

THE DEPARTURE POINT OF HIZB-UT-TAHRIR

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Hizb-ut-Tahrir has completed the first of its most critical phases and most delicate stages with great success. It is at present in its way towards becoming a party that imposes itself upon society, so that it becomes effective in it, and so that it generates the comprehensive intellectual and sensory transformation. It is also on its way to the "Departure Point". Hence, it has become incumbent upon it to address the Ummah, and to work within society. Although the "Departure Point" comes naturally according to the party's progress, it is however critical and delicate. It requires a successful attempt that leads to a departure in an inevitable way. This attempt is extremely delicate for it would undergo a host of storms which would occur in society. The party's successful accomplishment of this attempt would lead to the "Departure Point".

The party in this phase would come face to face with those who live in the dark, those smitten by the Western culture and the ruling factions. The party would not seek them, nor would it target them, nor would it consider them its enemies. It would take on the colonialist Kafir, for he alone is the enemy of the Ummah.

The party would also face during this stage the other organisations with all their various structural forms. It would however not target them, nor would it preoccupy itself with them, because although they are part of the problems in society, they would however be solved naturally once the Da'awah becomes widespread among the Ummah.

Although the party during this stage endeavours to constantly develop itself, soundly build its entity and completely purify its atmosphere, it would be however imperative upon it to undertake four actions. Hence it would continue with the concentrated culture and the public culture, and move forward to adopt the interests of the Ummah and expose to people the plans of colonialism.

In order for the party to face society and shoulder the burdens it had pledged to undertake, it would be incumbent upon it to be aware of society and to perceive elaborately the status quo, not just at its leadership level but throughout the whole party, in its quality as an indivisible whole, and rather in its quality as an intellectual and sensory whole, where the perception and the sensation would be united, because it would be deep in thought, sensitive, and when it is about to depart it would encounter the following matters:

1- Despite the fact that the Islamic Ummah as a whole perceives intellectually that she is in dire straits and that she is in need of a sincere and aware leadership, and sense this, this perception is rather ambiguous and this sensation is rather vague. The Ummah is still shallow in her thought, weak in sensation, dominated by a variety of flawed opinions and thoughts, and captivated by a host of various emotions, which are almost contradictory. Hence she is intellectually and emotionally at a low level.

2- Society in the Muslims' lands is non Islamic. It is controlled by the capitalist and democratic thoughts, dominated by the Western culture, governed by the capitalist and democratic system, and predominated by the nationalist emotions, the patriotic emotions, as well as the spiritual and clerical emotions. People who live in this society are Muslims in their Aqa'id (doctrines) in an emotional way, and they are still conducting their social affairs (personal status) according to Islam.

3- Despite the fact that the Islamic world is void of all the political movements, and almost void of any political activity, colonialism has however placed it in circumstances which led to the initiation of activities resembling political activities, hence they called them political activities. These circumstances led also to the establishment of various organisations, some of which was referred to as political organisations. This is what made people confused and led them to think that the

activities and the organisations were political. It was this misconception that made society fall under the influence of these organisations and turned it into an arena for those activities.

4- Party organisations are considered the highest organisations in society. Despite this, they do not exceed the level of the people from an intellectual and political aspect. They still live at a lower level of the ordinary thinking, they are yet to reach the ordinary thinking. Hence, they are yet to attain the status of political party organisations in the proper political sense, even according to the prevailing politics. This matter is general throughout all the Muslims' lands.

5- The Ummah is yet to fully perceive the necessity of the presence of an ideological political organisation, although she can sense that necessity. She has become accustomed to the organisations currently in existence, though she expresses her resentment towards them, her lassitude towards their styles and her despair about the workability of their methods. Due to the Ummah's failure to perceive the necessity of the presence of an ideological organisation, it was not surprising to witness the whole Ummah influenced by the forms reflected in these organisations and proceeding unconsciously along with these forms.

6- The patriotic and the nationalist forms are the ones which manifest themselves in the organisations established in the Islamic world. They are the prevalent forms among all the peoples within the Islamic Ummah. These forms are the ones which dominate the minds of the Ummah as a whole. Hence, one would find that people's taste has become accustomed to this and settled in a manner that made them unable to get used other than these forms, despite sensing their futility and their harm. Therefore, people would defend their entity as a people, not as an Islamic Ummah, despite their preserving of Islam and their adherence to it from a spiritual and social angle.

7- The nation is like a raw material formed by the thought which dominate it as long as it does not implement its system upon itself. The Islamic Ummah nowadays is pulled from different directions by several organisations and various thoughts. The power of the prevalent thought has a great deal of influence over her. It is stronger than any other power. Hence, the Ummah would be close to the organisation that carries the same prevalent thoughts. Naturally, these thoughts would become dominant over everything and consequently, the prevalent method of party or associative structuring is the one which the Ummah has become accustomed to. Hence, we find that the Ummah still responds to the call for demonstrations, protests, telegrams and emotional speeches, despite her convictions about their futility. Hence, it would be imperative to prepare the Ummah before undertaking the activity.

