

THE ACCESS TO SOCIETY (DUKHUL-UL-MUJTAMA 'A)

Muharram 1377 - July 1958

Hizb-ut-Tahrir Publications

Al-Quds

The party has passed the phase of attempting to address society with great success, and has managed to make the Ummah in general, as well as all the political circles, sense its presence as a political and a doctrinal party. It has also managed to exact respect for its thoughts and to give them a gravity to be reckoned with. The party's progress in the way towards the attempt at departure, has now reached the door of society, and the party has started knocking on it so that it is opened, or so that it opens it in order to enter society.

The party is at present in the process of studying what lies in wait behind the door in terms of bolts and latches and in terms of doormen and guards, so that it could open the door and enter through in a powerful manner, enabling it to remain steadfast and to progress.

However, it should be made clear that the party, while mobilising its forces to conquer society and enter it, would be very adherent to its doctrinal essence and its ideological character. Hence, the party would adhere to the method in the same way it adheres to the idea; it would also adhere to the adopted styles, the way it adheres to the idea and the method as long as no errors were to be discovered in these styles. However, if their errors emerged, the party would discard them and adopt other styles; it would also discard its understanding of any thought that is part of the idea and the method, if it discovered its error. Therefore, any Ijtihad in the implementation of any adopted thought, whether this were part of the idea or part of the method, or part of any adopted style, would be considered a flagrant mistake, if this were not intentional, and it would be considered a deliberate deviation if this were perpetrated intentionally and with persistence. Therefore, it would be wrong to allow any member of the party to have any undulations in the opinions, whether these opinions were intellectual, political or administrative. The opinions should rather be established with conviction, or with submission based on consent and peace of mind.

The party would be during this phase susceptible to being tempted away from its opinions; the proposals and suggestions would come thick and fast, from its Shabab and from people, especially if the standing at the door of society were lengthy and the party were unable to enter it easily and quickly. Reference would be made to the reality of other parties, of the society's own type, as to how they managed to enter society and how they took the initiative away from the party; the misinterpretation of the Prophetic Sirah (tradition) could take place, and the party thoughts and leaflets could end up subject to clarification. The motive behind this could be the Shabab's loyalty to the party, or the strong tendencies from outside the party which had affected many people. These proposals and suggestions would also multiply once the party will have opened society's door and once it will have stood inside. The adverse tendencies would be acutely manifested and the flawless pure Islam would come face to face with the sheer Kufr, fighting it mightily and fiercely despite the weak means of Islam and the mighty means of Kufr. Therefore, proposals on the styles would multiply in order to compensate for what is needed in terms of means, without taking into account the contradiction, or the non contradiction, of these styles to the thoughts which the party had adopted. Hence, it would be imperative upon the party to be aware of the styles and means, and realise that it should proceed towards entering society with its idea, its method and its styles, no matter how long its standing at the door of society took; it should proceed in society in an influencing manner rather than in an influenced manner, in a setting that changes rather than being changed and with the firmness that would enable it to undermine the confidence of others and to totally maintain its subjective values.

In order to illustrate the party's attempt at knocking at the door of society so that it is opened for it or so that it opens it, and in order to discern the reality of the course of action undertaken in society with the aim of changing the fundamental thoughts which control it and the inessential thoughts which dominate it and transform the sensations which prevail in it, it would be imperative to perceive the meaning of society as defined by the party and to be aware of the reality of society in the area which the party had determined as its field of activity (Majal). This perception and this awareness should be elaborate in the particular and general aspects.

Society has been defined by the party as being formed of people, thoughts, sensations and systems. This definition is general, and it is an outcome of the study of society's reality in its quality as a society; however, considering the fact that the society we aim for is a specific society, distinguished from other societies, here follows an elaborate explanation of this study: A person plus another person, plus another person would form a group, if a permanent relationship between them were to be established, they would become a society, regardless of their number. What would establish this relationship is the interest for which each one of them embarked upon achieving, whether this interest were the obtaining of a benefit or the repulsion of a detriment. What would prompt the individual to acquire this interest is the vital energy which exists in man and drives him towards satisfying his instincts and organic needs. This energy produces sensations which would be the direct motive. However, this motive would proceed in the animal with the vital energy and the experiments carried out by the animal itself or by others. As for man, he would embark upon satisfying his instincts and organic needs according to the manner which his concepts dictate to him. These concepts determine for him the type of sensations which drive him and the method to proceed, and according to these concepts and those sensations, he would organise his interests. Hence the relationship between him and other persons would be established on the basis of what he carries in terms of thoughts and sensations as well as what he implements in terms of systems. Therefore, what turns a group of people into a society would be the relationships established between them.. Hence, the access to society could only mean the challenging of the existing relationships between people in society.

