise their cause, something that has served to exacerbate the already resurgent anti-Muslim prejudice being whipped up by the far right across the nation. Some of the same groups have also continued to press for authorities to adopt the IHRA definition of anti-Semitism, not to protect Jews from racism, but to shield Israel from criticism. In doing all these things they have demonstrated that in the final analysis their loyalty is to Israel first, right or wrong.

This brings us neatly to the burgeoning alliance between some Zionists and the rampant far right. Hilary Aked, Melissa Jones and David Miller have traced the origins of this alliance in a counter-jihad movement that itself grew out of the shift in the West's political focus in the 1980's from the communist red threat to the Islamic green threat, a pivot that gained impetus after the attacks on the US of September 11, 2001. They write:

"...scholars have recognised a clear strategic reorientation by certain elements of the far-right. Some analysts have begun to speak of 'two fascisms in contemporary Europe': one 'old' form committed to anti-semitism, and another 'new' form – nurtured by the war on terror – fixated on Islam."

This involved a reorientation for certain far right actors away from the Judeophobia which previously dominated their agenda towards Islamophobia. Today, the main rump of the far right in the UK is not only obsessed with dehumanising Muslims and attacking Islam as an existential threat to British culture, values and society, it also claims to stand with Israel and British Zionists in what it sees as a common fight. Admittedly, not all Zionists are comfortable with this allegiance but it is notable that most prominent British Islamophobic hate preacher and leader, Steven Yaxley Lennon aka Tommy Robinson, was recently rewarded with an invitation to visit Israel by a government minister. It is also not insignificant that the Islamophobia that fuels and underpins the revival of the new far right in the UK and abroad is heavily financed by pro-Israel groups. These ties have been documented extensively enough elsewhere for them to warrant detailed attention in this

essay.

It is also pertinent to mention that tacit or public support for the Zionist state among some British Jews has sometimes crossed the line into active participation in the genocide. Several Zionist charities have openly raised money for the Israeli army as it blitzes Gaza, leading the charity watchdog in the UK to investigate and even rebuke them. On 18 November 2025, the Charity Commission issued an [official warning](#) to Mizrachi UK, which it found had engaged in "the raising of funds to provide equipment to soldiers in a foreign military". Several more charities are still under investigation for similar activities after complaints from IHRC among others. Last year, IHRC submitted a report to the regulator, [Enabling Genocide Fundraising in the UK: Questions for the Charity Commission](#), highlighting the role of several Zionist charities in collecting money to support the Israeli armed forces. What was even more worrying was that in the case of one charity, the Charity Commission had turned a blind eye to this activity despite being alerted to its probable breach of charity regulations as far back as 2015.

A Zionist exceptionalism that is prepared to sacrifice the greater good for nefarious self-interest cannot be a suitable partner in the fight against racism. The struggle for social and political justice requires a principled attachment to fundamental values, not a tactical adherence that can be derogated for communal political gain. Zionism and anti-racism are mutually exclusive: one cannot support a genocide and at the same time claim to fight racism without undermining the integrity of the whole movement. The same applies to inter-faith cooperation which is even more dangerous in that it is expressly designed with the intention of encouraging self-censorship in the name of "community cohesion" (as if it were possible to brush a genocide under the carpet). Moreover, over and above simply compromising the anti-racism movement, Zionists in Britain are also actively weakening it with their incessant targeting of anti-Zionist expression and campaigners. These are not the actions of genuine partners.

### Faisal Bodi

is a commentator and former journalist. He has written extensively for the Guardian and Independent as a specialist on Muslim affairs and has also worked for Aljazeera. Faisal has covered many riots over the years including the 2001 unrest in our northern cities and the riots that gripped French cities in 2005. He currently works for the Islamic Human Rights Commission, the longest standing Muslim led rights advocacy group in the UK, and is co-editor of *The Long View*.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. 'Who counts? Anti-antisemitism and the racial politics of emotion', Adam Sutcliffe, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/14687968241256974>, *Ethnicities*, Volume 25 Issue 1, February 2025.



# A Straightforward Question

Arguments around the need for reparations are a distraction argues **Richard Sudan**. The case for restitution is as clear as day.

**T**he argument for reparations for the descendants of enslaved Africans is not complex, obscure, nor is it theoretical. It is one of the most straightforward moral and economic questions of our time. The difficulty has never been proving that reparations are justified, nor establishing whether they are possible. The difficulty lies in facing a political establishment that refuses to reckon with the truth. The modern world as we know it, was constructed on the forced labour, suffering, and death of millions of African people.

There's no 'enlightenment', great development or [industrial revolution](#) without slavery, and the forced labour of captive Africans and their descendants.

The descendants of those people are owed compensation for the theft of their ancestors' labour and the structural inequalities that continue to persist to this day, shaping their lives.

There is no ambiguity in the historical record. Slavery was a massive colossal economic enterprise that enriched European nations, funded the rise of Western banks, built universities, filled the coffers of private families, and formed the very basis of the American and Caribbean economies. Slavery was not a footnote amid the history of the West, but the very foundation. If you strip the history of empire down to its economic core, you find slavery and its footprint everywhere.

We see it in the creation of capital, the markets, shipping, insurance, banking, agriculture, mining, colonial administration, and global trade routes. You name it. You also find it in the formation of racial hierarchies and state structures that continue to marginalise Black communities today with incarceration rates, policing, and within the wider criminal justice system.

Against this dark backdrop, reparations are not only justified, they are surely unavoidable and furthermore the only good faith remedy to persistent inequality.

## Reparations were always possible - when the recipients were slave owners

One of the laziest and most dishonest objections to reparations is the claim that they are too complicated to bring about or too expensive to fund. This objection collapses immediately under basic scrutiny. Governments have already paid reparations, many times, just never to the people most harmed by slavery.

The most striking example is the compensation paid to slave owners after emanci-

pation. When Britain abolished slavery in 1833, it did not compensate the enslaved for centuries of stolen labour and violence.

Instead, it compensated the enslavers. The British government allocated around £20 million a staggering figure at the time, to compensate plantation owners for losing their "property." The figure represented about 40% of the government's total budget at the time with payments swiftly made to more than 20,000 slave owning families.

That money was borrowed, and the debt was serviced by British taxpayers well into the 21st century and was [only paid off fully in 2015](#). That means even the descendants of enslaved people living in Britain contributed to repaying a debt that enriched the descendants of those who had exploited them.

**Reparations are not only about the past. They are about correcting the deliberate economic imbalance that slavery created and that governments have maintained ever since**

And, the payoff handed to the slaver owners was so large, that it was in fact, the biggest financial bailout in UK history, prior to the government bailing out the banks during the 2008, economic crash.

Slave owners receiving reparations, and *not* the enslaved should in itself settle the debate. Because it exposes the hypocrisy at the heart of governmental claims about affordability and complexity. When White wealth and White power, and White interests were at stake, logistics were no obstacle. The government identified who owned slaves, calculated their supposed losses, and issued payments without hesitation. The only people excluded were the victims.

If reparations were possible in the 19th century for slave owners, they are certainly possible today in 2025 for the descendants of the enslaved.

## The Brattle Report. The numbers are already known

Another common objection is that the cost of slavery cannot be quantified. This, too, is false. Economists, scholars, and legal experts have spent decades meticulously

analysing the economic impact of slavery. The Brattle Group's report on reparations for Caribbean-descended communities is one of the most detailed and rigorous studies yet. It demonstrates that not only can reparations be calculated. They've actually done the leg work and arrived at a figure of £18 trillion

And to be clear, the Brattle Group are cold calculating consultants. The numbers they have crunched is the baseline. Because, ultimately, a crime such as slavery, with such wide reaching consequences, can never have a price tag – the suffering caused is simply immeasurable.

[The Brattle Report](#) outlines the economic value extracted from Caribbean enslaved labour over centuries, the costs of colonial exploitation, and the loss of generational wealth. It aligns with similar analyses conducted across the Atlantic world, from [CARICOM's 10 point reparations plan](#) to U.S.-based studies examining racial wealth gaps. The data is overwhelming.

Governments still claiming that reparations are unworkable are not making a logistical argument. They are making a deliberate moral evasion.

## Intergenerational wealth built on intergenerational theft

Reparations are not only about the past. They are about correcting the deliberate economic imbalance that slavery created and that governments have maintained ever since.

The families who were compensated after abolition did not simply pocket the money, they invested it. They purchased land, expanded businesses, diversified into new industries, and educated their children in elite institutions. They built the foundations of [intergenerational wealth](#). The wealth remains in circulation. The legacy handed to the descendants of slave owners is [wealth power, access and entitlement](#). The legacy left to the descendants of slaves is intergenerational trauma and broken history

The descendants of the enslaved inherited exclusion, from land, property, education, capital, and political representation. The racial wealth gap that exists today is not accidental. It is the direct result of a system designed to steal wealth from one group and hand it to another.

Wealth does not disappear. It compounds. But so too does poverty.

This is why reparations matter. They are not an act of charity. They are payment for the wealth stolen, the opportunities denied, and the systemic barriers created.

## The institutions built by slavery still operate today

Slavery was not just a labour system, it was a financial engine. It was embedded in the machinery of global capitalism. Banks issued loans using enslaved Africans as collateral. Insurance companies insured slave ships and human cargo, reducing lives to numbers in a book.

