

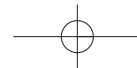
Structuring of a Party

(Attakattul el-Hizbi)

Taqiuddin an-Nabhani
Hizb ut-Tabrir

(Translated from the 4th edition)

For exact meanings of words and sentences,
please refer to the original Arabic book Attakattul el-Hizbi.



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Translation of the Qur'an

It should be perfectly clear that the Qur'an is only authentic in its original language, Arabic. Since perfect translation of the Qur'an is impossible, we have used the translation of the meaning of the Qur'an throughout the book, as the result is only a crude meaning of the Arabic text.

STRUCTURING OF A PARTY (Attakattul el-Hizbi)

Since the 13th century Hijri (19th century AD), several movements were established to revive the *Ummah* but were all unsuccessful in their attempts. However, these movements had a strong influence over those who came after them to repeat the attempts. Upon scrutinizing these movements and their attempts for revival, one can conclude that the causes for their failure (from a structural point of view) are due to the following four factors:

1. The movements were established upon a general undefined idea (*fikrah*), which was vague, or unclear. In addition, the idea lacked focus, purity, and clarity.
2. The movements did not define a method (*Tareeqah*) to implement their idea; rather, they proceeded through improvised and twisted means. Furthermore, their means were undefined and ambiguous.
3. The movements relied upon individuals who lacked full awareness, and a well-focused determination. Individuals were driven solely by their desire or zeal to work.
4. The individuals carrying the responsibility of these movements did not have a correct bond amongst themselves. They were merely bound by being members in a structure that manifested itself in certain actions and titles.

Consequently, it was only natural for such movements to surge forward until their efforts and enthusiasm were exhausted, causing their activities to die down and they eventually became extinct. Other movements emerged thereafter, who followed the same pattern until they, too, became extinct. The failure of all these movements was only natural, because they were not based on a correct, clear and a defined idea. In addition, they did not have a correct method, they depended upon individuals who lacked awareness, and were not bound by a correct bond.

The “idea and the method” (*Fikrah and Tareeqah*) of these movements were wrong because they were based upon incorrect philosophies or ideas (if they had any). Some of these movements were Islamic whereas others were nationalistic. Those in charge of the Islamic movements called for Islam in a general and undefined manner. They tried to interpret Islam just to comply with the status quo, or to justify their process of introducing non-Islamic systems into Islam. Those in charge of the nationalistic movements called for a revival based upon a vague and ambiguous nationalistic foundation that disregarded Islam as well as the Muslims. They used such terms as nationalism, dignity, pride, arab, arabism, independence and others, without having any clear concept of such terms, and whether such concepts lead towards revival or not. The Arab nationalists called the Arabs towards an “Arab revival”, while the nationalist Turks called for the revival of the Turkish homeland, on the basis of Turkish nationalism. Both the nationalist Arabs, as well as the Turks, were in fact led by the colonialists. In addition, the colonialists used similar nationalistic movements

to instigate the people of the Balkans to break away from the Ottoman Islamic State.

Arguments between the Islamic and nationalistic Arabs took place in the press. This centered around whether an Arab League or an Islamic League would be better and more feasible. This debate lasted for a long time and wasted the efforts of the people, because both the Arab League and the Islamic League were invalid from the Islamic perspective. Moreover, both of these leagues were Colonial projects designed to divert the people's attention away from the issue of the Islamic State. Consequently, these projects not only led to the exhaustion of the people's efforts, but also succeeded in distancing the issue of the Islamic State from people's vision and thinking.

Besides the Islamic and the nationalistic movements, some patriotic movements were also established in various Islamic countries. These patriotic movements emerged as a reaction to the colonial occupation of various parts of the Islamic State. The political and economic oppression of the colonialists upon the Muslims, as a result of the implementation of the capitalist system, led to the establishment of these patriotic movements. Although those movements were a reaction to this suffering, some of these movements were influenced by Islamic emotions, while others were driven purely by patriotic emotions resulting from deliberate manoeuvres undertaken by the Colonial powers. Since these movements were driven by patriotic emotions, they lacked any serious thought to define their course of action. When they surged forward, they engaged the *Ummah* in a cheap struggle, which further strengthened the

enemies' foothold in the Islamic lands.

We believe that the only true philosophy for revival is an ideology (*Mabdaa'*) that encompasses both the idea and the method. This ideology is Islam because it is an *Aqeedah* (doctrine) from which emanates a system governing all the affairs of the State and the *Ummah*, and a solution to all of life's problems.

Although Islam is a universal system, it is not part of its method to start working on a universal scale towards its implementation. Islam should be propagated universally while working to implement it must be confined to one or several countries until it becomes firmly established. Once established, the Islamic State would naturally grow until it encompasses all the Islamic countries. Then the state would propagate Islam to the rest of the world, because the Islamic State must convey the Islamic *da'wah* as an eternal and universal message for all mankind.

The entire world is suitable for the Islamic *Da'wah*; however, since the people in the Islamic lands are Muslims, the *Da'wah* must start there. Also, since the people in Arab territories (being part of the Islamic world) speak Arabic, and since Arabic is an essential part of Islam and its culture, the priority must be given to the Arab territories. Furthermore, combining the power of the Arabic language with that of Islam is necessary, because each has the ability to influence, expand and propagate. Therefore, it is only natural for the Islamic State to be re-established in the Arab territories, so that it will serve as a nucleus for the Islamic State which will encompass all Islamic lands.

Though carrying the Islamic *Da'wah* in the Arab territories is necessary, it is also

necessary for the Islamic *Da'wah* to reach out to the rest of the Islamic world. Notwithstanding this, initiating the work in the Arab territories does not mean that no work be done outside Arab territories before unifying the Arab territories in the Islamic State. The work must be carried out in the Arab territories to re-establish the Islamic State, then the State will grow and encompass the neighboring territories, regardless of whether they consist of Arabs or not.

We have already stated that the real philosophy for revival (*NahDah*) is an ideology that combines the idea and the method, and any group that undertakes serious efforts towards revival must understand both.

Since this ideology (Islam) has now become clear, it is therefore possible to acquire the proper understanding needed to establish the correct *Hiżbi* structure. The structure, which emanates from this correct understanding, will naturally be effective, creative and progressive. The society should fully support this structure and carry its burden, because this structure fully comprehends its idea, is aware of its correct method, and understands its mission.

However, merely understanding the ideology without establishing the structure is not enough for a correct revival. The individuals within it must be suitable for this structure, and the bond (*RaabiTab*) that binds the members must be correct and productive. The suitability of the individuals is determined by the structure's method of binding its members to the *Hiżb* (*Tareeqat ur-rabT*). In an ideological *Hiżb*, the method of binding individuals within the *Hiżb*, is the individual's absolute adherence to the *Aqeedab*, and maturity in the *Hiżbi* culture. Therefore, the suitability of any person would be determined naturally through the individual being molded into the

Hiẓb when the *Daw'ab* interacts with him, and not through ceremonial or organizational procedures. The bond, which binds these individuals in a group, is the *'Aqeedah* and the *Hiẓb* culture emanating from this *'Aqeedah*.

Reviewing the movements which appeared in the last century, one finds that their incorrect structures were a fundamental cause for their failure. Their structures were not established on the basis of a *Hiẓb* that follows a correct understanding. Instead, they were established either upon an organizational basis or a nominal party basis.

Prior to World War One, Muslims knew that they had the Islamic State. Despite its weakness, decline and the diverse views towards it, the State remained the focus of their thought and vision. Although the Arabs viewed it as being imposed upon them, and that it suppressed their rights, they still looked at the Islamic State as their State, and attempted to reform it with their hearts and minds. However, the Arabs did not understand the nature of revival or its method. Thus, no structuring occurred amongst them. This was the case with the majority of the Muslims in the Islamic world.

By this time, the foreign culture had already invaded Islamic lands. As a result, the colonialists managed to attract a number of Muslims and recruited them to establish groups within the Islamic State that were based on the notions of independence and separation. The colonialists attracted a number of Arabs and gathered them in Paris to form a bloc to fight the Ottoman State under the guise of Arab independence. The foreign culture and thoughts, along with patriotic and nationalist emotions, introduced by the colonialists, were the main forces that brought the Arabs together. With their thoughts and emotions united, they were brought together by the same process of

thought, which in turn led to a unified aim — independence of the Arabs, since the Ottoman State disregarded their interests and allowed itself to oppress them and suppress their rights. This unified aim served as a means of gathering a nominal party, which led to the Arab revolt, and resulted in the spread of *Kufr* and Colonialism over the Islamic countries, especially the Arab countries. The purpose of these parties ended at that point, and they shared the spoils of their efforts by being appointed as rulers of some Islamic countries and agents of Colonial powers.