However, these relationships are conducted through an authority that dominates and manages these relationships. There exists a host of relationships between the authority and people. Hence, it would be insufficient to merely challenge the established relationships between people if we were to affect society. The existing relationships between the authority and the subjects should also be shaken, by challenging them firmly and bravely in order to be able to affect the established relationships between people. Therefore, the conquest of society and the entry to society would not only mean the challenging of the established relationships between people, it rather means the challenging of the established relationships between the authority and the Ummah, in relation to people's interests. Because it is the authority who holds the competence to look after people's affairs and to manage their transactions between themselves and between them and other people. Hence, as long as this hand, which holds the mandate to manage people's affairs, were not fiercely and repeatedly hit, people would never sense the corruption of their society and the need for changing it. They would not be able to visualise the error of the thoughts which they carry and the circumspect sensations they hold towards their interests. Therefore, the most prominent activity of the party should be the challenging of the established relationships between the authority and the Ummah in all their aspects, whether these were related to the discharge of authority to manage the affairs, such as the building of bridges or hospitals, or related to actions undertaken to enable the discharge of authority such as the forming of a government and the electing of deputies. What is meant by authority in this context is the rule.

The present rule in the Islamic world is not solely manifested in the ruler, as is the case in the Islamic rule. It is a rule based on the shape of the democratic system. Hence it is manifested in a ruling faction, which is not confined to the ruler alone. The professional politicians are part of the ruling

faction, and the parties which have a political influence are part of the ruling faction. Therefore, the actions and the political thoughts of the entire ruling faction should be challenged. The immediate ruler should also be challenged in regard to his relationships with the Ummah and in his relationships with other states. It should be made absolutely clear, and at all times, that the established relationships between nations and peoples are conducted by the rulers of these nations and peoples. In other words, it is the rulers who govern, foster and dispose of these relationships. Hence it would be impossible to influence the present and the future status of the people, and it would be even impossible to access these nations and peoples unless the rulers were challenged by way of challenging their actions and all their conducts. Also, the established relationships between the individuals of the one people and the one Ummah are conducted by the rulers of that people or that Ummah, i.e. it is the rulers who govern, foster and dispose of these relationships. Hence, it would be impossible to engage people in an influential manner about any thought or any sensation except through these rulers, by challenging their thoughts, their actions and all their conducts. All this would be the work of the political party, which is to challenge the thoughts, actions and conducts of the rulers, related to the governing of their relationships with the Ummah or with the people, and to the governing of their relationships with the rulers of other states. The political party has no other work but this. Therefore, this issue must be made absolutely clear if the party were to preserve his status as a political party, and if this party were to be able to turn its opinions into political thoughts, i.e. into thoughts which could influence the management of people's affairs and thoughts which could have a reality in the mind of the party and the minds of the people, a reality that could be felt through their senses or perceived through their intellect; also in order to make these political opinions attack and engross the society which it aims at changing, so that they become the prevalent in society. Therefore, what was mentioned in the political concepts, that the concentrated culture and the public culture in the party, should at all times be conceived as being part of politics, even if this were a cultural activity. This is so because the culture is given on the basis of accounting the ruler on its basis, and on the basis that he ought to endeavour to rule people with it. It should also be conceived that the exposing of plans and the adoption of interests are part of politics and that they form a political activity, because through them, the party embarks on challenging the ruler's actions and conducts.

Therefore, this political party would not be considered active within society while performing the cultural stage, it would rather be considered to be in the process of perceiving the idea and the method in order to start proceeding towards society. It would also not be considered to be engrossed in society while attempting to enter it by repeatedly challenging the relationships, it would rather be opening the door only. It would also not be considered inside society until it penetrates within and becomes a supervisor over the relationships of the rulers with the Ummah and those of the Ummah with the rulers, on the basis of the thoughts it had adopted, just like the politicians and the ruling factions would supervise them in terms of influence and in terms of how the Ummah views the party, and also in terms of the rulers' wariness of it.

Therefore, we state clearly that the party has covered all the distance towards society without any delay and without any haste, but rather naturally. Its success was helped by the political events which took place during 1956 and 1957; the party works towards continuing to challenge the relationships in order to open the door of society or to have it opened for it. The party would attempt through its challenge of these relationships to influence the position of the rulers and the politicians, in rule and in politics, and influence the Ummah's viewpoint towards itself and towards the rulers and the politicians, in terms of competence, confidence and loyalty, so that it could establish a foothold in society. Hence, the political motivation, in both its sections, the intellectual struggle and the political struggle, should be aimed at the domestic and foreign relations in a tangible manner, while maintaining the concentrated culture and the collective culture on their projected course, and while giving a great deal of attention to the innovation in styles and to the increase of various means. However, this would not bear fruit unless the reality of the relationships which the party challenges

were perceived or sensed, and unless the reality of the thoughts which it emits were visualised. Whereas if the process remained as it was in the “Phase of attempt” i.e. Dawr-ul-Muhawalah , i.e. merely understanding expressions, explaining them and being contented with the visualisation and the ratification of the concept without sensing it, the party would not be able to conquer society. Therefore, the party needs to understand the field of activity it affects and the reality of each Wilayah where it operates, even the reality of each country in which it challenges the relationships between that country and the authority, until it acquires the awareness about the reality of society in the area where it works.

However, this does not mean that it would be necessary to explain the reality of the field of activity, it rather means that it would be necessary to perceive the general conceptions and their ramifications as examples, then the process would decide the reality of the relationship that should be challenged. What would be important is for the plan of action when conquering and entering society to be clear in a profound and tangible manner.

As for the clarity of the plan in a profound manner, this was explained in the leaflets of “The Departure Point” i.e. “Nuqtat-ul-Intilāq” and the “Political Motivation” i.e. “At-Tahrik As-Siyassi”. Hence these leaflets should be revised by every member individually, especially the Local Committees and the Wilayah Committees.