Shipping firms made fortunes transporting enslaved people and slave produced goods. Universities trained colonial administrators and merchants who upheld the system. Even parts of the monarchy's wealth were shaped by colonial extraction.

These institutions did not crumble after abolition. They flourished. They diversified. They embedded themselves in the centre of economic and political life. Their wealth today is inseparable from their past involvement in slavery. Perhaps the starkest example of intergenerational wealth and power accumulated is the Royal Family. While the exact figure is unknown, we do know that the first slavery expedition was authorised under Queen Elizabeth I under Sir John Hawkins and that the Royal Africa Company became immensely rich through trafficking Africans and exploiting their labour.

The disregard of those among the privileged class of calls for reparations is astounding – even when their own families were the direct beneficiaries. When David Cameron visited Jamaica in 2015, he essentially told Jamaicans to get over slavery despite his own distant relative, [Sir James Duff](#) being one of those who were enriched through the profits of slavery and reparations. The legacy of slavery has left in its wake both an ignorance and arrogance unrivalled in modern times. In fact, so steeped in delusion and amnesia is Britain that it has convinced itself that it was the first to end slavery rather than being one of the nations to most benefit from it.

Enslaved Africans in Haiti were the first to successfully outlaw slavery in 1804, and have been economically punished and bastardised in the media and popular culture ever since. Britain has rewritten its own

legacy and has absolved itself from its role as one of the leading slave trading nations.

Reparations must therefore address not only the harm done to individuals, but the unearned advantage accumulated by these powerful institutions and families. These inequalities continue to shape modern Britain defining health and educational outcomes, access and power.

## Present-day disparities are part of the evidence of the ongoing legacy

Opponents of reparations often argue that slavery is “in the distant past” and irrelevant to modern inequality. But present-day disparities are not separate from the history of slavery they are its living legacy.

## Policing and criminal justice. The afterlife of slave patrols

Black communities are disproportionately stopped, searched, surveilled, arrested, and incarcerated. This is not the result of higher crime rates. It is the continuation of a system originally designed to control enslaved Africans and keep them in a state of subordination. In the U.S., policing evolved directly from slave patrols. In Britain, it evolved in tandem with colonial policing systems used to enforce racial hierarchy.

Disproportionate policing is not accidental, it is structural. It's not a broken system, it's a system working as it was intended.

Reparations acknowledge that these injustices are part of a historical unbroken line.

## Education - Inequality designed to persist

Under slavery, the education of enslaved Africans was forbidden or tightly restricted. After slavery ended, education systems were structured to maintain racial hierarchy. Today, Black children still face greater rates of exclusion, fewer resources, biased curricula, and systemic underfunding.

Educational inequality is not an oversight it is the continuation of centuries of exclusion from knowledge and opportunity.

## Healthcare - The price of structural neglect?

Black communities suffer worse [health outcomes](#) across nearly every indicator. This is not genetic, it is structural. It stems from poorer housing, economic inequality, medical racism, environmental injustice, and generations of being treated as less human by the healthcare system. The Covid pandemic shone a light on these disparities. But it's something Black communities across the diaspora have known and lived for decades.

The disparities in health reflect the long shadow of slavery and colonialism and intergenerational [trauma carried forward](#) by successive generations. Reparations could help communities build their own health frameworks when the state refuses to do so.

## Housing and wealth: a legacy of denial

While slave owners invested in property, the descendants of the enslaved were systematically denied land, mortgages, fair loans, and quality housing etc. Modern wealth is built through property ownership. Denying Black people access to this pathway for generations is structural theft.

These disparities are not accidental. They are the direct result of policies designed to preserve the advantages created by slavery.

## “There’s no money” (for reparations) except when governments want war

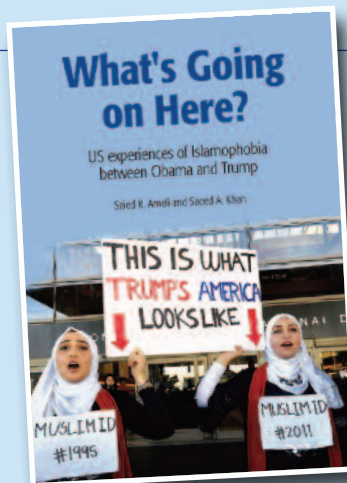
Perhaps the most cynical argument against reparations is the one we hear most often: “There is no money.” Governments deploy this phrase as if their budgets are natural phenomena rather than political choices. When the topic is repairing the harm done to Black people, austerity is invoked. Finan-

### IHRC Publication

## What's Going on Here?

US Experiences of Islamophobia between Obama and Trump

By Saied R. Ameli and Saeed A. Khan



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cial caution is preached. We are told the state cannot afford justice.

But the moment war is on the table, money flows without hesitation.

When governments want to invade, bomb, arm, or occupy, no one asks where the money will come from. Budgets swell overnight. Defence spending skyrockets. Entire economies realign to support conflict. Trillions can be mobilised at a moment's notice.

War receives a blank cheque. Justice receives nothing.

The message could not be clearer. Governments are willing to spend **unimaginable sums** to destroy nations, but claim poverty when asked to repair. They will fund violence before they will fund equality. They will arm nations before they will arm communities with resources. They will rebuild foreign armies before they will rebuild the lives of the descendants of enslaved people.

This contradiction exposes the truth. The problem is not affordability. The problem is political will. Reparations threaten entrenched power structures. War reinforces them.

A government that can fund endless conflict can fund reparations. A government that can find billions for bombs can find money to address the greatest economic injustice in history. Claims of scarcity are excuses and nothing more.

If governments refuse to fix inequality, cash reparations must be paid. It might be the only remedy and the only means by which our societies can move forward.

## An antidote to broken promises.

Some politicians argue that instead of cash reparations, governments should simply "invest in communities." But this argument ignores the fact that governments have failed to do so for generations. They have made promises. They have published reports. They have launched consultations. Yet inequality persists.

So long as governments refuse to address the disparities in policing, education, healthcare, housing, and economic opportunity, cash reparations are not only justified, they are necessary.

Communities know what they need. Investment in schools, youth services, community centres, mental health programmes, housing initiatives, business grants, land ownership schemes, cultural institutions, community led and culturally sensitive healthcare.

Cash reparations would allow communities to build these structures themselves, rather than waiting for governments that have consistently failed to act. The radical spirit of the Windrush generation is a good example. Recognising the entrenched racism within the UK school system, Black communities who migrated to Britain after World War 2, set up their own Pan African Saturday schools to fill the gaps where the

system had failed. Given the opportunity and resources, communities descended from the enslaved can support themselves.

Reparations are not simply about giving money, although this is a big part of it. They are about restoring autonomy stolen through centuries of exploitation and allowing self-determination.

## Reparations are global because slavery was global

Slavery was not confined to the Caribbean or the United States. It was a global system, involving Europe, Africa, and the entire Atlantic economy. Wealth flowed in one direction, from the labour of enslaved Africans to the treasuries and powerful families and institutions of Europe. Underdevelopment, poverty, and instability were imposed on the Caribbean and Africa by design.

**If governments are unwilling to even face up to their past, much less provide a remedy for it, then fortifying communities with the resources to compensate the labour stolen from their ancestors is the only way to move forward. The moral argument is clear**

CARICOM's 10 point plan outlines a model for national and regional reparations that addresses both financial compensation and structural reform. Reparations must therefore be understood as a global project, not a national gesture.

Reparations are not symbolic nor a handout or free money as some argue. They are a debt that is overdue.

When stripped to its essence, the case for reparations is simple. A crime was committed. Wealth was stolen. The perpetrators were compensated. The victims were left with nothing. The inequality persists. The debt remains unpaid.

Reparations are not about guilt, pity, or symbolic reconciliation. They are about justice. They are about addressing the theft, restoring the balance, and acknowledging the truth that the modern world stands on a foundation of Black suffering.

The descendants of enslaved Africans are not asking for favours. They are asking for what is owed.

The question is not whether reparations should be paid. The question is whether governments will continue to protect the wealth created by slavery or whether they will finally confront the truth and do what justice demands. Will our governments live up to the promise of democracy and an egalitarian society, or continue to bury their collective heads in the sand.

Reparations can happen. They were paid to Native Americans, Japanese Americans following internment during World War 2, Jewish communities following the crime of the Holocaust, Alaskans and as we've examined, even slave owners.

## Slavery was yesterday in historical terms.

Furthermore, slavery is not ancient history. Within my own **family lineage** it's just 3 people ago. My dad's grandfather's grandmother, born in 1832 in Guyana, came into the world as someone's property, with a Scottish name.

Slavery is a crime which took place in recent history, and was so powerful that its impacts continue to reverberate throughout the world.

Increasingly, younger generations especially, are through with arguing to be viewed as equal and deserving human beings, begging for a seat at decision making tables and the corridors of power.

If governments are unwilling to even face up to their past, much less provide a remedy for it, then fortifying communities with the resources to compensate the labour stolen from their ancestors is the only way to move forward. The moral argument is clear. So too is the economics. But those in power lack the political will. One thing is clear. Ongoing demands for justice alongside ongoing state violence will continue to create the kind of social upheaval that governments should be wise to avoid and therefore incentivised to prevent. All it takes is another George Floyd moment to occur and Western societies could be brought to their knees.

Ultimately, the failure to deliver reparations could result in a far greater price being paid by society further down the line.

The flipside however, is that there is actually an opportunity to finally face and address the greatest crime in history.