After destroying the Islamic State, the colonialists took control of the Islamic lands, by directly ruling the Arab countries, and extending their influence over the entire Islamic world. They physically occupied the Arab countries and established a foothold in every part of the Arab world through covert and malicious styles and means. The most effective of these styles and means were the colonialist culture, money and their agents.

The foreign culture had the greatest effect in establishing and maintaining the colonial influence. It contributed greatly towards obstructing the revival, and towards the failure of all the movements, organisations and parties that attempted to revive the *Ummah*. Such a pervasive effect occurred because of the impact that culture has upon the thinking of the human being, which directs his life. The colonialists implemented educational and cultural curricula based upon a firm philosophy, which reflected their outlook on life - the separation of matter from spirit and religion (*deen*) from state. The colonialists made their personality as the sole basis of our culturing (*thaqafah*). They also made their culture (*HaDarab*), concepts, people, history and lifestyle the primary source of our thoughts. As if this was not enough, the colonialists would intentionally distort their personalities and present them as models for us. They would

selectively choose certain aspects and concepts, and emphasize them, while concealing the true face of Colonialism, again using malicious means. They even intervened in the minute details of the curricula, to ensure that not even a slight deviation would occur from this general policy. As a result, the Muslims were educated with a corrupt culture, which taught us how others think, making us incapable of learning how to think. This was because our thought was separated from our environment, our personality and our history, and was not derived from our ideology. Thus, we became (as intellectuals) individuals, alienated from the people, and unaware of our situation and its needs. Consequently, the emotions of the intellectuals became separated from their thoughts, and the intellectuals themselves became separated from the *Ummah* and its emotions. Naturally, a thought, severed from emotions, or devoid of them, would fail to achieve a correct understanding of the situation and the needs of the *Ummah*. Nor would it lead towards a correct awareness of the method for revival. Moreover, such a foreign thought would naturally fail to lead towards a correct structure, arising from a correct understanding, because it is a foreign thought carried by a person with Islamic emotions. The effect of the foreign culture was not limited to the intellectuals. In fact, the thought of the entire society became separated from its emotions due to the influence of the foreign culture, complicating the problems of society even more. Hence the challenge of revival facing the correct *Harab* structure multiplied in comparison to what it was before World War One. The issue after World War One is no longer how to revive the Islamic society, rather, it is how to harmonize the thoughts with the emotions amongst the intellectuals, in addition to generating harmony between the individuals (especially the intellectuals) and the society. The intellectuals became fascinated with the abstract foreign thought, which was devoid of emotions. This led them to feel alienated from the society, to scorn it, to distance themselves from it and to face it with apathy. It caused them to develop an attachment to the foreigners, to respect them, approach them and pay more attention to them,

even though they were colonialists. Therefore, the intellectuals could not understand the situation of the society except by imitating the foreigners in their understanding of their own situation. The educated individual, when he spoke of revival, could not think of anything that would revive the *Ummah* except the emulation of the foreigners. Thus, the emotions of the intellectuals were not motivated by the ideology, but by feelings towards the homeland and the people, which were the wrong sources of motivation. Consequently, they would not even revolt properly, nor would they sacrifice fully for the sake of the people. They would neither feel the situation that surrounded them based upon a specific thought, nor would they perceive the needs of the people. If we assume that they would revolt and call for revival, this would be a reaction for their personal interests, or an imitation of other peoples revolutions. Therefore, such a revolt would soon vanish, either when their interests would be secured, or when their ego would be satisfied, or once this revolution would clash with their own interests or cause them harm.

The correct structure cannot be built from such individuals, before generating harmony between their thoughts and emotions, by culturing them from the beginning with an ideologically correct culture - the Islamic culture. Taking them through this culturing process requires that each one of them assumes the role of a beginner (student), whose mind has to be reshaped anew. After generating harmony in the individual, the next task would be to generate harmony between the individual and the society. Had it not been for the foreign culture, the problem of reviving the society would be much easier.

Thus, it is impossible for a correct *Hiżbi* structure to coexist in society with this foreign culture. Nor is it possible for the correct *Hiżbi* structure to emerge on the

basis of this foreign culture.

The colonialists were not content with the mere implementation of their culture. They also poisoned the Islamic atmosphere with several political and philosophical ideas and opinions, which corrupted the correct view-point held by the Muslims. Thus, the Muslims' thoughts in all aspects of life became confused, which caused their alertness to lose its natural focus. The colonialists turned every attempt of awakening the Muslims into a muddled and confused movement, which resembled the convulsions of a wounded animal as it approaches its inevitable death. This crippled movement, therefore ended in stagnation, desperation and defeat. The colonialists exploited the fact that their personality had become the focus of culture and attention in the political aspects. They made the seeking of foreign assistance, as well as dependence upon them, the focus of contemporary politicians, who viewed politics as a career, rather than a responsibility. Therefore, most of the groups attempted unconsciously to seek foreign help. Those who sought the assistance of foreign states did not realize that any such help, and advocating any idea of dependence upon the colonialists, regardless of their origin, would mean that they are contaminated by foreign poison, and it would constitute a betrayal to the *Ummah*, even if the intention was good. They did not realize, that linking our cause with any other people would constitute political suicide. Therefore, any movement whose thought was poisoned with the idea of relying upon or advocating foreign assistance was doomed to failure.

In addition, Colonialism poisoned the society with ideas such as patriotism, nationalism and socialism, as well as regional attitudes, and made these concepts the focus of any immediate attempts for revival. It also poisoned the society with the idea that establishing the Islamic state and unifying the Islamic countries is impossible

because of the cultural, racial and linguistic differences, ignoring the fact that all Muslims constitute one *Ummah*, bound together by the same Islamic '*Aqeedah* from which her system emanates. Furthermore, they also poisoned the society with a host of erroneous political concepts, such as "Take and demand (the gradual approach)", "The *Ummah* is the source of authority", "Sovereignty belongs to the people", "Religion belongs to Allah and the homeland belongs to all (separation between the state and religion (*deen*)", "We are united by our sufferings and our hopes (not united by thoughts)", "Homeland is above all", "Glory is to the homeland," and others. In addition, they introduced in the society many defeatist reactionary opinions such as "We take our system from our reality", "One must accept the status quo", "We must be realistic", and similar expressions.

Due to this poisoning, the societies in the Islamic countries, including the Arab countries, were not conducive to produce a correct *Hisbi* structure. These parties that were established did not have the deep thinking that leads to organized planning and preparation, rather they were established without any basis, hence it was no surprise to see all these parties fail.

It was also natural for the parties established in the Islamic world, particularly in the Arab world, not to be coherent, because they were not based upon an ideology. A study of these parties leads us to realize that some of them were established as a reaction to some events, or circumstances that necessitated their existence. When these circumstances changed, the parties also disappeared, or weakened and withered away. Others were established based upon personal friendship amongst individuals. As this friendship harmonized between them and became the basis of their structure, they ended up revolving around themselves. Still others were established based upon

instantaneous and personal interests. Therefore, the individuals who gathered on such foundations lacked an ideological *Hiẓbi* bond. Not only was their presence devoid of any benefit, they were in fact harmful to the *Ummah*. In addition to their preventing or delaying the emergence of correct parties, they created despair in the masses, filled the hearts of the common people with gloom and doubt, and aroused suspicion about every movement, even if it was a correct one. Moreover, they sowed amongst people the seeds of personal bitterness and family feuds. With their styles, such parties taught the people to be inconsistent, and to revolve around their own interests. In other words, they spoiled the pure nature of the masses, and increased the burden on the correct party structures that would inevitably rise from amongst the masses.

In addition to the Islamic, nationalistic and patriotic movements, many Communist movements based on materialism were also established to revive the *Ummah*. These movements depended upon, and were directed by the Communist movement in the Soviet Union. Their method was to sabotage the existing system, and to create anarchy. Their objective, apart from introducing Communism to the countries, was to disrupt the Western Colonialism in favour of the Eastern Bloc, for those in charge of these parties acted as agents to the Eastern Bloc. These movements neither responded to the needs of the *Ummah*, nor had any significant impact. They naturally failed, because they were against human nature, and were not in harmony with the Islamic '*Aqeedah*. These movements exploited patriotic feelings of the masses to achieve their aims. The Communist movements further complicated the problems in society.