The clarity of the plan of action in a tangible manner, which would enable the party to initiate action, could be summarised in the following points:

A- The intellectual struggle which the party undertakes at present should continue and should be multiplied without any prior arrangement from the Leadership Committee. The Wilayah Committees should mobilise their forces and exhaust their efforts to initiate it and maintain it by any possible means, provided that this does not violate what the party had adopted. However, what should be noted at present is for the Shabab to realise the necessity of visualising clearly the reality of the thoughts with which they initiate the intellectual struggle. They should also attempt to illustrate this reality to people during the discussion or during the explanation, in a tangible and conspicuous manner. This would be by giving the historical and the current examples, especially the general comprehensive thoughts which are considered to be latches placed by the Kuffar to prevent Islam from having access to society, and to prevent it from establishing a foothold in society. For instance, Arab nationalism could be challenged in a negative manner and in a positive manner. When it is demonstrated that Arab nationalism carries a host of vague desires, and ambiguous hopes, and due to the fact that it does not mean anything that one can identify with, hence it does not portray a specific system, nor a specific viewpoint, it would in this case be attacked in a negative manner. Whereas when it is demonstrated that it means tribalism and racism, hence the events of Bany Al-Mustalaq’s expedition could be used as an historical example to highlight the danger of Arab nationalism’s triviality. However, the European countries could be used as a current example to demonstrate how nationalism has dug up between them ditches over which it would be impossible to build any bridges of unity or federation. In this case, it would be attacked in a positive manner.

This is as far as the one thought is concerned; as for the several thoughts, a comparison could be made between the Al-Wai’i library in Beirut and the American University. When entering the library, one could listen to live discussions which have a reality, either about a political news item, or about a transaction. Whereas when entering the University, one could listen to intellectual discussions about academic matters, which none of the debaters could sense any reality to these matters. Hence one can conclude that Al-Wai’i library is in society, while the American University is outside society. Therefore, it would be imperative for the Local Committees and the Wilayah Committees to give several factual examples and to continue taking great care in generating live debates in order to make the intellectual struggle directed at a tangible reality.

B- The political struggle, in which the Shabab are at present experiencing some difficulties, is being organised as of now in the following manner:

1- The established relationships between the authority and the Ummah, in relation to people's affairs, should be challenged immediately. It should be made absolutely clear that the party used to at the "Phase of Attempt" appraise each action in relation to the party's ability to shoulder it. At present however, the party is yet to access society, though it is knocking on its door, hence it would attempt to avoid the severely harmful blow, and would ignore the blows that are below that. However, in the interaction stage, the party would undertake the action according to necessity; it would expose and adopt everything that occurs, avoiding only the fatal blow. Although the party has not reached this yet, nevertheless the interaction would take place once the siege of Kufr has been broken and once the party has embarked firmly on its campaign to conquer society. Hence the party should think about it from now, because it targets interaction immediately after its success in the onslaught that it is now waging on the door of society in order to open it or to have it opened for it.

2- To challenge the relationships means also challenging the interests and the criticising of actions in an offensive manner means challenging the interests; hence the issue is confined to the challenging of interests and to shaking them violently. These interests are divided into two types: Beneficial short term interests and political short term interests. As for the beneficial and the political long term interests, these could not be challenged by way of political struggle at all, they should rather be challenged by the concentrated culture and sometimes by the collective culture. What is challenged by way of political struggle would only be the short term interests, whether these were beneficial short term or political short term interests.

As for the beneficial short term interests, their challenge would be by way of adopting the current interests of the Ummah, whether these were partial, i.e. related to a specific section of people such as businessmen, or a specific country or city such as Syria or Cairo for, or collective, i.e. related to the Ummah as a whole or to a province or to the Majal as a whole.

The course of action would proceed by either describing the reality only, and inciting resentment against the ruler without mentioning the Sharia'ah rule related to this issue, and this would be by highlighting the injustice which people suffer due to the squandering of huge amounts of money on unproductive projects which do not achieve any real interest, or by highlighting the existing bad solutions and explaining the rule of Allah related to solving such a problem. For example, the way the state gives a free hand to the police against people in order to issue fines against the drivers, then dragging the driver through the courts, whilst the Muhtasib (public order judge) in Islam would deal with the driver on the spot and pass judgement instantly without any delay, and this would not disrupt people's affairs.

As for the challenge of political short term interests, this would be by attacking the way governments are formed, the way they rule the country, the negligence of parliament and the triviality of democracy which made of them a political circle, as well as the exposing of the embassies' interference in government business, the influence of the tribal chiefs and businessmen over the ruling factions and so on. This could take place individually when the government is formed or when the vote of confidence is given or when the parliamentary session is inaugurated or when an event takes place. The struggle could also take place whenever the short term interests surface.

This would be the plan of action in the conquest and the access to society. If it were implemented with awareness and precision, it would enable the party to open the door of society or to have it opened for it. However, it must be made clear and plain to people and to the Shabab, that the party aims at effectively seizing the established authority from the whole of the ruling faction, not just from the current rulers; also that it aims at removing the established authority by challenging its relationships with the Ummah and taking this authority to turn it into an Islamic state. The party does not wish to establish another authority in society to assist it in destroying and removing the existing

authority, it rather aims at seizing the existing authority itself. The established authority, the dominant rule and the power to which people submit at present, is that which the party aims at seizing through the Ummah, hence it would change its shape and its system, and proceeds with it towards the implementation of Islam and the carrying of its Message. Hence two issues would become incumbent:

1- No comparison should be made between the cabinets in relation to looking after people's affairs, so no cabinet would be attacked to the exclusion of another, all the ruling factions in rule and in authority should rather be shaken .