Attempting to repair the deep long term damage created by slavery would be a revolutionary moment which could transform society long term for the greater good and for the betterment for all communities.

One thing is certain. Over the last few years, demands for reparations reached absolute fever pitch. And with good reason. Decades of injustice, has created an insatiable demand for justice.

And, those demands are going nowhere. Despite attempts to erase Black people, historical revisionism, and political gaslighting, the call for justice has gained irreversible momentum.

The reparations movement is like a locomotive that can't be stopped. Time to get on board or get out the way.

## Richard Sudan

is a journalist and writer specialising in anti-racism and has reported on various human rights issues from around the world. His writing has been published by The Guardian, Independent, The Voice and many others.



# The Northern Megastate Danger and the Geopolitical Future of the Ummah

In this exclusive extract from IHRC's forthcoming book *Is the Sun Setting on the Western Empire? Exploring Shifts in Global Power and Islamophobic Thinking*, **João Silva Jordão** discusses the Northern Megastate that is set to replace the so-called West and encompasses much of the northern landmasses. He explores this concept through the Russian invasion of Ukraine and how it does not disconnect Russia from the West but is rather a calculated manoeuvre for its standing in the western world.

## Introduction and Editorial note

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has led to an astounding amount of renewed hatred towards Russia, a hatred marked by cynicism and hypocrisy, while the vilification of Russians at large has been nothing more than fully-fledged weaponized racism meant to serve specific geopolitical purposes. However, there is a hidden historical dimension to this conflict, which is counter-intuitive and yet easily verifiable - Russia is not, historically, inevitably an enemy of the West and much less to the rest of Europe. In fact, Russia has often made alliances with Western European Countries. Furthermore, Putin's political career can be seen as one long attempt to increase Russia's standing in the Western world, as opposed to a real attempt to drift away from it or even to destroy it.

Aleksandr Dugin's<sup>1</sup> vision of a united Eurasia, albeit with Russia as its leader, which is allegedly at the heart of Russia's political and military contemporary phi-

losophy, is counter to the notion that Russia and the West are mortal enemies- i.e., even Russian ultra-nationalists are smarter than to see Russia as being inevitably at odds with Western Europe. Geographically, the Great European Plane also makes Western Russia a natural extension of Western Europe.

However, a reunification between Russia and the West in the medium term, a scenario that is far from improbable, and is in fact if anything the most likely possibility, could have grave consequences for Muslims. A unified West would only need a coalition of a handful of countries, and even more so if the EU continues its path towards Federalization. An alliance between the USA, Canada, the EU, the UK, and Russia would make for a continuous landmass only separated by the Atlantic and the small gap between Alaska and Siberia. The rise of China and some other powers can also serve as an incentive for this sort of geopolitical shift.

Though Russia is for the moment, in the short-term, allied with China, it is laughable to think that this alliance is anything other than temporary, and highly cynical, on both

sides. This potential alliance, hereby referred to as the Northern Megastate Menace, would make for a terrifying new geopolitical reality in which an alliance of Caucasian-majority nations would then undoubtedly then gang up on the countries to its South, potentially unleashing killing and plundering to a level never seen before in the history of mankind. In the medium-term, Muslims must make sure that the Northern Megastate Menace never materializes, while in the long-term, the disposition of Muslims around the world could change to such a degree so as to make it that this Northern Megastate would be so dependent on its own Islamic contingent that it could be neutral or even friendly towards Muslims and Islam. Muslims must pursue both objectives simultaneously: preventing the Megastate from coming into being; as well as claiming their own space in the countries of the North, whilst aggressively pursuing a Grand Islamic Alliance of their own to defend their security and interests.

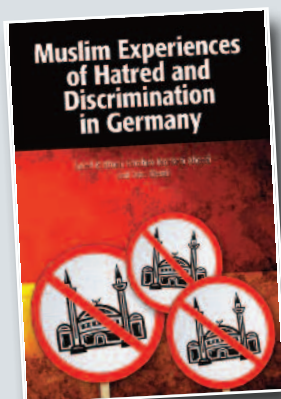
Lastly, insofar as the introduction goes and as an editorial note, one must note that

## IHRC PUBLICATION

### Muslim Experiences of Hatred and Discrimination in Germany

SAIED R. AMELI, EBRAHIM MOHSENI  
AHOEEI AND ARZU MERALI

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Using the state of the art Domination Hate Model of Intercultural Relations, the authors of this long awaited analysis of Islamophobia in Germany chart the demise of the ideas of citizenship, equality and new Germanness.

The authors argue that Germany is uniquely poised in Europe to lead other nations in good practice or bad. The current situation is veering dangerously to the bad - with laws, policies and public rhetoric all imbued with and reproducing Islamophobic narrative and practice.

Alongside analysis, the research sets out a comprehensive set of recommendations looking at media, policing, political narrative, citizenship laws, employment, education and many other aspects of the German state. It also presents fieldwork and statistics based on the DHMIR survey of the experiences of Muslims in Germany.

this paper will more often than not adhere to an academic style in both content, style and in the use of bibliographical references, however, since it also serves as a structured exercise in speculation, making this both a work of geopolitical analysis as well as a necessary thought experiment that runs through a likely scenario, hoping that the exercise informs useful pathways forward regardless of whether it comes to be or not.

## The Northern Megastate Danger, an Ultra-Dystopian Possibility

There is a prospect which everyone seems to be ignoring - the possibility of virtually all northern countries uniting in what would be the most daunting political structure in the history of mankind. This Northern Megastate would be an almost continuous land mass that goes from the tip of Western Europe, Portugal, through Europe, onto Russia and Siberia, through to Alaska, including Canada and the United States of America and finishing in the North American East Coast. If Alaska and Siberia are ever connected via a bridge, one could then theoretically drive from Lisbon to New York, and in doing so would nearly be going across the whole globe.

This prospect might seem fanciful. But a quick look at history and the present situation demonstrates that this is a very real possibility. If we consider the European Union as a single State, then this huge swathe of terrain is controlled by only four states- Canada, the United States of America, the European Union and the Russian Federation. Three of these are already locked in a comprehensive military alliance, NATO, and are highly economically interdependent. So geopolitically, this huge land mass only has two poles - NATO and Russia.

If we look at this matter from the historical perspective, we can say that Russia is to a degree the modern representative of the Byzantine Empire. Some call Moscow "The Third Rome". We must also note that all of this area is mostly inhabited by a 'white', or Caucasian ethnic group, and that all of the languages spoken in these territories are variations of each other.

Therefore, there are two major events that would be needed for this Northern Megastate to come into being. Firstly, the consolidation of the European Union as a Federal State. The second would be the convergence between Russia and NATO. The first is admittedly more likely than the second, but both are actually highly likely.

One of the main problems with this Megastate is that it would be an overwhelmingly economically and politically powerful entity, as well as an inherently militaristic one, which would have an extensive jurisdiction over land and seas perfect for global domination. Consider for example what the [EEZ of a Federal European Union would look like](#)<sup>2</sup> (unfortunately a map that does not take into account Brexit, i.e., [the departure of the United Kingdom from the European](#)

[Union](#)<sup>3</sup>):

The following is a map of the maximum EEZ that the European Union can have as per their maximum potential expansion plans, that is to say, [what the European Union's EEZ would be if every member that is eligible to join](#), on account of its geographical location, were to join is also illuminating<sup>4</sup>.

The formation of a Northern Megastate would make the term "Global South" not only more useful, but render what was previously a simplification into a literal reality. Geopolitically, the Northern Megastate would then inevitably wage wars and attempt by any means necessary to subjugate the territories and the people living therein directly to the South.

Though it is highly unlikely that Russia ever actually joins the European Union, it is not improbable that it might enter an alliance with the European Union, an alliance that would be the final key to the emergence of the Northern Megastate. The majority of pushback against the idea that this might be possible might come from the commonly held idea that Russia has always and will always be the West's enemy or at least rival. This concept itself is not only erroneous - since there have been some instances of such alliances - but it carries some parallels to Orwellian critiques of geopolitical propaganda, and echoes *1984*'s concepts of state propaganda, whereby changing alliances between large blocks are followed by a rewriting of history that erase past alliances with a block that has now become an enemy.

Furthermore, the tacit alliance between Russia and China that has formed and strengthened since Russia's invasion of Ukraine seems temporary and cynical. China's rise will in turn force the West's hand in looking for new, dedicated allies, and by far the country that is has the characteristics that most equip it to be a formidable force in combating China is precisely Russia, not only because of its geographical location but also because of its military might, nuclear arsenal and all-round experienced army.

## Some Instances of Western-Russian Alliances

Western-Russian Alliances are plenty. The infamous Ribbentrop pact is one such example of a tacit alliance between Russia and a Western European power- it was a non-aggression pact agreed between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.

Paradoxically, the successive Western invasions of Russia are a key reason as to why Russia expanded so far East, namely so that its leadership can fall back beyond the Urals if and when an overwhelming Western invasion takes or nearly takes the Great Western Plain.

Among other notorious instances of Russian-Western Alliances are the Franco-Russian alliance that lasted from 1891 to 1917, which also included the United Kingdom from 1904 onwards via the Triple Entente. There are of course more examples of

Western-Russian alliances in recent history.