8- The preparation of the Ummah means the preparation of her thoughts and her sensations. This means exactly the arousal of the aspect of profound thinking, and the fighting of shallow thinking that exists in the Ummah. It also means the arousal of her emotions the whetting of her sensation and making her eagerness for carrying the Islamic Da'awah more than her eagerness for anything else; it also means making Islam alone her natural centre of attention. It also means fighting the indifference that is prevalent in the Ummah, and stimulating the events which awaken her from her slumber and which take sluggishness away from her. This necessitates making the party culture the approved and accepted culture, and the prevalent one in society, and making the Islamic culture in a general aspect the only culture that dominates all people.

9- The preparation of the Ummah to carry the Islamic Da'awah means exactly the preparation of the Ummah for political activity on the basis of Islam. This could not be achieved so long as the Islamic thoughts are not prevalent, and so long as the political path, according to the Islamic concept is not clear and prevalent over all the other thoughts. This obliges the party to clarify these thoughts in its culture, and to clarify the political path, not only through its culture, but by implementing this path upon the daily events which occur in the world, whether in relation to world politics or politics in the Muslims' lands. This necessitates the urgency in the political activity, which is reflected in the adoption of the Ummah's interests and in exposing the plans of colonialism.

10- Since the party carried the Islamic Da'awah as an intellectual leadership from which the systems of life emanate, and since it adopted politics as the only path for this Da'awah, hence the three factions which stand in the way of the Da'awah would be the ruling factions, those who live in the dark and those smitten by the Western culture. It is part of colonialism's plan to place them before the Da'awah as rocks along the path, in order to impede the attainment of the goal, so that the colonialist could gain time, while knowing that these rocks would not prevent the attainment of the objective, however, he places them to serve as an obstruction only. Therefore, collision with these rocks and all the other types of rocks must be avoided as much as possible, because these rocks must be utilised in building the fortresses, not to serve as an obstruction in the path. In other words, these three factions must be won over for the Da'awah, or at least it must be understood and made clear to them and to everyone, that they are acting as colonial means to the disbelieving colonialist, in order to nullify their effect if their conversion were not possible.

11- Avoiding the collision with these rocks, i.e. with these three factions, does not mean that we should avoid entering with them in an intellectual battle, it rather means that under no circumstances should we enter with them in a verbal or a physical collision. As for the intellectual battle between the Da'awah and the other thoughts, this would be inevitable, and it should not be abandoned for one single instant, for it is the battle that determines the fate of all the prevalent thoughts and destroys them.

12- The only weapon carried by the party is Islam and it would be wrong to use any other weapon but Islam. The intellectual aspect is the aspect which the party as a whole should arm itself with. The more it elevated itself from reality, and the more it reversed the thoughts, the more influential it became, and the more it were able to attract people to its ideology and to itself at the same time. Also, the more it linked its thoughts, in their quality as solutions, to the daily events which occur, the more capable it were of generating the effect in the minds.

13-..... Although the carrying of the Islamic ideology could not be brought about unless this were complete with its idea and method, however, the method in particular should be carried for implementation and should be explained to all people, because most of the error and ambiguity in the conventional groups and amongst people is in fact in the method.

14- The tremendous care in establishing the party's concepts about Islam and about politics would form the cornerstone. Hence, the concentrated culture given in the circles should be accompanied by the public culture, in order to get into grips with the power of the prevalent thoughts in society, then uprooting them and replacing them with the Islamic thoughts. This would make it incumbent upon the party to concentrate its activity, alongside the political aspect, on making the discerning and aware Shabab of the party integrate in all the circles and all the areas, contacting people all the time and being eager to pursue such contact.

15- The tremendous care given to the establishment of the concepts adopted by the party about Islam and about politics necessitates that the Da'awah carriers should be party members. Hence, it should be assumed that every person studying with the party is yet to perceive the meaning of the political organisation and the party relationship, although the idea has already interacted with him or her. Therefore, a great deal of care and attention should be devoted to the clarification of the party relationship in the culture and at every opportunity, so that the Daris becomes part of the party. This would come once his mentality and his disposition have been moulded. It would be imperative to clarify the intellectual relationship, then the party relationship, in order to make the relationship in the activity of the Da'awah axiomatic and natural, and in order for the conveying of the idea and the carrying of the Da'awah to be perfect. Hence, full effect would take place and the party activity would proceed in an excellent manner.