2- It should not be said to people: These interests would be achieved for you once the Islamic state is established, because this would alienate people from perceiving the achievement of their interests and would help alienate the party from the rule and from any influence over the rule. Therefore, the challenging of the method by which people are ruled should be according to the Islamic rules, by merely explaining the Sharia'ah rule in the matter that the party challenges.

The struggle should proceed in a manner which would subject the existing authority to what bruises its ribs, strips it of its veneration, awaken people's greed in it and increases the hands and the fingers which would take it by the throat and finish it off, from a position of strength and in a manner that would kindle the yearning to the rule of Islam, to the state of Islam and to the banner of Islam.

However, it should be always remembered, that the objective is not the rule, the objective is rather the resumption of the Islamic way of life and the carrying of the Islamic Da'awah to the world, and that the method of this would be the rule. Hence, the seizing of power would in fact be a method in order to turn the current way of life into an Islamic way of life, i.e. in order to turn the established relationships between people into Islamic relationships. It would be forbidden to regard the rule as being more than just a method. Hence, the point at issue would not only involve the destruction of the people in power, it would rather involve making the Islamic thoughts predominant in society, so that the destruction of the people in power may take place, and so that the reins of power may be seized off them via the predominance of these thoughts. On the other hand, the state would come into being by the birth of new thoughts upon which it would be built and the authority changes due to the change of these thoughts; because when the thoughts turn into concepts, they affect man's behaviour and make his behaviour proceed according to these concepts. Hence his viewpoint about life changes, and according to this change, his viewpoint towards the interests also changes. The authority is but looking after and supervising the government of these interests. The authority could only be in the hands of the strongest faction in society. Hence, if people in one area were in agreement about their viewpoint towards the interests, they would appoint someone to resume looking after their affairs, i.e. they themselves would appoint the authority which would run their interests, or they would keep silent about those who appointed themselves in authority to run their interests for them. In this instance, the rule would conclusively come from the Ummah, either by her effective choice or by her silence about its establishment. Silence is one form of choice. However, if they were in disagreement about their viewpoint towards the interests, they would then become several factions, and the strongest one would undoubtedly resume the authority ahead of the others. Hence it would run its affairs and the affairs of all the other factions according to its own interests, and they would all be obliged to submit to it and to manage their affairs according to its own interests for it would be the strongest, until they accept this management and until their viewpoint towards the interests becomes the same as that of the strongest faction, and all the factions melt into one single faction; or until they get an opportunity to defeat the faction which has resumed the authority and seize power from it, then run their affairs according to the interests of the new faction that seizes power.

This is the natural and inevitable situation in every authority that undertakes the running of people's affairs, whether this authority were tribal or democratic or Islamic. Even the dictatorial authority is a

factional authority and not an individual one, because the management of people's affairs by this individual would only be achievable by the support or the consent of a strong faction. In both cases, he would resume his role thanks to the authority of the strong faction which either backs him or keeps silent about him, not by his own authority. Therefore, there ought to be a host of specific thoughts about life, and there ought to be a strong faction to carry these thoughts with conviction and receive them with consent and enthusiasm. What is meant by the faction in this context is not the party, the faction is rather a group of people in society; the party is not a faction but rather an incorporeal personality.

Hence, the specific thoughts about life, reflected in the group of concepts, criteria and convictions, would be the basis; and it would be the acceptance of this host of concepts, criteria and convictions by a group of people or a strong faction from among them, even if this acceptance were in general terms, which would establish the state and transfer power in it, regardless of whether the acceptance of these thoughts by the faction or the group of people were the result of a shaping that is meticulously illustrated or of a tangible and sensed reality, which the faction or the group of people had witnessed its concordance with several events.

Therefore, it would be imperative to embark first of all upon generating the thoughts which contain a host of concepts, criteria and convictions about life, then achieve the consent of the group of people or the strongest faction among them, to this host of concepts, criteria and convictions, so that the state is established in a natural and inevitable manner.

Seizing power in any country could not occur unless the host of concepts, criteria and convictions, which the Ummah or the stronger faction from among her has adopted, were used as a method to reach power and to fulfil people's affairs according to these concepts, criteria and convictions. However, if power were seized in order to implement a host of concepts, criteria and convictions which contradict the concepts which people had become convinced in, or which they had accepted or had become accustomed to, this power could only come by way of a foreign invasion whose material and intellectual power exceeds that of the Ummah's material and intellectual power.