## The War in Ukraine can be Interpreted as an "Orwellian War"

George Orwell's book *1984* (Orwell, 1948), whose real name was Eric Blair, remains one of the most brilliant works in the field of geopolitics. Orwell manages, in a short novel, to be more illuminating than the vast majority of political science authors can across gigantic volumes. One must not underestimate Orwell's authority in the area of politics; he was, after all, a person who saw, lived through and actively participated in many of the defining events of his time. He participated in the Spanish civil war side by side with socialist militias, was well known and frequented the left-wing intelligentsia of his time, and worked for the British colonial police in India, eventually working for the British secret services. He even reported British activists and characters he believed to be undercover Communist agents to the British intelligence agency, MI5. It is not surprising, therefore, that *1984* is a book about politics in the broad and profound sense of the term, dealing not only with geopolitics, but also with propaganda, internal administration, State organization, espionage, treason, infiltration and psychology.

The book *1984*, a critique of state totalitarianism in general, and Stalinism in particular, is best known for its haunting vision of the totalitarian state that constantly surveils its citizens, keeping them in a state of subservience, impotence and perpetual demoralization. Orwell's vision of a State that constantly spies on its citizens is of course one of a totalitarian state, or any partially totalitarian tendency, which has in turn led to the coinage and widespread use of the term 'Orwellian state'. The present modern surveillance mechanism, characterized by some as 'instantaneous totalitarianism', can be seen as being Orwellian in nature. However, there are many other elements of interest in Orwell's novel, namely, the vision of how States use war to control their population, wars that we can call Orwellian Wars. The recent conflict in Ukraine demonstrates once again Orwell's acumen in geopolitical analysis and the relevance of his work in aiding us to understand political phenomena.

Here are selected passages from Chapter II, Part 9 of the novel *1984* that explain the nature of the Orwellian War:

"To understand the nature of the present war - for, despite the regrouping that takes place every few years, it is always the same war - one must realize, in the first place, that it is impossible for this war to be decisive..."

"In so far as the war has a direct economic purpose, it is a war of manpower..."

"It is for possession of these densely populated regions, and the northern ice sheet, that the three



powers are constantly fighting. In practice, no single power controls the entire disputed area. Portions of it are constantly changing hands, and this is the opportunity to seize this or that piece of land through a sudden stroke of betrayal that dictates the endless shifts of alliances...

"The inhabitants of these areas, reduced more or less openly to the condition of slaves, pass continually from conqueror to conqueror and are spent like so much coal or oil in the race to produce more armaments, to capture more territory, to control more force of work, to the production of more armaments, to the capture of more territory, and so on and on. **Note that the struggle never goes beyond the borders of the disputed areas...**

"War, therefore, if judged by the standards of former wars, is merely an imposture. It is like the battles between certain ruminants, whose horns are incapable of inflicting mutual injury... Surplus consumer goods are consumed, which helps to preserve the particular mental atmosphere that hierarchical society needs. War, as you can see, is now a purely internal affair. In the past, to everyone's groups the countries in power, although they were able to recognize their common interest and therefore limit the destructive power of war, fought against each other, and the winner always ended up plundering the vanquished... War is waged by each group in power against its own subjects, and the object of war is not to make or prevent conquests of territory, but to keep the structure of society intact. The very word 'guerra' therefore became misleading. It would probably be correct to say that, becoming continuous, war ceased to exist...

"A peace that was truly permanent would be the same as a permanent war. This - although the vast

majority of Party members understand it in its most superficial sense - is the inner meaning of the Party slogan: War is Peace..."

That is, in Orwell's world, by staging supposed wars between themselves, the two or more political blocs in fact manage to reach a high degree of internal stability, managing to perpetuate the hierarchical structure of society, continuing to subdue the inhabitants of their respective territories without ever calling into question the existence of other political blocs. That is, by staging a continuous war between them, the political blocs ensure effective peace for their respective political and economic elites, who can continue to rest assured in their position of supremacy over other social classes.

Thanks to the Ukraine crisis, NATO announced the generation of a new 'rapid response' military force. Ukraine's conflict is also providing an opportunity for military industry players to call for more funding to be made available to the army. Some even point to the Ukraine crisis as having the positive effect of forcing NATO to start increasing its military spending, thus following the increase in investment that Russia itself has been dedicating to its armed forces. This 'conflict' also serves as a pretext for Russia to continue its growing militarization as well as an opportunity to train models of annexation of the surrounding territories in which it may have an interest.

More and more elements suggest that the European Union and the United States of America were behind several events that helped to escalate tensions, namely, the murders of protesters by snipers. Many also speak of the hypocrisy of the alliance between the NATO Bloc and Ukrainian fascist groups, such as the Nazi Svoboda battalion and later the Azov battalion, which NATO uses as proximity agents on the ground to do its dirty work.

What has been less discussed, however, is the extent to which the Ukraine crisis is useful for both sides of the barricade, that is, it is a conflict that benefits both blocs, NATO and the Russian Federation. This conflict al-

lows the two to use contested lands to train their military forces without putting their territorial integrity at risk. It also allows both sides to legitimize greater expenditures by the military industry before their population, which then serves both for foreign aggression and for internal repression.

Above all, we have to look at the elements that reveal this "conflict" as what it truly is: a huge farce. In fact, what we are witnessing is not a conflict between NATO and the Russian Federation, but rather a demonstration of controlled force, a kind of training in which the two blocs show some of their strength without ever questioning the existence of the other. Let's look at some interesting facts that reveal the ongoing collaboration between the NATO bloc and the Russian Federation, unmasking the farce that is the supposed conflict between the two:

- the three largest military powers in the European Union, the United Kingdom, France and Germany, continue to sell weapons to Russia, while their leaders call for an embargo on future sales;
- Russian and NATO secret services continue to collaborate on a large scale and share information about common enemies, namely Chechen armed groups, as witnessed after the bombing of Boston;
- Germany's dependence on Russian gas continues, and business between the two countries has continued extensively;
- a huge mutual contract was signed between Gazprom, a Russian State company, and BASF, a German company, after the start of the Ukrainian Civil War (beginning in 2014);
- a Russian investment group invested USD 7 billion in RWE, the German gas company after the start of the Ukraine Civil War (beginning in 2014).

On the one hand, the conflict provides a pretext for the EU and the US to unite militarily through NATO and economically through Transatlantic Trade and Investment

# MUSLIM UNITY

With struggles for liberation still ongoing around the world, the late **Imam Cassiem** provides some context for Islamic activism within all of them.



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Partnership (TTIP), inflating an industry of “defense and security” (i.e. of foreign aggression and domestic control). On the Russian side, the Civil War and then invasion, fuel the nationalist fire and the revival of Russian Imperialism. Just like the Orwellian conflicts in 1984 between blocs that pretend to hate each other while in fact colluding behind the scenes, the two sides, Russia and NATO, pretend to be approaching open conflict, when in fact the continuation of economic and military promiscuity between the two is quite obvious and open for all to see, while both sides then continue to use the alleged war to consolidate their own geopolitical and economic interests.

The conflict in Ukraine, which the mainstream media wants us to believe at all costs as being a real conflict between NATO and Russia, is in fact a conflict between the State-Corporate network of which NATO and Russia are a part, and the populations of the world. Until now, the population that has suffered the most from this pseudo-NATO-Russia conflict is the population of Ukraine.

## Other Relatively Recent Orwellian Wars

Korea, Vietnam, and perhaps also Syria can be considered other Orwellian wars in which two great geopolitical superpowers used a foreign nation's territory to fight their geopolitical battles, but also to fund and train their military, including the testing of new weaponry and belligerent technologies.

The very use of the term “Cold War” points at this perverse Orwellian tacit agreement between superpowers to only fight within the hinterlands, but never to attack each other's territory, as the Cold War was not cold at all for Korea and Vietnam, countries which still suffer from the consequences of the Orwellian wars they suffered to this day, especially the former, but also very much the latter. The whole concept of Cold War illustrates a war that never really was, a stand-off that could have escalated into war but never did, yet there were wars, and the mayhem, destruction, killing and suffering that inevitably comes from them. Do we not then

care about those countries?

## Orwellian Wars by no Means Prevent Future Alliances and Agreements- the China-USA Case Study

Perhaps the best example of a superpower that is constantly portrayed as a rabid, relentless enemy of the West is China. However, even so much as a superficial amount of research will demonstrate not only that China is, at best, a geopolitical rival, and most importantly, that despite the obvious rivalry, that there are a massive amount of military deals, agreements, hot lines, and joint undertakings. And that is just the military component. Economically, saying that China is a relentless enemy of the United States is simply preposterous, rather it is the case that they have reached a state of mutual economic dependency, the reversion of which would take decades at a minimum, making an all-out war between the two highly unlikely anytime soon. Let us first look at the ranking of the United States' biggest trading partners (Forbes, 2020), and as we will see, not only is China in the top three, it is far off fourth, which is Japan, and is the only one in the top three that does not share a border with the United States of America:

1. Mexico: \$614.5 billion
2. Canada: \$612.4 billion
3. China: \$558.9 billion
4. Japan: \$218.3 billion
5. Germany: \$187.8 billion

There has been no real change in this reality since 2020, as the United State Census Bureau's data (2022) shows<sup>5</sup>:

Now let us look at some instances of joint military programmes and other instances of cooperation and quasi-alliances. The list is really quite impressive, and let us first note that there are many, many security cooperation deals between China and the United States (Wikipedia, 2022, d), which span areas such as the army, the navy, coastguard,

nuclear security among other areas of activity. One specific example is the setting up of a military “hot line” between high-ranking military officials in the US and China.