16- It would be imperative to have an illustrated objective prior to the undertaking of the action. This objective would form part of the atmosphere of Iman "Al-Jaou Al-Imani" because the atmosphere of Iman would be generated from the belief in the ideology, i.e. in Islam and from the

practical basis, which is the linkage of the thought with the action, which both should have an objective. The fact that the thought and the action should be for a specific objective, this means that every action should have a goal. This must be prevalent throughout the party, in its quality as a whole, and to every member of the party. This objective must be nurtured and must be established in everyone's soul.

17- Submission to dependence on each other and to what circumstances may bring, i.e. submission to spontaneity by the party or any of its members means the halt that could lead to collapse. Therefore, constant thinking about what has been performed, what is being performed and what should be performed would be required. It would be wrong to wait for circumstances or for what circumstances may bring. We should rather generate circumstances and take advantages of the circumstances which occur. The presence of an objective for the activity, the constant thinking about the Da'awah, the adherence in performing it and avoiding the reliance on what may come favourably or spontaneously, without exhausting any effort, would serve as a protection against dependence and reliance on the circumstances. The linkage of the causes with the causations should dominate the minds. One should not rely on what his presentiment dictates, even if this feeling were sound.

18- The party should discern the difficulties it faces and those it is about to face. It should also discern the circumstances of the action it is performing and the circumstances which may surround it when it embarks on performing any of its actions. The party should be fully aware of the tactics and the areas for which the tactics would be suitable or otherwise. It is true that the tactic is a style determined by the nature of the activity. However, it does differ and change according to unexpected circumstances which may occur. Hence, it should be dynamic and variable.

19- The party should soundly perceive its capabilities, the extent of the effect of the atmosphere it has generated and the awareness it has established, this prior to undertaking the action, regardless of whether this effect were in the party members or in the public. This is so because the perception of this effect would help the party acquire the knowledge on how to value the responsibility accurately, because if it were overrated, the danger of slackness may creep in, and if it were underrated, the danger of recklessness may creep it. Hence, the proper evaluation of responsibility would be an inevitable matter.

20- The party should perceive that this stage which the Ummah is experiencing is the stage of the intellectual and sensory transformation, which would lead to making the Muslims carry their intellectual leadership as a state to the world, in order to dominate all the other intellectual leaderships in existence. The party should also perceive that the onus of performing this role lies on his shoulders. Hence, it would be imperative to maintain the intellectual aspect as the basis, and maintaining its link with the political work only should be the cornerstone in the activity. Therefore, it would be imperative for the party to be acquainted with the international political situations and the political situations in the Islamic world, especially the political situations related to its field of activity. Also, it would be imperative for it to aim at making the Islamic thoughts alone the topic of discussion and investigation in all the Muslims' lands. It would be incumbent upon the party to be acquainted with the thoughts which revolve in society throughout the Muslims' lands.

21- The party should be constantly alert and fully aware of society. It should attend to registering what people think about and what they sense in order to realise the extent of the effect generated by its culture, the extent of the infiltration of the thoughts it diffuses and the sensations it awakens and the extent of the transformation in society from coldness to warmth and from warmth to boiling point, in order to concentrate its culture in people's souls for it acts as the fuel that burns in society and transforms it, and in order to be capable of elevating the Ummah to the level where she would perceive intellectually and sense genuinely that her existence is but for the sake of Islam and for the

sake of carrying the Islamic Da'awah to the world and that it is Hizb-ut-Tahrir that proceeds in this mission.

22- The method of gauging the thoughts and the sensations of society is very simple. It would be by way of monitoring the effect that political events evoke the thoughts. In other words, did these political events evoke thoughts, or did they merely confirm the old thoughts? It would also be by way of monitoring the effect that the political events on the emotions. In other words, did they evoke new emotions, or did they merely confirm the old emotions. What is meant by emotions here is what is felt in terms of happiness, sadness, pleasure and anger due to the new thoughts and emotions or due to the confirmed old thoughts and emotions.

As for the existing thoughts and emotions, these could be gauged by monitoring the matters which the masses talk about and by monitoring their evoked emotions; for instance, the Muslims' talk nowadays about the co-operatives and the public companies, instead of talking about the companies of "Inan" or the companies of "Mudharabah"; or their anger for their nationalism instead of their anger for the sanctities of Islam.

Hence, according to this criterion the registering of the thoughts and the sensations takes place. It would be imperative to attend to observing all people, intellectuals and others alike, because the thoughts and the sensations are one in the one society.