Therefore, it would be imperative to start with the Ummah in order to generate amongst her the host of concepts, criteria and convictions, and to urge her to adopt them with conviction, then to seize power through the Ummah in order to establish the Islamic state in one region, then the state would spread with its material and intellectual force to all the parts of the Islamic world in order to join it in one single state. What generates these thoughts, or in other words, this group of criteria, concepts and convictions in society, and what makes the strongest faction or people as a whole accept them and conceive the necessity of living in society upon their basis, it would be the party, not the state, nor the Ummah, nor even the individual intellectuals within the Ummah if they remained individuals. This is because the state is merely an entity which executes the host of concepts, criteria and convictions which the Ummah had adopted. The state is not an intellectual entity and it could not overstep the vital or the cognitive reality of the Ummah, this reality which the party looks after its affairs and derives its existence from it. It could merely express physically, through its management of affairs, the vital and cognitive energy of the Ummah, this by erupting, organising and putting it into practice. To demand the state to initiate reform or a radical change would not be possible, for this is not part of its entity, for the state is merely an executive entity not an intellectual entity.

The Ummah is however a diverse and complex social entity, it is born out of male and female. In this social entity the intellectual, organic and physical faculties are disparate, and the executive styles differ according to what it carries in terms of criteria, concepts and convictions, and it is in addition to all this dominated by the basic thoughts from which these criteria, concepts and convictions had emanated, a dominance which would make it difficult for it to produce other thoughts, for it is confined to thinking within those thoughts. Therefore, it would be impossible for it to be an intellectual entity. Therefore, it would be beyond any people or any Ummah to collectively change its

viewpoint about the general life, and to change its conventional and common concepts, criteria and convictions, no matter how backward and declined these concepts, criteria and convictions became.

Hence, the state as an entity, and the people -or the Ummah- in its collective quality, do not have a source of concepts, criteria and convictions, they are rather the object of execution of these concepts, criteria and convictions. The Ummah would execute them upon herself, and the state would execute them upon the Ummah; hence they both are affected by the concepts, criteria and convictions not effective. They both move and act towards life according to the group of criteria, concepts and convictions, so as to make them the basis from which they proceed towards the legal reality of the state and the societal reality of the Ummah.

Therefore, the source of these concepts, criteria and convictions and the force which affect the state and the Ummah must be other than the Ummah and the state, and it should be effective and not affected, and capable to generate these concepts, criteria and convictions, capable to establish them, capable to amend them and change them, and capable to preserve them.

Here, what could spring to mind is that the intellectual individuals who are bred within the Ummah would be the ones who would revive her; reference may be made in this aspect to the prophets and the reformers as being individuals who revived their nations. Here is where the mistake happens and where the feet stumble. This is so because the individuals, in their individualist quality, have no entity. The Ummah as a whole is an entity and the state is also an entity, hence it would be impossible to influence and affect them save for an entity stronger than them, an entity that has the quality of an entity, structured out of elements which have a bond linking them together and making them form an entity. Hence, no matter how capable the individual were, he would not be able to influence an entity no matter how weak this entity were. Hence, only an entity could affect another entity.

This on the one hand, on the other hand, when the idea transpires in the mind of the individual, it would have an individualist and a personal aspect, regardless of the cause of its birth, whether this were an innovation of his part or whether he heard it from someone else, also, regardless of whether this hearing had come by way of reading or by way of teaching. The idea would retain this intellectual and personal characteristic for as long as it holds solely to the aspect of intellection; the individual would consider it his own property and he would be eager to characterise it with his own character, hence it would turn into theoretical thoughts which he would speak about or into published material. They would not initiate any effect in the state or the Ummah no matter how numerous the number of intellectuals were and no matter how numerous the number of books and publications were. When this idea manages to be transferred into a conviction in the intellectual's mind, it would move from the intellectual aspect into the aspect of criterion and concept, and it would move from the intellective aspect to that of intellection and implementation. Hence the idea would break the scope of intellection to the domain of existence amongst people, then to the domain of existence within society.

As for what makes this idea transform and move, it would be the decisive belief (Iman Jazim) in it, in other words, it would be the decisive trust (Tasdeeq Jazim) which is in conformity with reality in the mind of the intellectual. As for the way it would follow towards reaching this stage, this would be the repetition, persuasion and implementation, and this could not be brought about except within a group and with a group. The repetition, persuasion and implementation would continue within and with this group until the idea becomes the property of this group as a group and the property of each one of its individuals; the idea would invade their viewpoint about life and occupy it, and it would invade their conducts and correct them and rectify them; it would acquire an influence and it would become an atmosphere which man would be affected by its characteristics if he were to be placed within this atmosphere. Hence, a specific entity for this idea would be generated, which would be other than the entity of the Ummah, though it would be part of her, not part of her entity. This

specific entity would proceed under the authority of the state, not under its entity. This intellectual entity would be the party which would be formed within the Ummah. Hence, what really influences people or the state would be the party, not the intellectual individuals.

The party, in its quality as an entity, would engage in a battle with the entity of the state and the entity of the Ummah in order to strike both of them down, because it would have the quality of being effective and that of being affected, as oppose to the entity of the state or the entity of the Ummah which each one of them has the quality of being affected and not that of being effective, and it would be the party's adherence to its intellectual entity that determines the period of its struggle, for its intellectual adherence as an entity would shorten the period of its struggle, while its slackness would lengthen this period. As long as the party does not deviate from its concepts, criteria and convictions, it would undoubtedly conquer the two entities: the entity of the Ummah and the entity of the state. It would conquer the strongest faction among people, they would become together one single entity and they would occupy their outstanding entity within the entity of the Ummah, i.e. the leadership ; with this new entity, it would strike down the entity of the state. Then with both the intellectual entity and the executive entity, it would seize the rest of the factions and would melt them all in one single entity which would be the entity of the Ummah.