Other groups were established on the basis of association. So a host of local and regional organisations with charitable objectives emerged within the *Ummah*. They established schools, hospitals and shelters, and participated in charity work. However,

these movements were heavily influenced by sectarianism. The colonialists encouraged these organisations and promoted their efforts, until the results of their work were seen by the people. Most of these organisations were educational and charitable, and seldom were there any political groups among them.

A careful examination of the consequences of these organisations would reveal that they neither yielded benefit to the *Ummah* nor anything which could have assisted in its revival. The damage caused by these organisations was not apparent, and is only evident to one who scrutinizes the situation deeply. Regardless of their partial benefits, the existence of these organisations inflicted immense harm upon the *Ummah*. The presence of some Islamic thoughts, the application of some parts of the *Shari'ah*, and the firmly rooted Islamic emotions due to the influence of Islam, give the Islamic *Ummah* the potential to revive. The *Ummah* has a tendency for goodness and a natural inclination for collective work because of the collective spirit of Islam. Had the Islamic *Ummah* been left alone, this propensity for revival would have naturally turned into a thought that would have generated a momentum capable of reviving the *Ummah*. However, the presence of such organisations prevented this from happening, as they vented the blazing passion for revival in the *Ummah* through their charitable efforts. A member of such an organization would find that he had built a school, established a hospital, or participated in a charitable act, and would feel comforted and content with his work. Had this association not existed, the collective spirit would have driven him towards the correct party structure that would then initiate the correct revival.

In addition to these educational and the charitable organisations, a host of organisations preaching ethics and morality were established to revive the *Ummah* on

the basis of morals. They would preach, give lectures, and distribute leaflets calling for morality, on the assumption that morals were the basis of revival. These organisations spent a tremendous amount of money and effort, but produced no significant results. Their boring, stereotyped and repetitive rhetoric merely served as an outlet for the *Ummah*'s sentiments. The establishment of such organisations was based on a wrong understanding of the *Ayah* addressing the Messenger ﷺ

وَأَنَّكَ لَعَلَىٰ خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ

“*And you are of a great character* [TMQ Al-Qalam: 4],”

which was meant to describe the Messenger ﷺ as a person and not the society at large. They were also established upon an incorrect understanding of the *hadith* in which the Messenger ﷺ said

((إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَنِي لَتَمَامِ مَكَارِمِ الْأَخْلَاقِ))

“Truly Allah has sent me to perfect the high moral standards,”

and

((أِنَّمَا بُعِثْتُ لِأَتَمِّمَ مَكَارِمَ الْأَخْلَاقِ))

“Truly I have been sent to perfect the high moral standards.”

It should be understood that these *abadith*, in addition to others, relate to the characteristics of the individual and not of the society. The establishment of these organisations was also influenced wrongfully by poetic sayings like, “*By morality nations live; once devoid of it, no more they exist.*”

These organisations did not realize that nations are not established on morals but on the *'Aqa'id* (doctrines) they embrace, the thoughts they carry and the systems they implement. Also, these organisations misunderstood the society to mean a group of individuals, whereas the society is actually a whole, composed of human beings, their thoughts, their emotions and the systems. The corruption of a society stems from corruption of the thoughts, the emotions and the systems, and not from the corruption of the individuals. As a result, reforming a society could only occur by reforming the thoughts and emotions of the people, as well as the systems implemented upon them.

The misunderstanding also stemmed from the idea that the community is corrupted by the perversion of the individuals. This idea was firmly embedded in the minds of many social reformers and ethical scholars. Such ideas suggest that the individual is built, or is destroyed, by his morals — sound morals make the individual strong, straight, effective, productive, righteous and reform-minded; whereas, bad morals makes him weak, lazy, devoid of any value and goodness, and with no concern in life other than satisfying his desires and pleasing his ego. These organisations believed that reforming the individual would lead to reforming the community, and therefore they worked to reform society and revive the *Ummah* through a moral approach.

Despite the failure of these movements established on the basis of promoting morals, many people are still convinced that morals should be made the basis of reform (*iSlaaH*), and as a result have established reform societies. It should be emphasized that, even though the individual is part of the community, the means of reforming the community differ from the means of reforming the individual. The corruption of the community stems from the corruption of collective emotions, and from corruption

of the intellectual and spiritual environment. In addition, the corruption stems from erroneous concepts within the community. In other words, it stems from the corruption of public traditions. Reforming the community will not occur unless correct public traditions are established. Such public traditions can not be established except by reforming the emotions of the community, creating the correct spiritual environments and the intellectual environments that are linked to the spiritual aspect, as well as implementing the system by the state. Only when the Islamic environment is created and the concepts are corrected throughout the entire population, will the community be reformed, which will in turn reform the individuals. Reforming the community can not occur through structuring on the basis of association, nor by making morals, preaching and education the basis for structuring.

All these structures that were established on such foundations failed miserably to create any revival or reform. In addition, the other groups that were established on a nominal party basis, and not upon a specific ideology, were also doomed to failure. They neither had the correct understanding, nor did they possess the correct bond that unites their members.

The failure of all these groups was also inevitable due to their membership. Due to the absence of the correct idea and the method, such groups while establishing their structures, did not take into account the individual's suitability to the group. Instead, they established themselves on the basis of the individual's social status and the immediate benefit from his presence in the party or the association.

A member would be selected on the grounds of being either prominent in the community or wealthy, or by holding an influential position such as a doctor or a lawyer, regardless of his suitability. As a result, these groups were predominantly

affected by a lack of coherence and by class orientation. The members of these groups and associations were engrossed with an inner feeling of being distinguished from the rest of the people, not only in terms of their wealth and social status, but also by being members of the party or the association. Because of these sentiments, no interaction or contact occurred between them and the rest of the people, which made their very existence another problem that further burdened the society.

Careful examination and survey of all the groups and parties clearly establishes the fact that not a single correct structure, that aimed towards revival of the *Ummah* was established in any of the Islamic countries during the past century. The *Ummah* cannot be revived without a structure or an organization, yet all structures which materialized eventually failed, because they were established upon an incorrect basis. The question that needs to be addressed now is what is the correct structure that will revive the *Ummah*.

The correct structure that will revive the *Ummah* cannot be established upon an association type organization, which leads its members only to engage in specific work, talk or both. This kind of structure must not be encouraged within the *Ummah* that aims to be revived, nor should non-ideological parties be encouraged, like the parties that have been formed in the Islamic world since World War One.

The correct structure is an ideological *Hiẓb* based on Islam. In this structure, the idea would constitute the soul of the *Hiẓb* as well as its nucleus and the essence of its existence. The first cell of the structure would be a person who embodies the idea, and a method which is of the same nature as the idea, until he becomes a person of the same quality as the idea in his purity and clarity, and like the method in his distinctness and straightforwardness. Once these three elements come together - the

profound idea, the clear method and the sincere person - the first cell comes into existence. Soon the cell multiplies into other cells to form the first circle of the *Hiẓb*, or “the leadership” (*qiyāadah*). Once the first circle is formed, the *Hiẓb* group (*Kutlab Hiẓbiyyah*) emerges. The group then requires a *Hiẓbi* bond to bind the individuals who have embraced both the idea and the method. This *Hiẓb* bond is the *Aqeedah*, from which the outlook of the *Hiẓb* and the culture that characterizes the *Hiẓb*'s concepts emanate. The *Hiẓb* group will thus proceed in the mainstream of life once it is formed. During this process, the *Hiẓb* will encounter many situations, face many obstacles, and be exposed to many different environments. In other words, the circumstances around it will fluctuate from hot to cool. Sometimes the *Hiẓb* would be stormed upon very strongly, and sometimes mildly. At other times, the *Hiẓb* will pass through a situation where it can see its path clearly, and sometimes the situation will be cloudy. If the *Hiẓbi* group manages to withstand these conditions, then its idea will become crystallized, its method clarified, and the group will have succeeded in preparing its members, and strengthening the bond of the group. It will then be able to take the practical steps in the *Da'wah* and the activity. At this point, it moves from being a *Hiẓbi* bloc to a fully-fledged ideological *Hiẓb* working towards revival. This is the correct structure, whose nucleus and essence of its existence is the idea.

The explanation of how this ideological *Hiẓbi* structure emerges naturally in the *Ummah* is as follows:

The *Ummah* is an indivisible whole that resembles a human being in its overall structure. As a person recovers from a potentially fatal disease, and life flows back into his body again, it flows into him as a whole. Similarly, the declined *Ummah* is considered ill as well, and life will flow into the *Ummah* as a whole. The life of the

Ummah is the idea linked with a method of its same nature. Thus, both the idea and its method constitute what is called the ideology.