23- Gauging the thoughts and the emotions of society would be in order to treat them by way of attacking the erroneous thoughts, highlighting their

falsehood and transforming the emotions of joy from what the Muslim should not be happy about to what the Muslim should be happy about, and the emotions of anger from what the Muslim should not feel angry about to what the Muslim should feel angry about. Hence, it would be imperative to attend to recognising the reactions which the events and the thoughts cause. In other words, recognising people's reaction to the thoughts and events. Did they cause any reaction or not? If they did, this would indicate that they have approved of them, hence, it would be imperative to demonstrate the falsehood of the thoughts and to transform the emotions. If they did not cause any reaction, it would be pointless to give them any attention because it would be then a waste of time.

24- Since the cornerstone in the tackling of thoughts and emotions is the changing of the concepts, it would be imperative to recognise the reaction that occurs when the process of changing the concepts is taking place. In other words, did the party's endeavour to changing people's erroneous concepts provoke any reaction from them and any effect upon them or not? If it did trigger a reaction and an effect, this would indicate that the thoughts which the party had conveyed did generate in them a host of concepts; it would also indicate that their taking of the thoughts was in reality a changing of the concept. However, if they did not provoke any reaction from them despite their understanding of the party's thoughts, this would indicate that what occurred was that people merely received information, but no changing of concepts took place.

25- Since it is the party that tackles the thoughts and the emotions of society with the thoughts that it has adopted, it would therefore be imperative for it to attend to recognising the inclinations people have towards the thoughts of the party and towards the party itself. In other words, do people approve of the thoughts of the party or do they dislike them? Do they like the party itself or do they hate it? Or do they neither like nor hate it, and do they treat it with disregard and indifference?

26- It would be necessary for the party to recognise the thoughts and the sensations of society when addressing society, so that it could direct its attention to the thoughts, so that it recognised the thoughts which should be conveyed at the appropriate time. It should be however recognised that the attending to the thoughts is merely one part of the party's activity, because the party should first of all endeavour to change the method of thinking people have, secondly, to change the intellectual

base upon which people build their thoughts, thirdly to change their thoughts they carry and fourth to link all the thoughts which they encounter in life to their intellectual base. Hence, it would become easy for the party to change the thoughts and it would become easy for it to ensure that people themselves will have started to change their thoughts and to link them to their intellectual base. Consequently, the party would ensure the transfer of the Ummah and the radical transformative stage would be achieved.

27- The transfer of the Islamic Ummah from the wretched situation she is in to a better situation would depend on the success of the radical transformative stage. It would be also dependent on the existence of the Islamic thoughts in people's minds, because man's concepts about life emanate from the basic thoughts he carries, and he is affected by the extrinsic thoughts. Hence, the party should exhaust a great effort in order to generate the basic thoughts and to remove the extrinsic thoughts. However, it should be made absolutely clear that the presence of the thoughts in people's minds would not be sufficient for the transfer of the Ummah from one situation to another. The thoughts should rather be established in the individuals and the groups in a manner that gives them deep-rootedness and concentration and generate for them the power and the influence, in order to trigger the sweeping transformation, hence the transformation and the transfer would occur in the Ummah.

28- It is noted that in society in the Muslims' lands that the basic thoughts about life are capitalist and democratic thoughts. However these thoughts are shaky and not firmly established due to the fact that people's Aqeedah is the Islamic Aqeedah. When people adopted these thoughts they took them as such not in a doctrinal manner, and they had been cheated by those who gave them these thoughts, by telling them that they did not contradict their Aqeedah, but rather in conformity with their Aqeedah. Hence we find that these thoughts are not concentrated in their minds, even if their conducts proceed according to these thoughts. Once they become convinced that they contradict their Aqeedah, they would soon abandon them and return to their Islamic thoughts, and this people's return would mark the transformation in society.

29- A host of extrinsic thoughts exist in society. These are born out of temporary effects, such as the thoughts which arouse the patriotic and nationalist emotions and such as thoughts of independence and the like. These thoughts are established by the perturbed status quo and do not originate from a thought about life. These extrinsic thoughts would soon disappear once the basic thoughts become established.

30- There is a confusion in society between the deductive thoughts resulting from the rational method, and the scientific thoughts resulting from the scientific method. As a result of this confusion, they consider psychology to be a science, and they consider its thoughts to be scientific, because they were generated on the basis of observations carried out on children in various circumstances and at various ages; hence they called the repetition of these observations experiments. The truth of the matter is that the thoughts of psychology are not scientific thoughts, but rationale thoughts. This is so because the scientific experiment is the subjection of the matter to circumstances and elements different to its original circumstances and elements, and then observing the effect of this subjection, i.e. it is the performing of the same experiments upon the matter, such as the experiments on nature or on chemistry. As for the observation of the matter at various times and in various circumstances, this cannot be considered scientific experiments. Hence, observing a child in various circumstances and at various ages cannot be classified under the scientific experiments. Hence, it could not be considered to be a scientific method; it is merely called observation or repetitive observation and deduction. Hence, it is a rational method and not a scientific method. Therefore, the thoughts of psychology are rational thoughts and they form part of the culture "Al-Thaqafah", not part of science, and the same applies to pedagogy and sociology.