Although the struggle that takes place would be intellectual, it would nevertheless be a struggle between concepts, criteria and convictions, not simply a struggle between abstract thoughts. Hence it would take on the general relationships and the public interests, for it would aim at destroying the corrupt nature of the Ummah's entity, this by destroying the concepts, criteria and convictions upon which the entity is formed, not by destroying the Ummah, nor any individual from among her, for it aims at gaining the Ummah, elevating her standing and changing her present entity by giving her a better entity which would become characterised by dignity and exaltedness. It also aims at destroying the nature of the state's entity by destroying the concepts, criteria and convictions upon which it is formed, not by destroying the authority, for it aims at seizing this authority and changing its present entity by giving a new entity based on the new concepts, criteria and convictions. Therefore, the struggle of the party as an intellectual entity would be directed at the executive and the societal entities. Hence the work would be focused on the two entities and nothing else. The focus of the struggle would be that of an entity against another entity, and since it were the entity of the state which holds the reins of power and resumes the running of the Ummah's entity, the manifestation of the struggle would be seemingly focused merely on the state's entity, whereas in fact it would be directed at the two entities.

Therefore, it would be imperative for the party to enter society in its quality as an intellectual entity, where its quality as an entity would be prominent on its own and in a clear manner, for the quality of entity should be the only quality that operates, and it would be wrong to associate any other quality with it, because it would be an entity struggling with two entities and any situation that leads to a party activity to be undertaken in other than the quality of entity or undertaken by associating any other quality with it, this activity would not only be doomed to failure, it would also weaken the party in its struggle and would weaken its quality of being an entity.

The entity of the party does not mean its apparatus, it is rather more comprehensive than that. Indeed the party activities would be initiated by the party's apparatuses, and indeed the concepts, criteria and convictions upon which these apparatuses are based are part of the party's entity, however, they are not its entity. Its entity is rather the group of concepts, criteria and convictions which is embodied within a group of people in their quality as people, not in their individual quality. Hence, if the actions were initiated by this group of people, or by any of the apparatuses, or by any individual of this group, and these actions were initiated according to the group of concepts, criteria and convictions, then these actions would be initiated by the party as an entity, not by the individual, nor by the apparatus from which it was initiated. Hence, the quality of entity is composed of elements which are bonded by a bond that makes it an entity. The elements form which the entity quality of

the party is formed would be the group of criteria, concepts and convictions and the group of people. The bond which binds these elements together would be the Aqeedah upon which the party is founded and the culture by whose concepts the party is characterised; hence the intellectual entity , i.e. the party entity is composed from these elements and the bond. It is this entity alone that should operate. It is a personality that can be sensed, whose strength and standing can be felt, exactly as the state's personality is felt and exactly as the Ummah's personality is felt. This personality or this entity would be the one that enters the arena in society. it would be this entity that should endeavour to resume the leadership of the Ummah, then the reins of power. It would be this entity that should endeavour to make the Ummah adopt its personality as her own personality and to adopt the Ummah's personality as its own personality . In order for the party to enter society according to the plan designed in this leaflet, the following style should be adopted:

A- As far as this plan is concerned, there will be no action initiated directly by the party members or by the Local Committees, whether this were political struggle or intellectual struggle. Every party member will however continue carrying the Da'awah, debating , contacting people and giving circles; the Local Committees will continue to perform their party activities of concentrated culturing, collective culturing , supervising the Da'awah and undertaking the necessary steps related to discussions, such as giving a specific theme in order to activate discussions, or conjuring a specific style in order to motivate the Shabab. The Local Committees and the party members will execute all that which they had been ordered to perform by those who have the competence, an execution that should highlight the absolute and aware obedience, and highlight the fact that it is an entity in operation, not an individual or a Committee. Every single party member should proceed with self motivation even if he were to be cut off the Local Committee, and every Local Committee should proceed with self motivation even if it were cut off the Wilayah Committee.

B- The Wilayah Committee is the administration of the party, it is the political aspect through which the party is viewed politically and it operates in the country as a party. Therefore, its outward appearance within the Ummah and within the political circle from a political aspect should be the same as its outward appearance from an intellectual aspect; hence politics should be its outward appearance and intellect should be its nature.

This is the quiddity of the Wilayah Committee in the country. Once its quiddity becomes known and what it is, it would become easy for it to proceed with self motivation even if it were cut off the Leadership Committee (the Amir's Office) for a while and under any circumstances.

C- The activities of the Wilayah Committee are divided into two sections: Executive activities, the competence of which is exclusive to the Mu'tamad only, and administrative activities related to its area, the competence of these is that of the Committee as a whole. The decision making would be conducted according to what had been mentioned in a previous leaflet, which stated that if the opinions were to lead to a thought, then the correct thought should be followed, hence they would be given more time to be studied; if no agreement were reached conclusively, the opinion of the Mu'tamad would be preponderant regardless of anything else. For example: Would the pressure applied against the government to perform certain actions lead to embarrassing the party into seizing power or not? Or for example: Would the undertaking of political struggle in a specific matter lead to a fatal blow in the Wilayah or not? Hence, any opinion leading to a thought should not be subject to a majority consensus. However, if the opinion were to lead to an action, then majority's opinion would be followed. As if to say for instance: Shall we raise this issue in the mosques or by distributing leaflets? Or for instance: Shall we distribute this leaflet all over the country or just in the strategic cities in order to concentrate our efforts in specific places, so that the dose could be bigger and more effective? Or anything similar in an opinion that leads to an activity.