The mere existence of the ideology within the *Ummah* is not sufficient to bring life into her. Rather, when the *Ummah* is guided to the ideology, and the *Ummah* implements it in its life affairs, it is only then that the *Ummah* becomes alive. The ideology may exist in the *Ummah* within her legislative, cultural and historical heritage. However, she may be unaware of it, or unaware of its idea or its method, or unaware of linking them together. In this case, the mere existence of the idea and its method would not lead to revival.

Vitality usually streams into *Ummah* when severe shocks occur in the society and produce a common feeling. This collective feeling leads to an intellectual process, which in turn produces a host of propositions and ideas as a result of discussions about the causes and effects of the shock, as well as the direct and indirect means to save the *Ummah*.

Although this feeling is the same and common to all individuals in the community, the degree of feeling varies amongst them because Allah ﷻ bestowed different capacities to every individual. Hence the community's realization of the idea remains latent in the *Ummah* until this realization is accumulated and becomes concentrated in those who have a greater degree of sensitivity and perception. The idea awakens them, inspires them, and motivates them into action. Accordingly the signs of vitality first appear in that group of people.

The feelings of the people will be reflected in those who have a higher degree of sensitivity and perception. The idea will be concentrated in them, causing them to move forward with awareness and comprehension.

They are the eyes of the *Ummah* and the aware group from amongst her. In the beginning, this aware band of individuals will be worried and uncertain. They will see numerous paths and will be uncertain as to which path to follow. The degree of awareness within this group will vary amongst its members. The thinking that is based on sensation (*mantiq ul-ibsa*) will be higher in some of them than in others. Out of this aware group, a select and distinguished band will arise. This band will embrace one path after deep and thorough research. It will perceive both the objective that this path leads to as well as the clarity of the way, so it will follow it towards its objective. Thus, this band of individuals will discover the ideology with both its idea and its method and will embrace it as a deeply rooted '*Aqeedah*'. This group will embody the ideology and the '*Aqeedah*', which together with the *Hiżbi* culture, will be the bond that binds the individuals in this group.

When the ideology becomes embodied within these individuals, it will not remain confined in them, rather it will drive them to spread it to others. They will proceed according to its method and restrict themselves within the limits of the ideology. The life of these individuals will be devoted to the ideology, calling for it and fulfilling its obligations. This *Da'nab* aims to make people embrace this ideology alone to the exclusion of all others, and to establish general awareness about it. Therefore, the first circle would grow into a bloc, and the bloc would in turn grow into an ideological *Hiżb* which would progress naturally in two tracks: First, through multiplication it will generate other cells which embrace the ideology with complete awareness and

comprehension; and second, through creating and building general awareness about the ideology throughout the *Ummah*. The general awareness about the ideology will lead to the unification of the thoughts, opinions, and beliefs within the majority if not the whole of the *Ummah*. Hence the objective of the *Ummah*, as well as her convictions (*qana'aat*) and her outlook on life, will be unified. Therefore, the *Hiẓb* will serve as a melting pot, which would melt the *Ummah* and purify her from the impure and the corrupt ideas that led to the decline of the *Ummah*, or developed during the era of decline. The *Hiẓb* should undertake this melting process within the *Ummah*, thus leading to the revival of the *Ummah*. This is a tedious process that can only be undertaken by a *Hiẓb* that lives its idea, devotes its entire life to the idea, and is aware of its every single step.

This is because it is sensation that leads to thought in the *Hiẓb*. This thought would shine in the *Ummah* amidst other thoughts. Initially, the *Hiẓb's* thought will just be another thought amongst many. It will be the weakest of them because it is newly born and not yet deeply rooted in the *Ummah*. Also, the *Hiẓb's* thought will not have established a supportive climate for itself yet. However it is a thought based on the logic of sensation (*manTiq al-Ihsas*) i.e. understanding of reality through direct sensation, it will generate an intellectual sensation, i.e. having a clear sensation. Hence, the deep thought, due to its nature, purifies whoever it impresses, making him sincere, even if he wished to be insincere he could not be. This thought will be embodied as an '*Aqeedab*' and culture in this sincere person, and generates within him an unruly outburst. This outburst would be nothing but an eruption which occurs in the wake of a combustion in the emotion and the thought, this would spread in the *Da'wab* a blazing passion, enthusiasm and truthfulness. At the same time, it would spread (in the *Da'wab*) the logic (*manTiq*) and the thought and becomes a fire that burns

corruption and a light that enlightens the road to righteousness (*SalaH*). Therefore the *da'wah* would be caught up in a struggle with the corrupt ideas (*afkkaar*), the dilapidated doctrines (*'aqaid*) and the degenerate habits (*'adaat*); these would try to defend themselves. However this defense would itself become a friction with the new ideology, hence increasing its strength. This struggle will continue until all these ideas, doctrines and methods collapse, and only the ideology of the Party remains in the Ummah as its thought and '*Aqeedah*.'

Once the *Hiẓb* unified the thoughts, the doctrines, and the opinions, it will have correctly established the unity of the *Ummah* with clear insight, thus melting and purifying it to become one single *Ummah*. Hence, the correct unity will be achieved.

Then follows the second stage of the *Hiẓb*, which is to lead the *Ummah* to undertake the work of radical reform in order to revive the *Ummah* and to fulfill its obligation of carrying Islam to the world.

Because this *Hiẓbi* structure must be a collective movement and not an individualistic one, those in charge of the *Hiẓb* in the Islamic countries must deeply scrutinize the collective movements and understand them.

Understanding of the collective movements which had influence in their time reveals that movements do not emerge when affluence prevails, natural rights are secured, prosperity is ensured and people are selected to hold important positions based on their competence. Understanding of the collective movements makes it easy for us to assess every such movement properly: By studying the environment in which the movement exists or in which it existed, and by studying the circumstances which currently surround the movement, or surrounded it in the past, and the role given to

the bright individuals in running its affairs, and in dealing with obstacles hindering its success or progress.

The success of a collective movement is measured by its ability to instigate resentment amongst the masses and to exhort them to express their resentment each time the regime undermines or manipulates their ideology according to its own whims and interests.

Additionally, understanding these collective movements requires studying life in the society. Furthermore, it requires the *Hisb* to understand the relationship between the *Ummah* and the rulers, and vice versa and the basis of both of these relationships. We must compare the prevalent views and thoughts within the society to what Islam calls for, and determine any variance between the two. We must know whether this variance is due to changes in the fundamentals or the branches, and whether Islam approves of such changes or not. The understanding also requires studying the sentiments of the *Ummah* as it witnesses these Islamic opinions, thoughts and rules fade away from her life, which is caused and imposed by the regimes using force, deception and money.

Understanding these movements also requires knowing the *Ummah's* general inclination towards the systems that are being forcibly implemented upon her. These non-Islamic systems in-fact threaten to extinguish Islam from the society and throw the *Ummah* into the abyss of suffering and misery. In addition, this understanding requires a knowledge of the inclination of the thinkers in the *Ummah*, the extent of their acceptance or rejection of the corrupt system implemented upon the *Ummah*, as well as the extent of how much they were affected by the intimidation, or taken by

temptation.

Furthermore, knowing the *Hiżbi* bloc itself is essential to ensure that it maintains sharp perception, deep thinking, and absolute sincerity. The *Hiżbi* bloc must ensure that the events taking place in society must not weaken its belief in Islam and its laws, and that all temptations, intimidation, threats, favors and trials have no effect upon it whatsoever. It must also ensure that it upholds its inherent values to a high standard, and its belief must be safe, and the bloc's inculcation with deep Islamic thoughts, its adoption of the public interests and its sense of responsibility, must be complete. It must also make sure that the ideology is preserved without any compromise or violation, no matter how much oppression, tyranny, hardship and threat befalls the bloc, and the bloc must ensure that it is determined to shoulder its responsibility, while being fully aware of all the consequences and be ready to bear them.

The historical and factual study of the collective movements guides one to comprehend the nature of the ideological *Hiżb's* course of action as a collective movement. The *Hiżb* must ensure that it fulfills its requirements and proceeds in its natural path. If the *Hiżb* notices any shortcoming in its performance, or if any study reveals the need for flexibility in its actions, or the need for any modification in the *Hiżb's* apparatus, or it is found that the *Hiżb* needs to be more firm in its struggle, then the *Hiżb* must adopt the required means that guarantee that the *Hiżb* successfully conveys its message of revival to the *Ummah*, and empowers the *Ummah* to carry this message to the world.