31- There is a sanctification in society of the scientific thoughts and the scientific method, hence it would be imperative to demonstrate that the susceptibility to error in the scientific method is one of

the basis that should be noted, according to what is adopted in scientific research. Errors in the results of the scientific experiments have indeed occurred, and this became evident in many of the scientific topics; their falsehood was exposed after they had been known as scientific facts. For instance, it used to be an established fact that the atom is the smallest particle of the matter and that it could not be split; then it was discovered, and through the same scientific method itself, that this was wrong. Also, it used to be known as a scientific fact that the matter is infinite; then it was discovered through the very same scientific method that the matter is finite. Hence, it would be wrong to take the scientific method as a basis. This is so because the scientific method leads to a doubtful result about the existence of a thing and about its character; whereas the rational method leads to a conclusive result about the existence of a thing and about the existence of some of its specific characters, though it leads to a doubtful result about the essence of that thing. Hence, the rational method yields conclusive and decisive results as far as judging the existence of a thing and or some specific characters to it. It should therefore be adopted as a basis because its results are conclusive. Hence, if a rational result conflicted with a scientific result about the existence of a thing and about the existence of one of its characters, the rational result should inevitably take precedence

and should be adopted ahead of the scientific result which conflicts with the rational one, because it is the conclusive that should be taken, not the doubtful.

32- the main task of Hizb-ut-Tahrir is to carry the Islamic Da'awah. Hence, the most important of its activities would be the following:

- 1- Changing the world's method of thinking and replace it by the Islamic method of thinking.
- 2- Changing the intellectual base upon which people build their thoughts and replace it with the Islamic intellectual base.
- 3- Changing the thoughts they carry with the Islamic thoughts.
- 4- Linking all the thoughts with the Islamic intellectual base.

As for changing the method of thinking, the intellectually declined world, including the Islamic world, is shallow in the thought because its method of thinking is superficial and shallow. Hence it would be imperative to turn its method of thinking into a profound one. For instance, instead of fighting colonialism through demonstrations and protests, work should be aimed at uprooting colonialism in order to carry the Islamic intellectual leadership and establish the Islamic state. Also, instead of thinking about the production of the wealth, thinking should be about the method of distributing it, because the economic crisis throughout the world emanates from the bad distribution, not from the lack of production. This is as far as the intellectually declined world is concerned. As for the intellectually advanced world, this world is deviant in its thinking, astray from the straight path, because its method of thinking is the scientific method and it exclusively adopts it as the basis of thinking and utilises it to pass judgement on all the matters. Hence, it would be imperative to establish the rational method of thinking as the basis of the process of thinking in the advanced world, and also to establish the fact that the scientific method is merely a consequence of the rational method of thinking which includes the scientific method as well as other methods. This is so because the scientific way of thinking necessitates the discarding of all previous data and presumes that they do not exist, then it would embark on observing the matter and subject it to experiment, then deduce from this matter a material and tangible fact, as is the case in the laboratories. Hence, anything that could not be physically sensed has no existence according to the scientific method. Therefore, history and logic amongst others have no existence, because they have not been scientifically proven through the observation of the matter, experiment and material deduction of the tangible matters. This is the flagrant error, because the natural sciences is a branch of knowledge, and a thought among the thoughts. The rest of the types of knowledge are numerous and they have not been proven through the scientific method, but rather through the rational

method. Therefore, it would be wrong to adopt the scientific method as the basic of the process of thinking. What should be taken as a basis of thinking would be the rational method. This is so because the thought or the rational perception occurs by the transmission of the sensed reality through the sensation to the brain, with the presence of previous information through which reality is explained. Hence the brain would pass judgement on this reality. This judgement is in fact the thought, or the rational perception and it is the basis in the process of thinking. Hence, through this process, the perception of the scientific facts, through observation, experiment and deduction would be established; and through this process, the perception of the logical facts would also be established. The historical facts and the differentiation between what is right and what is wrong in these facts, as well as the comprehensive idea about the universe, man and life, and about the Creator of the universe, man and life, and their relationship with what preceded them and what comes after them would also be established through this process of thinking.

This is the rational method that should become the method of thinking in the world, so that it adopts it as the basis of the process of thinking.

As for the changing of the intellectual base that people have, this would be achieved by way of carrying the intellectual leadership to the world, i.e. carrying the Islamic Aqeedah in a rational manner, in order to change the intellectual base which they at present have, this base entails either the emotional belief in Allah (swt) and His separation from temporal life, or the denial of His existence, and which entails the exclusive adoption of this intellectual base. All this is not fit to be an intellectual base, hence it should be abolished and replaced by the Islamic intellectual base.