D- The Wilayah Committees would undertake the execution of the plan to enter society by proceeding according to the adopted style and the following details:

1- The Wilayah Committees would undertake to execute all that reaches it from the Leadership Committee, whether this were general for the party or specific to the Wilayah alone, or to a specific country or area.

2- To undertake to print and publish all that which is sent to it from the Leadership Committee in terms of communiqués, leaflets, memoranda etc., whether this were general, concerning the party as a whole, or specific to the Wilayah's area. This could be sent and put in its final version, in which case, it should be published as it is without any Ijtihad in the wording and the meaning. It could also be a host of specific points, or a project of a communiqué or a leaflet, in which case, the Wilayah Committee would accordingly draft it as a communiqué or as a leaflet or as a memorandum, and put it in its final version as it deems fit; it would print it and publish it with the name and signature of the party. It could also be a specific interest which the Leadership Committee has given permission for the Wilayah to adopt, in which case, the Wilayah Committee would draft the leaflet and prepare the plan of contacts, or the "Whispering Campaigns", it would print and publish as it deems appropriate, this is done with the name of the party and its signature. All these leaflets would take the aspect of executive activities, in terms of laying down the idea and deciding the interest, i.e. the final decision on the version.

As for the printing, the distribution, the style and similar matters, these would take the aspect of administrative actions, whether these were issued in the first place by the Leadership Committee, or were a reply to a proposal put forward by the Wilayah Committee.

3- Every Wilayah Committee would immediately, using its own initiative and with no prior permission from the Leadership Committee, take on society, i.e. take on people's relationships and challenge the established relationships between the authority and the Ummah concerning people's interests, implementing therefore the leaflet of "Political Motivation" and the leaflet of "The Departure Point". The Wilayah Committee should establish the productive styles, hence it would on this basis execute the following:

a- To publish leaflets, and these would be prepared entirely by the Wilayah Committee itself, in terms of the idea, the writing, the printing and the distribution, in the style that it deems most appropriate, without having to report to the Leadership Committee. However, these leaflets would not bear the name of the party, they would only bear the date at the bottom, as was the case in the leaflets of "The Weekly Comment" and "The Islamic Rule", however, it is a must for these leaflets to reflect clearly the party's image, through its expressions, sentences and meanings, and to tell people that these are from the party. A copy of each leaflets should be sent to the Leadership.

b- To carry out deliberate visits and campaigns of contacts.

c- To undertake "Whispering Campaigns" whose style must be planned.

d- To publish a local magazine or journals on condition that these remain journalistic and not party magazines or journals.

4- The progress as a whole should be according to what the party had adopted in terms of rules, thoughts and political opinions, and great care should be given to precision in the ramification, with profound research during the ramification. The Leadership would correct all the mistakes which occur at the Wilayah's' level during the ramification process. Everything published by the Wilayah Committee in terms of leaflets and magazines should be, sent as they are published, to the Leadership, a written letter should be sent to the Leadership every fortnight and a messenger from each Wilayah should be sent to the Leadership once every two months, this in order to preserve the unity in the progress, the precision and the soundness.

5- During this period the Wilayah Committee should in all its actions endeavour at achieving the party concentration and strengthen the link with the Ummah; two matter would ramify out of this: One related to the party and the second related to the relationship of the party with the Ummah. As

for the party body, The Wilayah Committee would be more concerned with the deep culturing of the individuals rather than the recruitment, in order to acquire the solidity and the ability to work. “Therefore, as of today, there will be no place in the party for the honorary members or the supportive members. Every member should either give a Halaqah or take a Halaqah. He should attend the monthly Halaqah and execute all that which he has been ordered in terms of party activities. One should not feel sorry for those ignored by the party, for in fact they had neglected themselves. Otherwise, how could they fall asleep once they had been awoken while in the front-line and in the middle of the battle?”

As for the relationship of the party with the Ummah, we ought to be anxious not to estrange her; hence the opinion that is different to hers should be given to her frankly and boldly, however it should not be given to her in the style that she would deem it to be a declaration of war; the opinion should rather be given to her in its natural and real state, i.e. that it is in order to rescue her, revive her and elevate her standing.

6- The Wilayah Committee should aspire towards fully understanding and implementing the principle adopted by the party which is: “The competence is individual and the activity is collective.” Hence it would be imperative when it comes to executing an activity to assign the competence and the responsibility to one person. This is so because if the activity were assigned to a group, the responsibility would be divided according to the division of the competence, hence the door of neglect would be opened. The task should be executed with all the forces available taking part, because the force would be in the group, not the individual. It would be the Wilayah Committee operating as whole, however, the executive directly only. He could seek the assistance of whoever he needs from the Wilayah Committee, or responsible for what has been put into practice by the Committee would be the Mu’tamad the Local Committee or the Members. Accordingly, the Mu’tamad should remain in the capital; he should not leave unless this were necessary or for a Da’awah related matter.

The members of the Wilayah Committee should carry out the necessary and the scheduled visits to the various areas.