The *Hiżb* proceeds from a structural point of view in the following manner:

1. A person possessing an outstanding intellectual capability and a keen perception is guided to the ideology. The ideology interacts with him

until it is crystallized and becomes clear to him. At this point the first cell of the *Hiżb* has formed. This cell will begin to multiply shortly after its emergence, but this multiplication will be slow. Nevertheless, more people will join, thus establishing more cells. Those people will be bound completely by the ideology. Hence the first circle of the *Hiżb*, or the leadership, will emerge. The ideology must be the sole pivot of structuring amongst these individuals and the sole force that attracts them to it.

2. This first circle will naturally consist of few in number and will initially be slow in its motion. Although it will express the feelings of the society in which it lives, the *Hiżb* leadership will deliver this expression in terms and meanings unfamiliar to what the society has accustomed itself to. It will have new concepts that will be different from the society's prevailing concepts, even though it represents the society's emotions. Therefore, the first circle will appear unusual to the society, and will attract only those individuals who possess strong feelings. The strong awareness within these individuals will attract them to the ideology that the first circle embodies.

3. The thinking of this first circle (the leadership) will be deep, and its method of revival fundamental, which means that this circle will start from the basics. This will enable the first circle to stand taller, and be able to look farther. Thus, it will rise above the bad circumstances in which the *Ummah* lives. It will also have foresight and a clear vision of the situation which it aims to transform the *Ummah* to, and it will clearly see the method to change

the present situation. The majority of the society where this circle lives will not see farther than its current status. Because of the attachment of the people to their circumstances, they cannot rise above the situation, and they cannot comprehend the situation correctly. Due to the declined society's primitive thought, this society visualizes things with respect to the status quo, which causes it to generalize issues in a distorted way, so as to adapt to the status quo, and to conform its interests to the status quo.

The *Hiżb's* first circle will have surpassed this primitive thinking and proceeded towards comprehensive thinking. Hence, it will make the current reality the object of its thinking, rather than making the situation the source of its thinking. That is, it will attempt to change the situation to conform to the ideology and will not change the ideology to conform to the status quo. Hence, by attempting to change the situation, reshape it, and keep it under its control, the *Hiżb* will seek to change the situation to make it conform to the ideology, rather than changing the ideology to conform to the situation. As a result, there will be a difference between how the society views life and how the *Hiżb's* first circle understands life, and therefore there will be a need to bridge this gap.

4. The thought of the *Hiżb's* first circle (the leadership) will be based on a firm principle, that thought must be linked to action, and thought and action must be for a specific objective. Because of the fact that the ideology is embodied in the *Hiżb's* first circle, and that its thoughts must be linked to the aforementioned firm principle, a constant atmosphere of *Iman* will be produced. This atmosphere will help in controlling the situation and

changing it. This thought will not conform to whatever it encounters, but instead will mould the situation to conform to the thought. In contrast, the society, having no basis for its thoughts, does not know the objective for which it should think and work, and its members' objective is immediate and selfish. As a consequence, the society has no atmosphere of *Iman* and the society is forced to conform to its circumstances. As a result, contention will occur between the first circle of the *Hiẓb* and the society where the first circle will first emerge.

5. The duty of the *Hiẓb* leadership will be to create the atmosphere of *Iman*, which will induce a certain way of thinking. In order to build its body correctly and at a spectacular speed, the leadership should initiate some actions in order to develop itself rapidly and to thoroughly purify its environment. The *Hiẓb's* first circle should also transform itself at a rapid pace from a *Hiẓbi* circle into a *Hiẓbi* bloc and then into a fully-fledged *Hiẓb*, which will establish itself in the society in such a way that it will affect the society, rather than being affected by it.

6. These deliberate actions will be developed through a careful and meticulous study of society, its individuals, and the present reality, and by cautiously safe-guarding against infiltration of any incorrect elements into the *Hiẓb's* entity and against the occurrence of any error in the set-up of the *Hiẓb's* apparatus. This is because any error may deviate the *Hiẓb* from its correct direction and cause the *Hiẓb* to split.

7. The deeply rooted and firm *'Aqeedah*, as well as the *Hiżb's* culture, must form the bond between the *Hiżb* members and the law that directs the *Hiżb*, rather than the written administrative law. The method to strengthen this *'Aqeedah* and the culture is to study and think in order to develop a specific mentality, and to generate thought that is linked with the emotion. The atmosphere of *Iman* should constantly prevail in order to maintain the two factors that bind the *Hiżb*, its heart and its mind. Therefore, it is essential to believe in the ideology in order for the heart to start binding the *Hiżb's* members. The second factor that binds the *Hiżb*, i.e. the mind, will then be formed by deeply studying the ideology, learning it, memorizing it and understanding it. As a result, the *Hiżb* will be correctly prepared, and its bond will be strong in a way that enables it to resist all shocks and challenges that come its way.

8. The *Hiżb* leadership (*qiyaadah* - the first circle) is similar to a combustion engine in some aspects. For example, in a combustion engine, a spark ignites the gas. This ignition generates thermal energy. This thermal energy causes the internal pressure to increase. The pressure pushes the piston. The piston imposes its motion upon the other parts of the engine, thus causing the machine to run. If the motion of the engine stops, all the other parts will stop. Therefore, the spark, the gas and the motion of the engine must exist for the engine to run the machine. Similarly, with the *Hiżb* leadership (the first circle), the idea is the spark, the feelings of the aware persons of the leadership is the “gas,” and the person whose feeling is affected by the idea is like the motion of the engine. When the idea comes into contact with the person’s feelings, energy is generated, which drives the

leadership into motion. Its motion is transferred to other parts of the *Hiẓb*, whether these parts are individuals, circles, local committees or others, all of which are affected by its warmth. Hence they all move and function as the machine functions, and the *Hiẓb* starts its course and begins growing.

Therefore, the warmth of the leadership must spread to all other parts of the *Hiẓb* for them to function properly, because it is essential for the engine to move with perfect synchronization in order for the machine to function properly. In this aspect, the *Hiẓb* leadership bears similarity to a combustion engine. The leaders of the *Hiẓb* must understand this aspect and maintain communication with the other parts of the *Hiẓb* in order for the leadership's warmth to affect everyone. If after several contacts the leadership finds that other members and committees are not functioning without the leadership's movement, they should not despair. They should realize that this is natural because the machine does not function unless the engine functions and heat is emitted from it.

However, unlike the combustion engine, which imposes its motion upon the other parts of the machine, the leadership (the first circle) does not cause the other parts of the *Hiẓb* to move by the mere imposition of its motion upon the *Hiẓb*. This process of imposing the motion on the other parts, is necessary only in the beginning. But once the *Hiẓb* is set in motion, the other parts can function by themselves even without the motion carried to them from the leadership. In this respect the leadership differs from the combustion engine. The combustion engine is always the driving force of the

machine and the machine would not function if the engine did not start the motion. However, the leadership is more like a social engine than a combustion one. The *Hizb* members, its circles and its local committees, are humans and not metal objects. They have life in them. They will be affected by the warmth of the leadership. This warmth stems from the warmth of the ideology, which is embodied in the leadership (the first circle). After the members and the *Hizb* organs digest the idea and interact with the warmth of the leadership, they become part of the engine that carries the motion of the leadership. Eventually, the mere motion of the leadership, due to this warmth, naturally spreads motion in the entire *Hizb*. The leadership of the *Hizb*, as a social motor, becomes one intellectual common whole throughout the *Hizb*. At this stage, the leadership is no longer the sole provider of the motion. With the growth of the leadership, and the completion of the formation of the *Hizb*, the whole *Hizb* becomes the provider of the motion. Thus, the *Hizb* does not need the motion and warmth provided by the leadership. Instead the ideology flows into the *Hizb* members. The *Hizb*, its circles and its local committees will automatically progress without depending on the motion provided by the leadership. That is because the warmth of each component of the *Hizb* is emanating from itself and from the cohesive intellectual whole which is common within the Party and naturally connected to all of these parts.

9. The ideological *Hizb* will proceed in three stages so as to start implementing its ideology in society:

First: The stage of study and culturing in order to develop the *Hiżbi* culture.

Second: The stage of interaction with the society, so that the society becomes aware of the ideology, the (acceptance of the) ideology becomes the public traditions of the society, and the whole community perceives it as its ideology and defends it collectively. In this stage, the *Ummah* starts her struggle against those who stand as obstacles in the path of the implementation of the ideology, such as the colonialists and their tools such as the ruling classes, those who prefer living in the dark, and those fascinated by the foreign culture. The *Ummah* starts this struggle because the *Ummah* adopts the ideology as her own, and views the *Hiżb* as her leader.