As for changing the thoughts which they carry, this would be achieved through demonstrating the error that exists in their thoughts and by explaining the sound thoughts in order to replace the erroneous ones. The practical way to achieve this would be by linking the thoughts to the conducts. For instance, when people call out that might is for the Arabs, they ought to be reminded that this contradicts Islam, because might is to Allah, His Messenger and the believers. When they call for Arab nationalism, they ought to be reminded that they should call for Islam, and that Islam abhors tribal chauvinism and racial chauvinism and that is nationalism. Hence they would conceive the flagrant error and the serious threat reflected in the thoughts they carry much easier than if the error of their ways had not been demonstrated. Hence, it would be imperative to constantly link the conducts and the events to the thoughts.

As for the linkage of the thoughts to the intellectual base, this would be achieved through two actions:

First, the party member should be a role model in their conducts and in their linkage to the Islamic Aqeedah, even if these conducts contradicted the non Islamic customs and traditions and even if they contradicted what the materially advanced peoples and nations followed.

Secondly, the party should confront all the modern problems and demonstrate their solutions, to confront all the prevalent opinions in order to demonstrate their falsehood and to speedily embark on correcting the erroneous concepts, changing the corrupt thoughts and nullify the reaction of the trivial emotions and turn them into Islamic emotions.

33- This mission that the party undertakes requires intellectuals. The educated persons are the most competent to become intellectuals. Hence, they are most capable of performing this task. What may spring to mind is that the party is formed of educated persons. The truth of the matter is that the party is formed of all people, whether they were educated or not. They would however become intellectuals once they become moulded into the party, because they would become cultured with the party's culture, in its quality as an Islamic party culture, and also cultured with the Islamic culture in general. It is in the nature of this culture to be deep and to teach how to be deep in thinking. As for the educated people, no matter how diverse their knowledge were, they would be like the rest of the people in the party's view, and the party should aim at culturing them from

scratch with its culture, concentrated culture and collective culture. It should be also assumed that every person is devoid of any culture no matter how much knowledge he had, whether his previous knowledge were Islamic or otherwise, and he should be cultured from the beginning. This assumption in every person is necessary for two reasons:

1- The thought and the mental aptitude is existent in all people, whether they were educated or otherwise. People would differ in terms of their natural aptitude, not in terms of the increased knowledge, because the Islamic culture could uncover the genius in a man who has little knowledge; the culture could come into contact with this genius and discovers that he is brilliant, hence the man would advance intellectually at a pace that would allow him to overtake those who have more knowledge and more scholarship than he has. Hence, what should be relied upon is the presence of the mental aptitude in the first instance, for it is this aptitude that make man more capable of carrying the intellectual leadership and of generating the intellectual and sensory transformation in society.

2- The method of thinking carried by the educated people is, despite the knowledge, either shallow or influenced by the scientific method, and they are both far from the rational thinking. As long as the method of thinking carried by the educated persons were not changed and replaced by the rational method, and as long as their intellectual base and the thoughts they carry did not change, they could not be considered as intellectuals. Hence, it would be imperative to change them into intellectuals who think with the rational method of thinking so that they could be considered intellectuals. Hence, it would be incumbent upon the party to generate amongst the Ummah the outstanding intellectuals.

34- The party's fulfilment of its duty, that is to carry the Islamic Da'awah, makes it incumbent upon it to proceed according to the Islamic method. The method of Islam in carrying the Da'awah to the world is Jihad, and its method in carrying the Da'awah to people in society is by inviting them to Islam with "Hikmah", the good advice, and the debate with that which is best. Allah (swt) says: [16-125] "Invite to the way of your God with wisdom and good advice and argue with them in ways that are best, for your Lord knows best who strayed from His path and who receive guidance." T.M.Q. "Al-Hikmah" is the rational proof, and "Al-Maw'ithah Al-Hasanah" is the graceful reminding. This means arousing people's sensations when addressing their minds and evoking their thoughts when addressing their sensations, so that the sensations are linked to the thoughts, hence the activity would achieve maximum results. As for the debate with that which is best, this would be the argument that is restricted to the idea and does not exceed it to include the individuals. These are the three situations which occur in the method of the Da'awah, and they ought to be observed because those who face the Da'awah most are three groups: First would be those who wish to understand Islam and carry the Da'awah for it; however they wish to ponder over it and approach it from a rational angle so that their minds are convinced and their hearts are reassured. It would be imperative to call this group through the rational proof and the deep study, and this would be achieved through the concentrated culture which could not be acquired but in the Halaqat, in which one would at first acquire the culture from the Halaqah, then he would himself give other Halaqat. Hence, he who is cultured in the Halaqat is invited by Hikmah and he who cultures others in the Halaqat will be calling others by Hikmah. This would be the aware culture that generates the intellectual transformation in man and makes him capable of generating the intellectual transformation in others and in society.