In 2017, a military “hot line” was set up between high-ranking military officials in the US and China (USNI News, 2017). Let us also take into consideration that this deal was signed in 2017, under Donald Trump's presidency. Wasn't one of his main campaign promises to do his best to contain China's growth and influence? But the agreement is in fact a surprisingly comprehensive agreement between China and the USA, using the possibility for accidental hostile naval encounters as an excuse.

We can also find the following extensive agreement dating back to 2017 (US Treasury, 2017) its depth and span is extensive, and here is an excerpt:

### IV. Enhancing Global Cooperation and Economic Governance

*The United States supports China's presidency to host a successful G20 Hangzhou Summit in 2016 and looks forward to working closely with China to promote strong, sustainable and balanced growth of the global economy. In supporting the G20 as the premier forum for international economic cooperation, both sides are committed to work with other G20 members to (i) strengthen macroeconomic policy cooperation; (ii) use all policy tools to foster confidence and strengthen growth, use fiscal policy flexibly to strengthen growth, use monetary policy to continue to support economic activity and ensure price stability, consistent with central banks' mandates, and use structural reform to boost potential growth in the medium term; (iii) explore opportunities arising from innovation; (iv) improve global economic, financial and energy governance; (v) address climate change and bolster clean energy; (vi) contribute to inclusive and sustainable global development through the im-*



## NIGERIA APPEAL

Currently there are thousands of children, women and men suffering as the result of the violence of the Nigerian police and army. Members of the Islamic Movement have been routinely targeted, with more than 2000 killed over the last six years. They have left behind dependents who are often destitute and shunned. Families are left without enough income for basic necessities like food and clothing, children loose out on education.

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plementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, both domestically and internationally, and the timely implementation of the Addis Ababa Action Agenda. Both sides are committed to working with other G20 members to make continued progress on these and other issues in the G20 agenda and deliver positive outcomes for the Hangzhou Summit across a number of areas, including phasing out inefficient fossil fuel subsidies by a date certain; continuing discussions and cooperation on climate and energy efficiency, such as improving emissions performance of heavy-duty vehicles and steps to reduce methane emissions; conducting cooperation on epidemic prevention, detection, and response, based on the World Health Organization Joint External Evaluation tool, and combating antimicrobial resistance. Both sides encourage all G20 members to fully implement commitments made at previous G20 Summits."

There is also the "Addis Ababa Action Agenda", a bizarrely-named initiative that includes quadruple alliteration, and is an agreement relative to common Sustainable Development goals and initiatives (Wikipedia, 2022e).

One has taken the time and effort to list all of these instances of cooperation and alliances between China and the United States of America so as to drive the following point - just because two powers are often depicted as enemies, not only does not make it so, but there could be, and often are, a huge amount of trade, deals and common goals and initiatives that the two could be undertaking. This is extremely important, and when considered alongside a plethora of instances of past Russian-Western European alliances, makes for a very clear thesis: *it is by no means unlikely, and certainly not impossible, for an alliance between the European Union, the United States and the Russian Federation, which would lead to the disastrous scenario*

of the Northern Megastate coming into being.

## Putin's "War on Terror" and the Tacit Anti-Islamic Western-Russian Alliance

Regardless of whether a Western-Russian Megastate comes into being, and regardless even of whether it is a question if or when the West and Russia reconcile geopolitically, Russia has already played a key role in the attack against Islam in the modern age. Let us not forget that it was Vladimir Putin who engineered what is quite possibly a false flag terrorist attack in Moscow to justify attacking Chechnya, just as a few years later the United States would do the same with the terrorist attacks of 9/11 which it used as a pretext to launch a series of invasions targeting Islamic-majority countries. The Moscow bombings and Putin's response as Russia's then Prime Minister and former head of Russia's main secret service agency, the FSB, was key to his rise to Russia's de-facto perpetual President, leading David Satter (National Review, 2016) for example to affirm the following, seemingly with a very large degree of certainty:

*"I believe that Vladimir Putin came to power as the result of an act of terror committed against his own people. The evidence is overwhelming that the apartment-house bombings in 1999 in Moscow, Buinaksk, and Volgograd, which provided a pretext for the second Chechen war and catapulted Putin into the presidency, were carried out by the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB). Yet, to this day, an indifferent world has made little attempt to grasp the significance of what was the greatest political provocation since the burning of the Reichstag."*

And it must be noted that Russia was an eager participant in the fraudulently named "War on Terror" led by the United States of America.

The war in Syria drove a wedge between

this tacit Western-Russian Anti-Islamic alliance, however, as we saw with the case of China, this by no means prevents future, considerable economic and military alliances and cooperation.

## "The East-West Orientation of Historical Empires...", NATO and the Northern Megastate

There is a concept that nations and cultures spread across East West axes more easily than North South axes- [this is due to temperature fluxes](#)<sup>6</sup> being harsher across North and South divides, which then means a certain people can more easily adapt and then occupy and colonize territories to their East and South more easily than North and South. Coastlines are, to a degree, a slight exception, but not completely, to this rule. There are of course obvious contingencies, nuances and exceptions, but it is a remarkable and fascinating observation. It is also noted that this trend is not verified to the same degree in modern States due to a series of factors, some being technological.

Turchin et al (2006) attempt to summarize this concept thusly:

*"Our results indicate that the physical and biological environment has a detectable effect on the shapes of historic states and to a lesser extent on modern states. It appears that projection of military/political power is easier within the same ecological zone (biome). This, however, does not support "ecological determinism." Although ecology is important, its influence on state expansion patterns is transmitted by social mechanisms which can either abate, or sometimes overturn these ecological effects. Despite the complexities of the human world, certain techniques and ideas from ecological sciences have proven to be fruitful in suggesting novel approaches to the study of social systems."*

# PALESTINE

# EMERGENCY

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One great example of this East-West Expansion Theory is the history of the Scythians, who tended to migrate West along the Eurasian Steppe, which gets greener and more lush as one moves West (*The Believer*, 2022<sup>7</sup>).

Let us first look at NATO. Indeed, at first it does not seem to follow the East-West Empire trend as described by Turchin et al (2006).

While NATO does not follow the logic of the East-West<sup>8</sup> tendency directly and immediately, it is certainly the start of the what would be the ultimate example of an East-West Empire- the Northern Megastate.

The post-Brexit European Union, the Russian Federation, and the USA as viewed on a map, demonstrates how the amalgamation of three Federal States alone already make up a very impressive base from which to build the Northern Megastate.

The distribution of Islamic majority countries simultaneously follows and transcends the East-West trend<sup>9</sup>.

However, it is notable that the areas that the Muslims conquered and both Arabized and Islamicised tended to be along the latitude of the area from whence it originated, the Hijaz, as Egypt and the Maghreb stands at more or less the same latitude as the Hijaz. Areas that were Islamicised but not never fully Arabized, the most important examples being Turkey and Persia, which both either stand at slightly higher latitudes or tend to have mountainous regions, which also severely affects mean temperatures.

We must notice also that the areas which were, even if temporarily, conquered and dominated by Muslims in Europe, mostly Andalus and Sicily, sit at a latitude not too far off previously conquered lands, while further incursions, such as those made by the Moors into France for example, or into Central Europe by the Turks, ended in immediate embarrassing defeats and ended up being pushed back somewhat easily.

The advent of modern technology somewhat offsets the real effects of temperature fluxes as it allows for air conditioning, farming greenhouses and the like. Regardless, the

scenario of the Northern Megastate feeds from the West-East axis principle insofar as the verifiable tendency of empires of the past to spread more so along longitude than latitude makes it so that both the populations and political elites of the countries that would be the core of the Northern Megastate, the United States, the European Union and the Russian Federation, are still more alike ethnically, culturally, etc. because of this trend, making the formation of the Megastate more likely, though its potential formation would not of course depend on this dynamic alone.

## The Islamic Alliance, Sectarianism, the Persian Wedge and the Russian Loose End

If the Islamic World is to stand any chance at all to free itself from the constant wars, civil wars, and “foreign” invasions (i.e., invasions undertaken by non-Islamic majority countries) sectarianism must be repressed internally to a degree that it renders the Islamic World, the Ummah, not only receptive to the idea of a broad inter-Islamic alliance, but perhaps even demand it.

From the geopolitical standpoint, it would be anywhere between difficult, impractical or perhaps even impossible for an Islamic alliance to come into being without a massive, structural, methodical, relentless and successful campaign to reduce sectarianism in all its shapes and forms. This will be central to the eventual success or failure of any Islamic alliance.

Iran geopolitically splits what would otherwise be a continuous sequence of Sunni Muslim-majority countries. It serves as a wedge between the Western Sunni Muslim world and the Eastern Sunni Muslim world.

As I myself put it, attempting to describe the importance, justification and strategic importance of fighting sectarianism (Silva Jordão, 2020):

*“Sectarian divides within Islam are socially destructive, politically*

*costly, and in the worst cases, result in unimaginable tragedy- they are certainly one of the main elements holding the Ummah back and are one of the favourite weapons that the enemies of Islam love to use against us. Beyond the well-known historical and political axioms that run through Islamic sectarianism, we can find psychological traumas and ideological myths that must be diagnosed, and in some cases, quasitherapeutically treated and seriously questioned...”*

Let us also remember that intra-Islamic sectarianism was a key component in the civil war in Iraq after the 2003 US led invasion, though obviously the main factor was the criminal and fraudulent invasion itself, and that it also played a key part in the recent partial destruction of Syria and Yemen, while also being perhaps the most virulent component of ISIS's ideology, i.e., a pathological and genocidal hatred for Shia Muslims.