Third: The ruling stage, by acquiring the authority throughout the *Ummah* in order to implement the ideology upon the *Ummah*. From this stage, the practical aspects of the *Hiżb* will manifest itself in life's affairs. Calling to the ideology will remain the main task of the state and the *Hiżb*. The ideology will be the message that the *Ummah* and the state will carry.

10. In the first stage, the stage of establishment, it is assumed that all the individuals of the *Ummah* are equally devoid of any correct culture. The *Hiżb* begins culturing those who wish to join the *Hiżb* and considers the entire society as a school. The *Hiżb* seeks to build and prepare the group that is able to approach the public in order to interact with it in the shortest possible time.

It must be realised that this culturing process is not academic and that it differs completely from the schooling process. The culturing process must proceed with the understanding that the ideology is the teacher, (i.e. the

source from which the ideas are taken.) The knowledge and the culture acquired must be restricted to the ideology and to whatever is necessary to proceed in life. Furthermore, in order to prevent the *Hiẓb's* culture from becoming scholastic or academic, the culture must be practical, and it must be taken to be acted upon, and a thick barrier must be maintained between the member's mind and the academic aspect.

11. The *Hiẓb* is a structure based on an idea and a method, which together constitute an ideology that its members believe in. The *Hiẓb* oversees the thoughts and feelings of the society to uplift them, and to protect the society from the degeneration in thoughts and feelings. The *Hiẓb* is the school for the *Ummah*, which cultures, prepares, and drives the *Ummah* to get involved in the global arena. The *Hiẓb* is the true school that can accomplish this, while all other schools cannot, no matter how diverse, numerous or comprehensive they are. However, there are differences between the *Hiẓb* and a school which must be understood:

A. The school, regardless of how good its program is, cannot guarantee the revival of the *Ummah*. Revival is possible only if there is a *Hiẓb* established in the society to act as the school for the society. This is because, any other school, by its very nature, is monotonous. Regardless of how unconventional it is, the school assumes a specific pattern and character. Thus, it loses the ability to adjust itself to respond to the changing events. Restructuring a school is a complicated process and requires a certain period of time before the desired change can actually take place. Furthermore, the

school prepares people based on a very rigid model that is resistant to change.

- B. If the *Hiżb* is based on a correct program, it will have the following characteristics:
- 1 Vitality, hence it grows.
 - 2 Progress, allowing it to advance from one stage to another.
 - 3 Dynamism, enabling it to deal with every aspect of society, and to move to any place in the country.
 - 4 Sensitivity, enabling it to sense and feel all that happens in society and to influence society.

The culturing process in the *Hiżb* prepares individuals to enable them to respond to the continuous changes in life and emotions. The *Hiżb* does not proceed in a monotonous manner, rather it is evolving continuously and always keeps itself current and dynamic. It proceeds in life in order to shape it with the *Hiżb's* atmosphere of *iman* and therefore the *Hiżb* changes the status quo to make it comply with the ideology.

C. Schools are set up to teach, refine and educate an individual in his capacity as a particular individual. Although the school itself can be considered a small group, its approach remains individualistic from a teaching perspective. The results therefore are also individualistic and not collective. For example, if there were a town which had ten thousand inhabitants, and it had enough schools to accommodate one thousand students, these schools would still not be able to achieve any collective revival in that town.

D. As opposed to the school, the *Hiṣḥ* is established to educate and culture the community in its capacity as one single community, regardless of individuals in the community. The *Hiṣḥ* considers the individuals as members of the community and not as specific independent individuals. Hence the *Hiṣḥ* cultures them collectively so that they live as part of the community and not just as individuals with their individualism. Therefore the *Hiṣḥ's* impact is collective and not individualistic. For example, if a country of one million people had a *Hiṣḥ* with a hundred members, this *Hiṣḥ* would create a revival that a school could not, regardless of how much effort and time the school may spend and how many people it may educate.

E. Schools are set up to prepare an individual so that he influences the community in which he lives. However, his influence will be partial, because his own feelings as an individual, compared to the overall feelings of society, are too weak and inadequate to influence the collective feelings of society and to stimulate the thoughts of society as a whole.

F. In contrast to the school, the *Hiżb* is established to prepare the community so that it influences the individual. The community can produce a comprehensive effect because its feeling is strong and capable of stimulating the thought. Its effect upon individuals is strong, and induces revival in them in a very short time with the least amount of effort. It is feeling that stimulates thought, and the interaction between emotion and thought will initiate the move towards revival.

The main differences between the *Hiżb* and the school can be summarized in the following three points:

1. The school is monotonous and static, and is unable to adjust itself, while the *Hiżb* is constantly progressing, dynamic, and capable of responding to changes in life. Hence it shapes life according to its atmosphere of *Iman*.
2. The school cultures the individual to influence the community and its results are individualistic; whereas the *Hiżb* cultures the community to influence the individual, and its results are collective.
3. The school prepares the feelings of the individual in order to influence the feelings of the community. However, the individual is not capable of either influencing the community or stimulating its thought. Whereas the *Hiżb* prepares the feelings of the community as a whole in order to influence the feelings of the individuals. Consequently, the common emotions of the community will be capable of influencing the individuals and stimulating their thoughts effectively.

12. At this stage, it must always be realised that the society in its entirety is the main school of the *Hiżb*. At the same time, however, we must keep in mind the differences between the school and the *Hiżb* with respect to its culturing circles.

Realising that the entire society is the *Hiżb's* school stems from the nature of the *Hiżb's* task at this stage, which is to awaken the true '*Aqa'id*' (convictions) and produce the correct concepts. This task can only be achieved through an educational process where the *Hiżb's* ideology is the teacher, that is the source from which the ideas are taken, and where the *Hiżb's* culture is the subject being taught. The ideology and the culture of the *Hiżb* would be manifested in those whom the ideology is completely embodied in. These individuals would be the direct instructors in the society. The local committees with their circles would serve as society's classrooms, and the entire society would be the school. This teaching process necessitates that the *Hiżb's* members, and those who adopt its concepts, must maintain a profound study, so as to develop a correct understanding, and must continuously learn the *Hiżb's* culture at all times. In addition, they are required to memorize the constitution, the important rules, and the general principles adopted by the *Hiżb*. This necessitates a learning process similar to that in a school, and it is imperative that every person who joins the *Hiżb* adheres to this process, including the one who is educated, as well as the one who is not educated but has the potential to be educated. It also does not matter as to what level of education a person has, whether it is university level or elementary one. Any leniency in the culturing process with any individual will leave this individual outside the *Hiżb*, even if he has joined it, and this may harm the *Hiżb* structure.

It is important at this stage for the *Hižb* not to get involved in any action until the *Hižb* has cadres who have acquired the *Hižb's* culture before involving in any action. Hence this stage would only be a culturing stage.

Realising the difference between the school and the *Hižb* in terms of culturing will prevent the *Hižb's* culture from turning into academic culture and thus losing its effectiveness. Therefore, it is important to place a thick screen between the *Shabaab* of the *Hižb* and the academic aspect of the *Hižb's* culture, and to recognise that the objective of the *Hižb* culture is to change the concepts, to work in the realm of life and to carry the intellectual leadership in the *Ummah*. One who carries the *Hižb* culture must not hasten towards the academic aspect. If one is in need of just academic knowledge, then the appropriate place is the school and not the *Hižb*. Taking the culture towards the academic aspect would take away the quality of the work and would delay the *Hižb* from moving towards the second stage.

13. The second stage of the *Hižb* is the stage of interaction with the *Ummah*, which involves struggle. The second stage is very delicate. Its success would attest to the correctness of the formation of the *Hižb*, while its failure would prove there is a defect that should be addressed. Since this stage is built upon the preceding one, success in the first stage is a pre-requisite for success in the second stage. However, the mere success in culturing in the first stage is not sufficient to bring success in the second stage. The success in culturing must be made known to the people, and they should know that there is a functioning *Da'nab* and should know that the *Hižb's* member carries

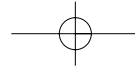
a *Da'wab*. Furthermore, it is necessary for the members to have developed the collective spirit during their cultural transformation in the study-circles and by their contact with the society they live in, and through their attempts to influence that society. This collective attitude will be present when they move to the second stage, which will facilitate their interaction with the *Ummah*.