Second would be the masses who do not find in their time, their aptitude or their circumstances what enables them to pursue the concentrated culture. Among those would be the ones who studied in the Halaqat then stopped, or those who did not studied in the Halaqat. Those would be called through the collective culture, which includes speeches, essays, the radio, magazines and all the means of publicity. It should be however made absolutely clear that the culture that is given collectively should focus on the sensations when discussing an intellectual topic and when conveying the profound thoughts, and focus on evoking the profound thoughts when discussing an

emotional topic and when addressing the sensations, lest the culture becomes purely intellectual, hence becoming idle and unpleasant to the masses, and lest they become purely emotional, hence becoming trivial and unacceptable to the intellectuals. It should be also noted that it would be this collective culture that motivates the masses and generate the understanding among them. It would be this culture that turns the Da'awah in society into a stormy hurricane and a sweeping current that would steer people in the Da'awah in order to achieve its goals. Hence, it would be imperative to give this culture special care and attention.

Third would be those who have been seduced by other thoughts and other organisations, and those who are still confused. Those who have been smitten by other thoughts and the confused ones should be engaged in discussions about the Islamic idea, and they should be invited to understand Islam and carry its Da'awah, knowing that they would confront the Da'awah by raising doubts about it, giving the wrong concepts about it and by attacking it. Therefore, the Da'awah carrier should be objective and patient with them. He should take the offensive against their corrupt thoughts, their erroneous concepts and twisted ways. He should avoid being on the defensive and should not allow Islam to be put in the dock; he should rather categorically reject this and embark on explaining the Islamic thought by adopting the style of demonstration and explanation rather than a defensive style. His argument should be by that which is best, i.e. the argument should take the form of a discussion not a futile argument. He should be wary of two issues towards which those who carry corrupt thought would attempt to divert the discussion once they sense that they are defeated. First, they would try to change the subject once they feel that the Da'awah carrier is about to reach the convincing truth, before the discussion is concluded. This change of subject would make the discussion turn into a vicious circle, shifting from one topic to another and a lengthy time would pass without achieving the objective of the discussion. Second, those who carry corrupt thoughts would resort to insults once they are defeated, and they would launch a personal attack on their interlocutor, or on other Da'awah personalities, in order to lure the Da'awah carrier into responding to the insults, or into defending himself or other Da'awah carriers. Hence he should beware. It would be forbidden to embark on defending himself or any other Da'awah personality. He should also beware of responding to the insults, for all this would divert from the idea and from the deep thinking, and this is what those who carry corrupt thoughts want. Hence, it would be imperative to confine the discussion exclusively to the thoughts and in the field of the Da'awah. A host of axiomatic thoughts to both sides should be established so that they could be used as a reference point in the discussion; as long as these thoughts were not established between both parties, it would not be possible to hold a discussion, for this would not be a discussion then.

35- The opinions, thoughts and Islamic rules which the party has adopted should be the topic of discussion and should be used as culture material. Hence, the Da'awah should be conducted through the party and in the name of the party, i.e. the Da'awah should be to Islam, and the work should be to resume the Islamic way of life, however, it is Hizb-ut-Tahrir who carries the Da'awah and works towards resuming the Islamic way of life. This is so because society should believe without any shade of a doubt that it has no other salvation but in Islam and that it has no other life but in carrying the Islamic Da'awah. This belief should be strengthened at every moment and society's confidence in the party should be established. It should be also established that it is the party who carries the Da'awah and leads the Ummah properly. Hence, the party should remain in touch with society and the party members should remain in touch with people the way they are in touch with the party. The party should perceive and sense that whole Ummah is the party, and at the same time, the Ummah should perceive and sense that the party is her party and she as a whole is the party, hence the Ummah would naturally become one single party and would proceed altogether.

36- In addition to its perception of the situation of the Ummah, the party should also perceive the colonialist's awareness of the Da'awah and of the party itself; because it is the colonialist who declared war against Islam, it is he who destroyed the Islamic state, exhausted all his efforts to

prevent its establishment and it is he who carries an intellectual leadership that contradicts the Islamic intellectual leadership and works towards establishing it in the Muslims' lands.

Since the party were engaged in carrying the Islamic Da'awah as an intellectual leadership from which emanate the systems of life and in working towards establishing an Islamic state in the Islamic world, it would be only natural and inevitable for colonialism to stand in its way, to fight it and to fight Islam. Hence, it would be imperative to be aware of colonialism in order to know its ways and styles.