As Muslims, we are faced with a very simple choice. We will either destroy sectarianism, or sectarianism, directly or indirectly, will destroy us. The conclusion is obvious: either we wage an internal, ubiquitous war on sectarianism within the whole of the Islamic world, or the whole of the world, be it NATO or the Northern Megastate.

Interestingly, the division between Russia and the West also carries parallels to the ethnic, linguistic and sectarian Arab-Persian and Sunni-Shia divide that drives a wedge in between any future Islamic alliance. In the case of the North, the divisions between Russia and the West are linguistic not only insofar as Russian is its own language, but also uses a slightly different alphabet (Cyrillic), while also having its own Christian denomination, the Russian Orthodox Church, also known as the Moscow Patriarchate. It is also interesting to note that Moscow itself is sometimes referred to within this context as the Third Rome, the first Rome being Rome and the Second Rome being Constantinople. Upon the taking of Constantinople (now called Istanbul) by the Muslims, a consider-



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able part of the contingent that made up the clergy of the Byzantine Empire went on to be based in Greece and later, in Russia and Moscow specifically. This also means that Russia, in its Christian, Russian Orthodox form, can very much be seen as the heir to Byzantium, sometimes referred to as the Byzantine Empire.

I would propose that any commentator that may be tempted into thinking that the divide between the Catholic and (Russian) Orthodox Church has no geopolitical relevance to consider that, as of December of 2022, (the precise time at which this paper was written, the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, was making credible moves to make it illegal for the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as any such "Russian affiliated churches" to operate within Ukrainian territory. Zelensky himself claiming, as reported by Reuters (2022):

"We have to create conditions where no actors dependent on the aggressor state (Russia) will have an opportunity to manipulate Ukrainians and weaken Ukraine from within. We will never allow anyone to build an empire inside the Ukrainian soul."

Regardless, geopolitically, Russia is a sort of "loose end" that the West would do well to respect and lure back. If and when it unites with the Western World, it will be pivotal to the way in which the Western Empire evolves.

### Whether NATO or Northern Megastate? A Sword of Damocles Above us Always:

Whether the possibility of a Northern Megastate becomes a reality, or not, a paradoxical beta-version of the Northern Megastate not only already exists, but has already been used to undertake a series of grievous attacks on the Global South and the Islamic world in particular - NATO. The paradox here is obvious - NATO was set-up as a po-

litical and military alliance between Western Europe and the United States of America to counter the Soviet Union. However insofar as the Soviet Union and then the Russian Federation goes, NATO has acted mainly as a counter-Russian deterrent, however, perhaps the most concrete actions that it has taken is simply to expand Westwards beyond what it had previously (allegedly) agreed to with the Soviet Union. However, NATO did play a key part in the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq as well as the successful destruction of the Libyan State along with a failed attempt to do the same in Syria. These four are the most grievous instances of military invasions led by or partaken in by NATO, but the list of actual military interventions is extensive, and the only recognizable pattern is the following- NATO only attacks weaker, non-nuclear States, and the majority of them are in the so-called global South.

### From NATO to GUTO - Visions of a Global Ummah Treaty Organization

Ethics aside, from a merely geopolitical standpoint the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has been an astounding success. It has for the most part achieved its main objectives, which were to prevent intra-European wars between member States and to serve as a counter-balancing force to the Soviet Union.

One has obviously used the term GUTO in jest- it would be anywhere between demeaning and pathetic to copy NATO's name in any other context than playful provocation. I, for example, am keen on the name "Grand Islamic Alliance", or simply GIA. And this GIA would indeed have roughly the same objectives as NATO had upon its inception, not because copying NATO is correct in and of itself nor much less because it is an example we should seek to aspire to as such, but because it is simply the rational, pragmatic and geopolitically expedient thing to do which completely fits the needs, objectives and challenges of the Islamic World today.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has rekindled Russophobia in the West and further driven NATO and the Western Bloc away from Russia at large, not only politically and militarily but also culturally. However, it seems very possible that sooner or later, Russia will reunite with the so-called West, in great part because of the considerable and perhaps justified fear of China's geopolitical rise, and if and when it does, "the West" as a political and geopolitical construct will be of limited analytical use and will no longer essentially exist, and in its stead, we will see the coming into being of The Northern Megastate, a name I have coined to denominate any eventual political and military bloc which unites the Russian Federation with the European Union and the United States of America around common objectives and initiatives. If this scenario takes place, not only will the joint power of these Federations be fearsome, it will come about with the conscious intent of subjugating the Global South and preserving Western hegemony. However, if it does take place, paradoxically, the Northern Megastate which will replace "The West" as the dominant political force in the world, thus replacing the West-East divide of old with a newly formed, rigid and sincerely frightening divide between North and South.

The formation of the European Union is a key element in the West's response to the rise of Southern countries, and is also a key element that paves the way for the possibility of the Northern Megastate. While Brexit can be interpreted as anywhere between a geopolitical drawback or even perhaps a geopolitical disaster for the West, in the longer term, this will probably be no more than a mishap, just as the war in Ukraine in no way renders future Russian-Western alliances impossible.

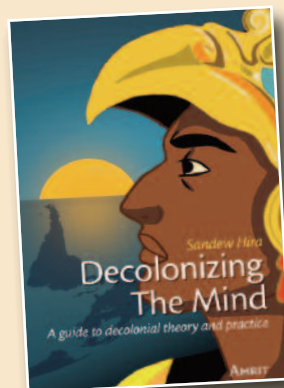
Ultimately, the West's obsession with maintaining global hegemony will make

## FROM AMRIT PUBLISHERS

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In different parts of the world a new decolonial movement is growing that challenges long time narratives in knowledge production and social struggle and transforms activism and social movements. It is driven by key factors such as the fall of the west and the rise of the rest, the collapse of the socialist bloc and in general the crisis of Western civilization.

Hira develops a comprehensive, coherent and integral theoretical framework that draws on different contributions in the decolonial movement, and deals with the practical implication of decolonial theory for decolonial activism.

it very much open to such scenarios, whilst also putting any unaligned emerging power at serious geopolitical risk. The Islamic World mostly occupies a Southern region directly underneath the EU and Russia, and this scenario would probably not only make it so that recent invasions of Islamic countries continue, but even intensify.

Lastly, this paper intends to be a dire warning to Islamic majority countries that they must either form a wide spanning Islamic alliance that both prevents intra-Islamic wars and deters foreign invasions, much like NATO did across the North Atlantic, or face immense and growing geopolitical risks in the short to medium term.

## João Silva Jordão

is a Muslim convert, political activist who holds a PhD in urbanism from the Lisbon School of Architecture, University of Lisbon. He has a particular interest in trying to analyse modern problems using the timeless paradigm that is Islam. The book form which this excerpt is taken, will be available from early 2026 published by Islamic Human Rights Commission.

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<sup>1</sup> Dugin is a conservative philosopher, activist and strategist, whose modern day revival of the idea of Eurasianism is deeply influential in Russian governmental circles today.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison between the EU's EEZ and the rest of the world's EEZ, with United Kingdom still in the EU. Source: Energy Industry Review (2020)

<https://energyindustryreview.com/analysis/exclusive-economic-zone-and-the-energy-game-waves-in-the-mediterranean/>

<sup>3</sup> See The European Union's Economic Exclusive Zone, i.e., their maritime jurisdiction, with the United Kingdom still in the EU. Source: Wikipedia Commons, (2022)

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EU\\_EEZ.svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:EU_EEZ.svg)

<sup>4</sup> Total potential enlargement of the European Union as its hypothetical EEZ. Source: Wikipedia (2022c) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:European\\_Union\\_maximum\\_enlargement\\_\(with\\_EEZ\).PNG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:European_Union_maximum_enlargement_(with_EEZ).PNG)

<sup>5</sup> The USA's Top Five Trading Partners in 2022 (up to September). Source: United State Census Bureau (2022)

<https://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/statistics/highlights/top/top2209yr.html>

<sup>6</sup> "East-West Orientation of Historical Empires and Modern States" Turchin et al, 2006. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biome#/media/File:Vegetation.png>

<sup>7</sup> The Believer (2022)

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eurasian\\_Steppe#/media/File:Eurasian\\_steppe\\_belt.jpg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eurasian_Steppe#/media/File:Eurasian_steppe_belt.jpg)

<sup>8</sup> Wikipedia, "NATO", 2022 [https://ia.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:North\\_Atlantic\\_Treaty\\_Organization\\_%28orthographic\\_projection%29.svg](https://ia.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:North_Atlantic_Treaty_Organization_%28orthographic_projection%29.svg)

<sup>9</sup> "Islam by Country" (2022b) [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam\\_by\\_country#/media/File:Islam\\_percent\\_population\\_in\\_each\\_nation\\_World\\_Map\\_Muslim\\_data\\_by\\_Pew\\_Research.svg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_by_country#/media/File:Islam_percent_population_in_each_nation_World_Map_Muslim_data_by_Pew_Research.svg)

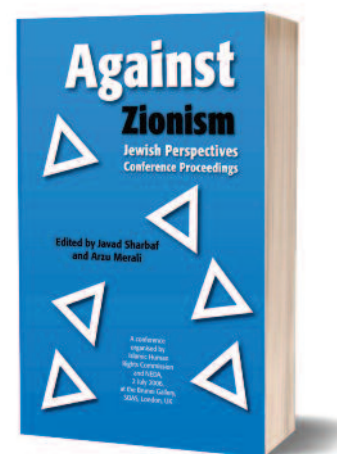
## Against Zionism: Jewish Perspectives



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# Usurious Profits are Secured by Wars of Occupation

In this abridged extract from his tafseer, *The Ascendant Qur'an: Realigning Man to the Divine Power Culture*, Imam al-Asi looks at the connection between ribā (usury) and perpetual war. These verses of the Qur'an 3:130-136 are related to the Battle of Uhud. Imam Asi looks at their contemporary relevance at the time of writing circa 2010, a review of which is more than pertinent now.