14. The *Hizb's* member does not proceed from the culturing stage to the interaction stage until he has matured culturally. Maturity in culture makes him an Islamic personality by conforming his *Nafsīyyah* (inclinations and feelings) to his *Aqlīyyah* (mentality). The Messenger of Allah ﷺ said:

((لَا يُؤْمِنُ أَحَدُكُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَكُونَ هَوَاهُ تَبَعًا لِمَا جِئْتُ بِهِ))

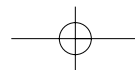
“None of you will have real belief until his inclinations conform to what I came with.”

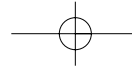
In addition to maturity in the culture, the *Hizb's* member does not proceed to the interaction stage until it became known to the people that he is carrying an Islamic *Da'wab*. The collective attitude should have been strengthened in the member through his presence in the circles and his communication with society, to remove from him any tendency towards isolation. Isolation is a blend of cowardice and despair, which must be uprooted from the individuals and society.



15. The *Hiżb* should move from the cultural stage to the interaction stage naturally. If it tries to proceed prematurely, it will not be able to. During the cultural stage, the *Hiżb* passes the starting point. During this stage, the culture makes the ideology embodied within the individuals, and makes the society clearly feel the presence of the *Da'wab* and the ideology. Once the ideology is embodied within the individuals, and the society feels the presence of the *Da'wab*, the *Hiżb* will pass the starting point and the *Hiżb* should move towards the launching point (*NuqTat al-InTilaaq*). In order for the *Hiżb* to proceed towards the launching point, it must address the *Ummab*. The *Hiżb* must first make many attempts to address the *Ummab* before it will be successful. The *Hiżb* addresses the *Ummab* through concentrated culturing in circles, mass culturing of the people wherever possible, exposing the plans of the colonialists, and adopting the interests of the *Ummab*. When the *Hiżb* succeeds in these four tasks, it moves towards addressing the *Ummab*, and proceeds to the launching point naturally. This natural progression carries the *Hiżb* from the first stage of culturing to the second stage of interaction. Furthermore, this natural progression ensures that the *Hiżb* begins to interact with the *Ummab* only at the right time and in a natural way.

16. This interaction with the *Ummab* is essential for the *Hiżb's* success in its duty. The *Hiżb's* members must interact with the *Ummab*, because they, by themselves, will not be able to carry out an action, regardless of their number or strength, unless the *Ummab* worked with them. They will not also be able to motivate the *Ummab* to work with them nor she will work them unless they succeeded in this interaction. The interaction does not mean that the members gather a large group of people around them, rather it means

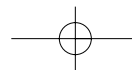


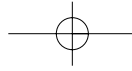


that the *Ummah* adopts the ideology of the *Hiżb*, which is Islam, as her own. This ideology already exists in the cultural and historical heritage of the *Ummah*, and in her sentiments. It is the feeling of the *Ummah* that evolved into a thought, which has been crystallized in a select group of people that the *Hiżb* has emerged from. The basis of these feelings, that thought and action must be for a specific objective, represents the true expression of the ideology. Hence the ideology - Islam - is the inner feeling of the *Ummah*, and the *Hiżb* is the expression of this feeling. If the *Hiżb* is clear in its address, eloquent in its language, and honest in its expression, the *Ummah* will quickly understand the ideology and interact with the *Hiżb*. As a result, the entire *Ummah* will be considered as the *Hiżb*, and the select group will carry the leadership of the movement through the *Hiżbi* structure. Through this movement, the *Ummah*, led by the *Hiżb*, will proceed towards the third stage. This is the stage of comprehensively implementing the ideology by the *Hiżb*, by acquiring the authority. The implementation of the ideology by the authority is the only method to implement the idea, and it is part of the ideology.

However, there are several obstacles in the way of such interaction. It is necessary to be aware of them and to know their nature in order to be able to overcome them. The obstacles are numerous, the most important of which are:

- A. The contradiction between the ideology and the system being implemented in society.

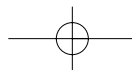


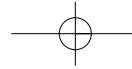


The *Hiżb's* ideology will be a new system for life compared to the prevailing system in society. It will contradict the existing system that the ruling class implements upon society. Hence, this class will regard this ideology as a threat to itself and its entity, and will inevitably confront it and fight it through various means, such as propaganda, harassment and physical persecution of the *Da'wab* carriers. Therefore, while working for the interaction with the *Ummab* by calling for their ideology, it is essential for the carriers of the ideology, to protect themselves from harm by all possible means, and to counter the misleading propaganda by explaining their *Da'wab*, and to endure all kinds of hardship in the process of achieving this.

B. Another obstacle would be the cultural difference.

In addition to disparate thoughts in the *Ummab*, there exist various cultures in society. The *Ummab* however, has one feeling. The various cultures, especially the culture of the colonialists, are the antithesis of these feelings, while the ideology's culture, the Islamic culture, is the true expression of the *Ummab's* feelings. However, public opinion in society regarding the culture, the curriculums in schools, institutions and cultural centres, as well as political and cultural movements, are all made to conform to foreign culture. Therefore, it is necessary for the *Hiżb*, with its own culture, to struggle against other cultures and other thoughts to make visible the true expression of the *Ummab's* feelings and sensations, which would lead the *Ummab* to proceed with the *Hiżb*. While the *Hiżb*, with its culture and thought, will inevitably enter into a conflict with other cultures and thoughts carried by the *Ummab*, the interaction should not take the form of futile arguments. The members of the *Hiżb* should draw the straight line alongside the crooked line

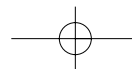


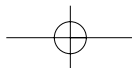


and avoid engaging in futile arguments that could lead to egoism and could obstruct the person from seeing the truth. Instead, the thoughts of the *Hiẓb* should be explained, and the error of other thoughts, the falsehood of other cultures, as well as the dangers of their consequences, should be exposed. Eventually the *Ummah* would turn away from the falsehood and incline towards the *Hiẓb*'s culture and thoughts. Even the people carrying the foreign culture and false thoughts would eventually turn away from them, if they were sincere, aware and objective, once the foreign culture's fallacy becomes apparent to them. This task will be one of the most difficult ones for the *Hiẓb*. Interaction with the *Ummah* in places where foreign culture is strong will be more difficult than in places where the influence of foreign culture is less. Also, the likelihood of revival in places where those educated with foreign culture are few would be greater than in places where their number is high. Therefore, the *Hiẓb* should be aware of the community with which it aims to interact, so that it can proceed in a course that is most suitable for that society.

C. Another major obstacle would be those individuals within the *Ummah* who adhere to the status quo (pragmatists).

Due to the poisoning by the foreign culture, and the prevalence of ignorance, two types of pragmatists exist in the *Ummah*. The first type accept the status quo and surrender to it as an inevitable matter, because they adopt the situation as the source of their thinking and take solutions to their problems from it. Overcoming this group requires deep discussions, after which they would realize that the current situation should be taken as the subject of



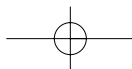


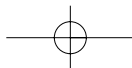
thinking in order to change it. As a result, it would be possible for them to abandon their current thought.

The second type is the “*Adb-Dhalaamiyyeen*” section who refuse to open their eyes (live in the light), because they have become accustomed to living in darkness, triviality and superficiality. In addition, they suffer from physical laziness and mental lethargy and cling to the old ways which they found their forefathers adhering to. They are the true pragmatists, because they are of the same nature as the status-quo, and their thought is stagnant. Therefore, this group requires more perseverance. Overcoming such people requires culturing them and striving to rectify their concepts.

D. Another major obstacle in the path of the *Da'wab* is the attachment of the people to their interests. Human beings are by nature tied to their personal interests in life while simultaneously attached to the ideology. It may happen that one's interests conflict with the *Da'wab*, and one may attempt to accommodate both. Overcoming this obstacle requires every person who embraces the ideology to consider the *Da'wab* and the *Hizb* as the focus around which his personal interests revolve. Therefore, he would not allow anything which contradicts, hinders, or makes him forget the *Da'wab*. By doing so, he shifts the *Da'wab* from revolving around his interests to making his interests revolve around the *Da'wab*.