This is the strategy of entering society, and this is the style of executing it. It should be made absolutely clear during the progress that the society we aim at accessing is a non Islamic society, and that the thoughts which grip this society are thoughts of Kufr. Hence the access should be that of Islam against Kufr. Since Kufr controlled society, those in charge of it, rulers and politicians alike, and their associates are fighting against the access of Islam into society, and their use for this purpose several methods. Therefore, no Islamic movement has entered society since the demise of the Islamic state’s authority, they have rather all remained outside society, and society remained devoid of Islam, and Hizb-ut-Tahrir is the first Islamic Movement since the demise of the Islamic authority that is willing seriously to enter society. Its access to society would be a victory to Islam over Kufr. It would not be easy for the colonialist Kafir, nor would it be easy for the rulers and the politicians to witness Islam entering society after they have expelled it from it. Therefore, they would place the bolts and latches behind society’s door in order to prevent the party’s entry. Once the party succeeds in breaking the bolts and latches and in opening society’s door, they would inevitably work towards generating fluidity within society, lest it became once more an Islamic society and in order to facilitate their task of excluding Islam from society. Hence, we must be fully aware of this, during and after the attempt at accessing society, and fully determined to demolish all the bolts and latches, and to prevent fluidity from conquering society. The bolts and latches would be the basic criteria of politics and legislation. When these criteria controls the masses and when the public opinion is on their favour, they reject the thoughts which contradict them, hence any attempt at accessing society would become impossible as long as these criteria continue to judge these thoughts as being true or false, and sound or corrupt. Hence, society would remain shut in the face of the Islamic thoughts with the help of these bolts and latches, and the access to society would not

be possible except through these concepts, criteria and convictions alone. Hence, if diplomacy were simulated, and if these concepts, criteria and convictions were used as a means to introduce the Islamic thoughts, it would then be impossible for Islam to enter society; it would rather distance Islam from society. The individual would hence enter society on his own, carrying the non Islamic criteria, and would concentrate the current society and distance Islam from it. Therefore, it would be imperative to demolish these criteria in a doctrinal manner until they are demolished, then the door of society would be open, and the struggle between the thoughts of Islam and the thoughts of Kufr would take place. Hence, the first step towards accessing society would be to demolish these criteria first and foremost, especially the basic criteria. An example of these bolts and latches would be the thoughts of “Arab nationalism”, “Positive neutrality”, “Patriotism”, “Socialism”, “Democracy”, “Leadership”, “The flexibility of Islam”, “Benefiting from what other nations have in terms of legislation”, “Politics is other than religion” and other criteria similar to these, which are considered to be basics with which the partial thoughts are measured and upon which they are built; hence they must be demolished and their falsehood must be exposed by way of fierce attacks in order to facilitate the access to society.

This is as far as opening the door is concerned, as for the entry itself, only Islam should be allowed to enter, a pure Islam that is flawless, for the Kuffar, the rulers and the politicians would attempt to introduce non Islamic thoughts to society under the name of Islam, in order to generate fluidity in society towards Islam itself. Therefore, Muslims should be fully aware about this issue, so they should attack any thought that contradicts Islam the same way any thought of Kufr would be fought for being a flagrant Kufr.

However, this attack should be aimed at the political or the legislative thoughts, i.e. on the thoughts related to the relationships in society which are subject of study by the state, the attack must take place when these thoughts are proposed or when they are ratified. An example of this is the “Prohibition of polygamy”, the “Legitimising of co-operatives”, the “Participation in governments”, the “Affinity between the rulers of the states currently established in the Islamic world about the preserving of the status quo of each ruler”, the “Islamic League”, the “Raising of the living standards” the “Introduction of foreign capitals to the country” and the like. All these thoughts are non Islamic, and they enter society on the basis that they are Islamic, or on the basis that they do not contradict Islam. These thoughts must be attacked and fought, and they must not be allowed to enter society, lest it caused fluidity in it. As for the Islamic thoughts which contradict what the party has adopted, these would not be attacked, but the error in the understanding would be explained, and they should be declared as being Islamic opinions but carrying a weak evidence. For instance, there are some Mujtahideen who prohibit the Khalifah from being other than Qurayshi, or from “Aal Al-Bayt” (the Messenger’s (SAW) family), while others regard it as prohibited for the woman to be a judge, some of them deem it permitted to hoard gold and silver once their Zakat had been paid, others also deem it permitted to lease farming land and the likes. These opinions are Islamic and they would not be prevented from entering society for they would not cause fluidity in society, simply because they are Islam, just like the opinions adopted by the party, and they are based on an evidence or a doubtful evidence. It would be sufficient to merely explain the error of these Islamic opinions.

However, the party would absolutely not carry in his magazines, leaflets and debates any opinions which contradict those which it had adopted. However, it would be permitted to publish opinions which the party had not adopted before as examples of the Fiqhi or the legislative understanding, without making any reference to their source, but by simply mentioning their evidences. This is as far as the opinions which the party publishes. However, if an Islamic opinion were published by other than the party, and this opinion contradicted the party’s opinion, this opinion would merely be discussed if this were necessary, otherwise the party would ignore it. By undertaking all these measures, the party would prevent the threat of fluidity from creeping into society. The battle between Islam and Kufr would continue until Kufr is vanquished and Islam becomes victorious.