The gap in the contemporary Muslim mind, generally speaking, is that it tends to fragment the integrated lessons of the Qur'an. In this lesson, a direct relationship between going to war and institutionalization of *ribā* is described. Society has to be visualized as a whole. There is a mutually supportive relationship between *ribā* – or capitalism – and global instability leading to war. Governments are willing to go to war to defend or expand their usurious gains. The (national) interest of concentration of wealth needs a concentration of physical and material strength. When dedicated Muslims are called upon to go to war, according to these *āyāt* about the Battle of Uhud, they should understand they are not only confronting military power; they are also confronting every element of the power of those they are fighting, including the economic powers behind the military forces. Approaching these *āyāt* with the larger context in mind, a thinking Muslim can begin to see how the financial establishment is linked to the military establishment. An oppressed people can be financially, economically, and institutionally occupied, just as they can be aggressed upon militarily. Thus, confronting *ribā* and eliminating it from society are inseparable from confronting the military power of the usurious capitalists.

After understanding how compulsive militaries and oppressive usurious institutions go together, how can any Muslim “rationalize” or justify *ribā*? If a Muslim is sure of Allah's power, and if he is certain of Allah's wealth, then what excuse does he have to join the side that is inimical to Allah? People who carry Muslim names

should not be allowed to get away with being considered genuine Muslims while they are the suppliers of wealth to the usurious system that has enslaved the peoples of the world. People should be evaluated by their conduct and its relative consequences, not by the camouflage they cast over their behavior. In today's world there are many *ribā* magnates who get away with appearing as “Muslims” while they invest in the institutions of the *kāfirs* and tie their own interests to the power of the *mushriks*.

If nothing else, this extended lesson shows it is impossible to combine a commitment to Allah with a usurious financial structure. By its nature *ribā* and its vast network of exploitation and manipulation ultimately stands for a concentration of wealth; well a commitment to Allah and a financial socialization of this commitment stands for a more equitable distribution of wealth.

These *āyāt* that tie the financial to the military have their contemporary relevance. The destructive dynamics of *ribā* and Uhud are not things of the past; they are still at work today, and will continue to be a part of human relations until a *ribā-free* world emerges. These *āyāt* lend themselves to a more precise focus on the Anglo-American war on Iraq. The *ribā* side of the equation is beginning to show its ugly face, even though attention remains focused on the military element. Iraq has immense oil and gas reserves – officially, 112 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, while some oil companies estimate reserves to be around 230 billion barrels. And the capitalist elites have far greater economic interests in Iraq than just oil; Iraq also has more than 250 trillion ft of proven

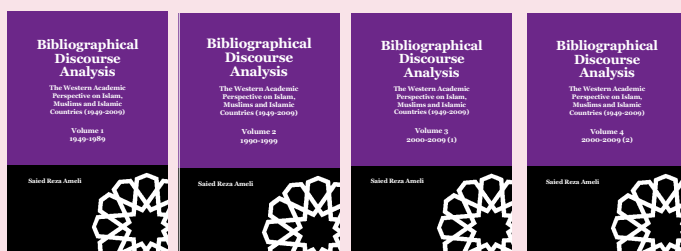
natural gas reserves. For the usurious powers, this is far more than enough motivation for seizing the country in the name of humanitarian reconstruction and long-term development, even without less direct interests, such as securing a power base in the oil-rich region.

The pertinent question here is: can the Muslims apply this Qur'anic commentary to the world they live in today? Will Muslims be able to oppose the forces that are moving into Iraq to exploit its national resources and then recycle the bits and crumbs to the Iraqi people, while hiding behind a complex facade of pro-democracy and reconstruction rhetoric?

For the last few generations, the people of Iraq have been living the torture and miseries of a brutal and ruthless dictatorship – one that was supported, financed, and coached by the US itself during the 1980s. Their social cohesion had hit rock bottom. After occupying Iraq and setting up a puppet government, the US and its subordinates will aim to show the Iraqi people an improvement in many areas of their lives. But this improvement – in terms of religious freedoms for previously persecuted communities, political freedom for those who accept the constraints of the pro-American system, injections of investment into the economy, infrastructure development, and more emphasis on Iraqi individuality – will be intended to obscure the real issue here – militant *ribā* interests vis-à-vis Islamic cooperative economy – and thus delay the day of reckoning. To put it slightly differently: are today's Muslims able to bring the facts of Uhud into today's world? Can they see the Iraq war in terms of America's his-

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Saied Reza Ameli's work *Bibliographical Discourse Analysis: The Western Academic Perspective on Islam, Muslims and Islamic Countries (1949 – 2009)* is a ground breaking critical analysis of Occidental Academic preoccupation with Islam and Muslims.

These four volumes cover both the changes in interest within academia in what is being studied, to the change in view of Islam and Muslims as the subject of study.

Being mindful of the purposes to which such work is used beyond the academy and its trickledown effect into the social, media and political realms, this work categorises each publication in its bibliography as Islamophobic, Islamophilic, Islamoromic, Islamoveritic and finally neutral. In so doing, Ameli introduces the readers to key new tools of analysis and concepts that can provide sophisticated and nuanced critique of a burgeoning literature of over six decades, and well into the future.



torical opposition to Islamic self-determination? Are the Muslims capable of seeing how American based *ribā* corporate interests turned Japan and Germany, after the two world wars, into productive consumers and consuming producers without any independent character of their own?

Thanks to the affluence of the US and its global reach, Germany and Japan stand out as countries without muscle, states without significant militaries, and peoples without full autonomy. They have, of course, the trappings of all these things; but only because the US is confident now that they will not exercise any independent power counter to the larger interests of the US and the global capitalist elite. The US, and its Euro-capitalist and *ribā-rationalizing* Zionist allies, will never have this kind of confidence in any Muslim country or people. Are the Iraqis, void of awareness of these *āyāt*, doomed to the fate of other nation-states conquered, defeated, and controlled by the usurious establishment of the US military-industrial complex and its global allies?

Yet the rapacious policies of the USA and its allies in the global capitalist order do not always have it their way. After WW1, they tried to collect more than \$30 billion in reparations from Germany. This was more than twice Germany's annual gross domestic product (GDP) at the time. And what happened? Adolf Hitler and Nazism took hold of the country instead.

Nobody can say with any authority how large Iraq's foreign debt is today – a doubt that accumulated due to usurious practices, wars of aggression, and several years of economic sanctions.<sup>2</sup> Even excluding exploitative oil contracts of a wasteful nature, which will most probably be rendered irrelevant by future and current agreements that Iraq's new government is obliged to sign with US companies, Iraq's foreign debt, including war claims, could still exceed \$300 billion. Just "servicing" such a debt at a "nominal" *ribā* rate of 5% would cost \$15 billion per year; and that would do nothing to reduce the principal owed. A US Department of Energy analysis reported that oil industry experts generally assess Iraq's current sustainable oil production capacity at no higher than about 2.8–2.9 million barrels per day, with net export potential of around 2.3 to 2.5 million barrels per day. Exporting 2.5 million barrels per day at a price of \$60 per barrel (the current price of the OPEC basket of 12 crudes) would generate \$52.5 billion a year for Iraq.

In the short term, therefore, Iraq cannot conceivably pay the due *ribā* (that is, Iraq cannot "service its debt"), make payments against the principal, refurbish its dilapidated oil sector, and finance its reconstruction. The repayment program could become even more problematic if the oil price drops. Iraq's oil-wealth could, over the long term, finance its reconstruction, if the burden of its external debt were substantially written off – whatever price there may be for that to be done. With an export potential of seven million barrels per day achievable within about six years, Iraq could be generating about \$153.3 billion per year at a price of \$60 per barrel.

This is tempting and insidious profit-multiplying *ribā* calculation that throws armies into war and countries into conflagrations. In the aftermath of the 2003 US occupation of Iraq, reconstruction contracts with billions of dollars for the reconfiguration of Iraq were handed out by the US gov-

ernment, offering delirious profits to a few favored companies, many with high-level contacts in the George W. Bush administration and a history of donations to the Republican party. These rebuilding contracts were allocated exclusively to US firms and, instead of the usual tendering process, were by invitation only.