E. Another obstacle that stands in the way of the *Da'wab* involves the



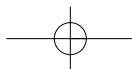


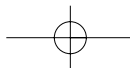
difficulty in sacrificing matters of worldly life, such as wealth and business, for the sake of Islam and for carrying its *Da'wah*. To overcome this obstacle, the believer is reminded that Allah ﷻ has bought from the believers their lives and their wealth in return for Paradise. This reminder should suffice, and the choice should be left to the individual to sacrifice these matters without any coercion. The Rasool Allah ﷺ wrote in a letter to 'Abdullah Ibn Jahsh, when he sent him to lead an expedition to keep an eye on Quraysh at Nakhlah, between Makkah and Ta'if:

((وَلَا تُكْرِهَنَّ أَحَدًا مِّنْ أَصْحَابِكَ عَلَى الْمَسِيرِ مَعَكَ وَأَمِضْ لِأَمْرِي فِيمَنْ تَبِعَكَ))

“Do not coerce anyone of your companions to proceed with you, and go forth with my order with those who follow you.”

F. It seems that one of the difficulties will be urban differences within societies. The environment in cities is different from those in villages, which in turn differs from the environments of the Bedouins. As a result, the degree of material progress in the city is different than that in the village, which differs from that in the Bedouins' sites and tents. Therefore, these differences in patterns of material aspects of life, may suggest to the *Hizb* the notion of a difference in the culturing or in the ideological orientation towards each setting. This is a very dangerous fallacy because the *Ummah*, regardless of her patterns of urbanization, is still one *Ummah* with the same feelings and ideology. The *Da'wah* to the *Ummah* should be the same in a city, a village, or in a Bedouin camp, and similarly the work towards interacting

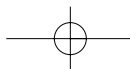


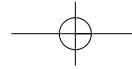


with her should be the same.

17. The *Hizb* itself may face two dangers during this interaction stage: an ideological danger (a danger to the ideology), and a danger of elitism.

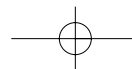
The ideological danger may surface from the underlying currents within the community, as well as from the desire to respond to its persistent and immediate demands, and from the dominating residual opinions of a section in the community over the ideas of the *Hizb*. Such a danger may arise because as the *Hizb* interacts with society, it will communicate with the masses in order to interact with them and lead them. At that time, the *Hizb* will be equipped with its ideology, whereas the masses will have many old, contradictory and reactionary thoughts, legacies from the past generations, dangerous foreign ideas, as well as the people's imitation of the disbelieving colonialists. When the *Hizb* interacts with the masses, it will provide them with the *Hizb's* opinions and thoughts and will strive to correct their concepts, to awaken the Islamic '*Aqeedah* within them, and to produce the correct traditions and standards. This requires *Da'wah* and propaganda, so as to gather the *Ummah* around it on the basis of the ideology in a way that strengthens in the *Ummah* her belief in the ideology, provokes in her confidence in the *Hizb* concepts, builds respect and appreciation to it, and makes the *Ummah* ready to act under the leadership of the *Hizb*. At that time, the duty of the *Hizb* will be to increase its members who are trusted by the *Ummah* so that they will have full command of the *Ummah*, like the general in the army. If the *Hizb* succeeds in this phase of interaction, it will then lead the *Ummah* towards its objective within the boundaries set by the ideology, without being derailed or deviated.

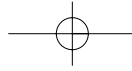




However, if the *Hiżb* were to lead the masses before the interaction is completed and before the public awareness amongst the *Ummah* is generated, the leadership of the *Ummah* by the *Hiżb* will not proceed according to the ideology. Rather, the leadership will be by diagnosing what is simmering in the *Ummah's* mind, by tickling her sentiments, and by falsely portraying the *Ummah's* aspirations as being at hand and within her grasp.

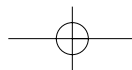
However, in this case, the masses will not have lost their previous emotions, such as patriotism, nationalism and priestly spiritualism, and the 'mob instinct' will stir such emotions. Thus trivial traditions, such as sectarianism and "*madhabism*," old thoughts such as independence and freedom, and corrupt chauvinism such as racism and tribalism, will re-emerge amongst the masses. The contradictions between the masses and the *Hiżb* will begin to surface, and the masses will assume for themselves demands which do not conform to the ideology. They will call for short-term aims harmful to the *Ummah* and become enthused over these demands, and their rage will increase in order to achieve these demands. In this case, the *Hiżb* will have to choose between two difficult options: either to face the anger of the *Ummah* and her resentment and thus destroying all that the *Hiżb* had built in order to dominate the society; or to face a deviation from its ideology and become lenient towards it. Either of these two options poses a great danger to the *Hiżb*. If the masses and the ideology come into conflict, it is imperative for the *Hiżb* members to adhere to the ideology alone. Even though the *Hiżb* members would be subjected to the *Ummah's* resentment, for this negative feeling would only be temporary. Their adherence to the ideology will win them the trust of the *Ummah* again. Hence, the *Hiżb* should always caution itself not to contradict the ideology or deviate from its essence, even slightly.

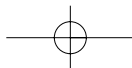




The ideology is the life of the *Hiżb* and the guarantor of its survival. In order to ward off such grave situations and to prevent such a danger, the *Hiżb* should endeavor to cultivate the ideology in the *Ummah*, to maintain the clarity of the *Hiżb's* thoughts and concepts and to work towards maintaining the predominance of its thoughts and concepts over the *Ummah*. All of this will be facilitated by being careful in the culturing stage and mass education, by meticulously exposing the colonialists' plans, by constantly watching over the *Ummah* and her interests, by melting the *Hiżb* with the ideology, by constantly examining thoughts and the concepts of the *Hiżb* so that they remain clear, and by expending every possible effort in achieving all of this, no matter how much effort and suffering this may cost.

The second danger to the *Hiżb*, namely elitism, may penetrate the members of the *Hiżb* themselves and not the *Ummah*. When the *Hiżb* represents the *Ummah* or the majority of the *Ummah*, it enjoys an exalted position, a respected place, and complete admiration from the *Ummah* and the influential people, and this position may arouse arrogance. Hence the *Hiżb's* members may consider themselves to be superior to the *Ummah*, and to believe that their role is to be leaders while believing that the role of the *Ummah* is to be led. Thus, they may look down upon the *Ummah* or her individuals. If this were to happen, the *Ummah* will begin to feel that the *Hiżb* is a class different from her. The *Hiżb* will also begin to perceive itself as a different class. This feeling will mark the beginning of the collapse of the *Hiżb*, because it will weaken the *Hiżb's* concern about the ordinary individuals of the masses, and it will undermine their confidence in the *Hiżb*. The *Ummah* will start to turn away from the *Hiżb*, and once the *Ummah* has turned



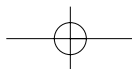


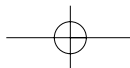
away from the *Hiżb*, the *Hiżb* will collapse. Restoring and re-gaining the *Ummah*'s trust and confidence will require a great deal of effort. Therefore the *Hiżb*'s members should proceed through life as simple individuals of the *Ummah* and not think of themselves as anything but servants of the *Ummah*. They should realize that their role as *Hiżb*'s members is to serve the *Ummah* because this guarantees them immunity and will benefit them not only in maintaining the confidence of the masses, but also in the third stage when they will have acquired the authority to implement the ideology. As rulers they would remain servants of the *Ummah* in the eyes of the people, which would make it easy for them to implement the ideology.

18. The third stage is acquiring the authority.

The *Hiżb* acquires the authority through the *Ummah* and the works of seeking *Nusrab*. It implements the ideology in its totality, which is known as the radical method. This method does not allow sharing authority in government, but seizes complete power and uses it as a method to implement the complete ideology. It implements the Islamic ideology in a comprehensive manner and does not accept the gradual method, regardless of existing circumstances.

Once the state has implemented the ideology completely and comprehensively, it should then proceed to carry the Islamic *Da'wah*. Hence it should assign in the State's budget a special fund for propagating the *Da'wah*. The State will oversee the *Da'wah* either through the State's international relations, or through the *Hiżb*, according to the circumstances.





Despite the *Hiżb's* acquisition of authority, it will continue operating as a *Hiżb* and its apparatus will also remain as such, whether its members are holding ruling positions or not. The authority is considered as the first practical step towards the implementation of the *Hiżb's* ideology in the state as well as in every part of the world.

These are the steps in which the *Hiżb* proceeds in life in order to transfer the idea into practice, which include transferring the ideology into the life by resuming the Islamic way of life, reviving the society, and carrying the *Da'wab* to the world. At that time, the *Hiżb* would begin the practical role for which it was founded. Hence, the *Hiżb* is the true guarantee of establishing the Islamic State, maintaining it, implementing Islam, enhancing its implementation, continuing this implementation, and carrying the Islamic *Da'wab* to the world. This is because, once it established the State, it will act as a monitor (*raqeeb*) over the State. It will hold it accountable, and it will lead the *Ummah* in this mission. At the same time, it would carry the Islamic *Da'wab* in the Islamic countries and all other parts of the world.