Awareness about colonialism has led us to the conclusion that it is monitoring the Muslims, monitoring Islam and that it is monitoring the Islamic movements. The colonialists had in the past benefited a great deal from their monitoring of the Muslims. They had succeeded in subjugating them and in alienating them from the Islamic idea. Their monitoring of Islam has enabled them to introduce the capitalist democratic concepts and give it to the Muslims as Islamic concepts. Their monitoring of the Islamic movements has benefited them as well, for it enabled them to turn them into spiritual and nationalist movements and to destroy the movements which they could not transform. The colonialists are ever vigilant and always monitoring with a magnifying glass, seeing what the majority of Muslims could not see.

37- The colonialists' monitoring of Muslims, Islam and the Islamic movements has led them to being conspicuously aware of Hizb-ut-Tahrir. They perceive that it is the sound and genuine "Takattul" in the Islamic world. The colonialists' awareness of Hizb-ut-Tahrir has led them to regain their awareness about Islam as being an ideology, not just a spiritual religion only, as they themselves are trying to portray it. It has also led them to regain their awareness about Muslims once they have seen the effective influence of the party's culture and the party itself in every circle in which it operates. To many observers, this awareness has come too early, for the party has barely surpassed the "Starting Point", and it has not become manifest among the people where it operates yet. So how did the colonialists be aware of the party before everyone else? However, those who are acquainted with the malice of the colonialists, their hatred for Islam and Muslims, their constant fear of the establishment of the Islamic state, and their awareness of the fact that the Islamic state would not only uproot colonialism, but would also occupy the number one spot in the world and would carry the Da'awah to every human. Those acquainted persons realise that the disbelieving colonialists are constantly monitoring the situation with a magnifying glass, hence they could see what people could not see, they realise what they see and they prepare themselves to take the necessary measures. Hence, it came as no surprise when the colonialists started in their areas of influence to instruct every ruler to use all possible means to ban the circulation of the Islamic books in Muslims' lands, to confiscate them off people's hands and carry house to house searches in order look for them and burn them. They also started to restrict the Muslims' movements in their own country, to arrest them, to confine their residence to specific areas, to interrogate and persecute them, only because these Muslims carry the Islamic intellectual leadership and they call people to Islam. However, it is no wonder that the disbelieving colonialists act in this way with the Da'awah still confined to the study in the Halaqat and the talks in the mosques, for they realise the extraordinary power of Islam and its effect on man, not to mention its effect on the Muslim. The colonialists do realise the extraordinary power of those who believe in Islam, and their influence in transforming the thoughts and the sensations. Hence, the colonialists cling to whatever they can in order to prevent the success of the Islamic Da'awah and the establishment of an Islamic state.

38- Therefore, it would be incumbent upon the party to be aware of colonialism, of the ways it follows and the styles it utilises. The party should expose these to people and make the whole Ummah aware of the disbelieving colonialist, its methods and styles. It would be incumbent upon the party, now that it is in the "Departure Point", to start confronting colonialism, for it would address people, adopt their interests and expose the plans of colonialism. Consequently, the colonialists would not sit on their hands, especially once their plans are exposed. At that time, the point of direct friction with the disbelieving colonialists would occur, and this could lead to their

attempt at colliding with the party. However, since they had prepared themselves to make the Muslims collide with each other, and since they had adopted this as their plan, they would push some factions from among the citizens to clash with the party and they would adhere to this plan. They would only confront the party if they became desperate or when they start fighting in the last trench they have and carry the last weapon at their disposal. Hence, it would be imperative for the party to avoid colliding with the citizens and to make the clash of the colonialists occur against the whole of the Ummah, not just with the party on its own. Hence, it would be incumbent upon the party to turn the whole of the Ummah into the party, and to mould her with Islam, to make her give her absolute trust to the party, to establish her aware obedience to it and to give her leadership to it and to the ideology it call for, which is Islam. Hence the Ummah would proceed one-lined with awareness and perception, with might and zeal, just like the sweeping hurricane, and the real battle would be between the Ummah, or rather all the citizens and colonialism, so that all its traces are abolished.

This transformation of the battle, from a battle between the party and colonialism, into a battle between colonialism and the citizens, would be inevitable and natural. It would make it imperative on the party to expose to the Ummah, the wicked animosity which her colonialist enemies hold towards her, the evil conspiracies they concoct against her and the horrific plots they plan against her, in order to humiliate, exterminate her and then destroy her ideology.

Hence, the Ummah as a whole, will have carried with the party the duty of carrying the Islamic Da'awah and resuming the Islamic way of life, by establishing the Islamic state, and she will have removed all that stands as an obstacle against this.

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