The connections between these companies and the Bush administration were substantial. Bechtel was one of the six construction firms chosen to bid; from 1974-1982, George Schultz, the secretary of state in the Reagan administration, was an executive at the firm, eventually becoming its president, and later served as a member of its board of directors. Former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger was the vice president, director, and general counsel of the Bechtel Group of companies. Jack Sheehan, a senior vice president with Bechtel, was on the Defense Policy Board, the Pentagon advisory group that cooked up intelligence to justify the invasion of Iraq. Other firms that came in for the "legal looting" of Iraq were Halliburton, the company once run by Dick Cheney, the notorious vice president in the Bush administration; and United States Agency for International Development (USAID). Ray Hunt, a director for Halliburton, was on the president's intelligence advisory board. Lawrence Eagleburger, secretary of state under President George H. W. Bush, was also a Halliburton director. Kenneth Oscar, the vice president of Fluor, another of the six bidders, was a former army secretary and used to oversee a portion of the Pentagon's budget. Fluor's board also included Bobby Inman, a former deputy director of the CIA. Elaine Chao, former secretary of labor in the Bush administration, worked on the board of another of the six, Parsons, before joining the government.<sup>4</sup>

And what about Iraqi oil profits, now that a new administration entered the White House? Will the Iraqi people decide what to do with them or will the imperial power muscle in on the country's new oil policy? Because the occupation of Iraq has given the US public image a black eye, Obama and his staff have been busy rebranding the occupation, a Madison Avenue window dressing that all Democratic administrations in the US are very good at. Listen to the recent comments of Michael Schwartz, author of *War Without End: The Iraq War in Context*, which explains how the militarized geopolitics of oil led the US to dismantle the Iraqi State and economy while fueling a sectarian civil war,

After all, there can be no question that the Obama administration's policy is indeed to reduce what the Pentagon might call the US military "footprint" in Iraq. To put it another way, Obama's key officials seem to be opting not for blunt-edged, Bush-style militarism, but for what might be thought of as an administrative push in Iraq, what Vice President Joe Biden has called "a much more aggressive program vis-à-vis the Iraqi government to push it to political reconciliation."

An anonymous senior State Department official described this new "dark of night" policy recently to *Christian Science Monitor* reporter Jane Araff this way, "One of the challenges of that new relationship is how the US can continue to wield influence on key decisions without being seen to do so."

Without being seen to do so. On this General Odierno and the unnamed official are in agreement. And so, it seems, is Washington. As a result, the crucial thing you can say about the Obama administration's military and civilian planning so far is this: ...put all that talk of withdrawal aside for a moment and ...what is vaguely visible is the silhouette of a new American posture in Iraq. Think of it as the Obama Doctrine. And what it doesn't look like is the posture of an occupying power preparing to close up shop and head for home ...you begin to identify a deepening effort to ensure that Iraq remains a US client state, or, as General Odierno described it to the press on June 30<sup>th</sup>, "a long-term partner with the United States in the Middle East."

All the features of classic colonialism took shape in the Bush years in Iraq and are now, as far as we can tell, being continued, in some cases even strengthened, in the early months of the Obama era.

The US Embassy in Iraq, built by the Bush administration of \$740 million, is by far the largest in the world. It is now populated by more than 1,000 administrators, technicians, and professionals – diplomatic, military, intelligence, and otherwise – though all are regularly, if euphemistically, referred to as "diplomats" in official statements and in the media.

Such a concentration of foreign officialdom in such a gigantic regional command center ...certainly signals Washington's larger imperial design: to have sufficient administrative labor power on hand to ensure that American advisors remain significantly embedded in Iraqi political decision-making, in its military, and in the key ministries of its (oil-dominated) economy.

The intrusive presence of the Baghdad embassy extends to the all-important oil industry, which today provides 95% of the government's funds. When it comes to energy, the occupation has long sought to shape policy and transfer operational responsibility from Iraqi state-owned enterprises of the Saddam Hussein years to major international oil companies. In one of its most successful efforts, in 2004, the US delivered an exclusive \$1.2 billion contract to reconstruct Iraq's decrepit southern oil transport facilities (which handle 80% of its oil flow) to KBR, the notorious former subsidiary of Halliburton. Supervision of the famously mismanaged contract, still uncompleted five years later, was allocated to the US Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction.

The Iraqi government, in fact, still exerts remarkably little control over "Iraqi" revenues. The development fund for Iraq (whose revenues are deposited in the federal reserve bank of New York) was established under UN auspices just after the invasion and receives 95% of the proceeds from Iraq oil sales. Government withdrawals are then overseen by the UN-sanctioned international advisory and monitoring board, a US-appointed panel of experts drawn mainly from the global oil and financial industries.

In the meantime, the campaign to transfer administration of core operations to the major oil companies continues. Despite the resis-

tance of Iraqi oil workers, the administrators of the two national oil companies, and majority blocking Parliament, and public opinion, the US has continued to pressure the al-Maliki [sic] administration to enact an oil law that would mandate licensing devices called production sharing agreements (PSAs).

If enacted, these PSAs would, without transferring permanent ownership, grant oil companies effective control over Iraq's oil-fields, giving them full discretion to exploit the country's oil reserves from exploration to sales.

... the Iraq oil industry would become more deeply embedded in the occupation apparatus, no matter what officially happens to American forces in that country. Among other things, the American Embassy would almost certainly be responsible for inspecting and guiding the work of the contract-winners, while the US military and private contractors would become guarantors of the on-the-ground security.

In 2007, Alan Greenspan, former head of the Federal Reserve, told Washington Post Reporter Bob Woodward that, "taking Saddam out was essential"... Because the United States could not afford to be " beholden unto potentially unfriendly sources of oil and gas" in Iraq. It's exactly that sort of thinking that is still operating in US policy circles: the 2008 national defence strategy, for example, calls for the use of American military power to maintain "access to flow of energy resources vital to the world economy."

After only five months in office, the Obama administration has already provided significant evidence that, like its predecessor, it remains committed to maintaining that "access to flow of energy resources" in Iraq...

On a related note, before Timothy Geithner became the Obama administration treasury secretary, he was serving as the president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, the same bank that receives 95% of the revenues from "Iraqi" oil sales.

The way *ribā* is mentioned in Surah Al Baqarah and the way it is mentioned here, in

Surah Al Imran, requires some comparison. In Surah Al Baqarah, *ribā* and *sadaqah* were mentioned together. The inference was that *ribā* (coercive spending) and *sadaqah* (cooperative spending) represent two diametrically opposed concepts that are at the root of two dissimilar economic orders: *ribā* represents the capitalist freedom to accumulate unlimited wealth even if widespread poverty results, and *sadaqah* stands for the Islamic responsibility, to distribute wealth even if that means the diminution of the wealthy class. *Ribā* institutions and establishments are inaugurated by the military-commercial complex, and *sadaqah*-based administrations are pioneered by the Islamic movement and its forms of governance.

In Surah Al Imran, *ribā* is discussed in the context of war. Aggressive wars served to open up new frontiers for the expansionist and usurious financial dealings of the military-financial duopoly. The inference here is that without wars of aggression, whether in their colonialist, imperialist, or post imperialist modes, *ribā* would be drastically reduced to its primitive size and once it is stripped of its military and individualistic proportions it becomes easier to identify by "Muslims" who have failed to identify its transnational range of destruction and devastation.

The Muslims who read the Qur'an must begin to understand what Allah is telling them. It is not a matter of happenstance that the military campaign at Uhud and its cruel circumstances are framed with an emphasis on *ribā*. Someone in a position to make policy must decide whether or not to have *ribā* as part of the economy, and hence part of the military and social reality of society. The right decision has to be made despite the infatuation with wealth of pro-*ribā* officials, in line with the aversion to poverty of anti-*ribā* administrators. Promoters of *ribā* will justify their position with arguments about "free market" "trickle down" economics, the dynamics of "supply and demand", and the insistence that "the market has a way of balancing itself out." But the world today is suffering from the results of precisely these arguments. The relations between people within societies are strained, and the relations between rich and poor countries in the world are fraught with distrust because of the fail-

ure of these theories. Perhaps, in a certain sense, it would be more appropriate to say "the success of these theories," because it is the world's wealthy who promote them. The fact is that more and more of the resources of the world are falling into the hands of fewer and fewer rich people, while increasing numbers of people, even in wealthy countries, are suffering from poverty and hardship.

This is the moment for responsible and insightful Muslims to move in and tip the balances of God-given resources toward the oppressed and deprived peoples of the world. Hunger and disease do not discriminate; they strike anyone and everyone who has been victimised by corporate *ribā*. And when decision-making Muslims weigh the advantages and disadvantages, they also know they have to factor in Allah's power presence. Thus, the decision is an offshoot of *taqwa*. When Allah is in the public mind, it will be easier to spend in times of affluence and in times of poverty. Therefore, one of the fighting points is whether to have Allah in the public mind or to "privatise" Him. Obviously, those who want a freedom that justifies ravaging the resources of the world would like to exclude Allah from His power position as the one and only authority in human affairs. They will say, "You mean to tell us that God has something to do with the way we obtain our wealth and the way we invest in our commodities, and the way we run our businesses?" If God is taken out and kept out of peoples' common ideas and discussions, then these merchants of wealth will be able to have their way in the short term; in the long run, their misdeeds will catch up with them, and they will be held accountable for disregarding and omitting God from their decisions and policies.

This extract comes from **Imam Muhammad al-Asi's** tafseer Volume 5 pages 57-67 on *ribā* based social orders and the battle of Uhud. This tafsir is the first-ever directly into English and is titled: *The Ascendant Qur'an: Realigning Man to the Divine Power Culture*. Imam Asi has also published a translation of the Qur'an. Both the tafseer volumes and translation are published by ICIT. Imam is based in Washington D.C.

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