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Hizb ut-Tahrir

The way the Party proceeds naturally in the interactive stage until it moves towards the stage of rule naturally and inevitably.

The interactive stage is the second stage of the party. It is the stage during which the party moves directly towards the rule. Hence the progress in this stage must be directly targeted at the rule and the actions undertaken during this stage must lead to the seizure of power. Interaction is the interpenetrative friction that occurs between two substances, just like the interaction of chemicals. Interaction during the second stage of the party would be to make the Ummah understand the party's ideology so that it becomes her ideology. Hence the explaining would be for a specific objective, that is to make the Ummah adopt the party's ideology as her own and its thoughts as her own thoughts, by making the interaction between the party and the Ummah an inevitable matter.

This is so because the Ummah would inevitably, when given the thoughts of the party so that they become her thoughts, voice her opinion about these thoughts, either in support or in opposition to these thoughts, and in both cases, interaction takes place.

Once interaction takes place and continues between the Ummah and the party in an individual and in a public manner, this would cause a severe friction between the thoughts of Kufr and the thoughts of Islam. The battle would reach its peak, until the ease occurs, and the Ummah would start gathering around the thoughts of the party and around the party itself; the party's thoughts would become hers and she would proceed under its leadership. This would inevitably and naturally lead the party to take the authority and seize the reins of power. This is so because the authority lies in the Ummah, or in the strongest faction in society. So if the Ummah or the strongest faction in society were conquered, then the authority would be taken in an inevitable and natural way. As for how the authority lies in the Ummah or in the strongest faction, this is because the authority means looking after people's interests. People's viewpoint about actions and things as being interests or not being so differs according to the difference in their viewpoint about life. Hence, according to this viewpoint, their viewpoint about the interests is formed, and according to its change their viewpoint about the interests changes. Therefore, if people were in agreement in their viewpoint about the interests, in a country such as Iraq for instance, the authority would lie in the Ummah; and if there were no foreign power, stronger than her, intellectually and militarily, dominating her, she would in such a country establish someone to run her affairs, i.e. she would establish the authority that manages her interests, or she would keep silent about those who appointed themselves to manage her interests. Therefore, interaction with the Ummah would lead in this case to the seizure of power. However, if people were in disagreement in their viewpoint towards the interests, in a country such as Cyprus for instance, they would then become several factions. In this case, the authority would lie in the strongest faction from among these factions, and if there were no foreign power, stronger than the strongest faction in society, this strongest faction would establish someone to resume the running of the whole country's affairs, i.e. it would establish the authority that manages its interests and the interests of all the other factions according to its own interests. Hence, interaction with this strongest faction alone would lead to the seizure of power. Hence the viewpoint about life is the basis in the viewpoint towards the interests and the basis in the seizure of power. This viewpoint about life is represented in the host of concepts, criteria and convictions, for they resulted from the embracing of an idea, whether this idea were comprehensive or partial. Hence, if this host of thoughts became concepts, they would affect people's behaviour. People's behaviour would be made to proceed in accordance with these concepts, and their viewpoint about life would change according to the change in these concepts. This is how their viewpoint about the interests is shaped according to their viewpoint about life, and this is how their viewpoint towards the interests changes according to the

change of these concepts. This is why the way to establish the state and to transfer the authority is through changing the specific host of thoughts about life and generating other thoughts; in other words changing the host of the concepts, criteria and convictions which the Ummah holds, and generating for her new concepts, criteria and convictions. Therefore, the state would be established and the authority would be transferred, for the specific thoughts about life, which are represented by the host of concepts, criteria and convictions, are the basis in the transfer of power, and the Ummah's embracing of this group of concepts, criteria and convictions, even in a general way, is what establishes the state or transfers the power in it. Consequently, the interactive stage would lead the party to the stage of rule, i.e. to the seizure of power in an inevitable and natural way. Therefore the party proceeds during the interactive stage with the clear-cut decisive belief and with the evidence that this stage would lead to the rule in a natural and inevitable way. The question that comes to mind now is if this stage would conclusively lead to the rule in a natural and inevitable way, could the activities which the party has been performing up until now be described as activities of the interactive stage? Would they effectively lead to the rule? In other words, is the party proceeding in this stage in a natural way which would move it towards seizing power in an inevitable and natural manner or not?

The answer to this is that the activities performed by the party up until now in this stage, which is the interactive stage, are incomplete and do not cover all the activities of interaction, hence they would not be sufficient to lead to the rule. As for the interaction itself, the actions performed by the party are confined to explaining to the Ummah the ideology of the party and to addressing her with words only so that she adopts it as her own ideology, without generating alongside these activities other activities which would achieve the objective for which this explaining took place.

Interaction is not merely explaining to the Ummah the party's ideology, it is explaining to her the party's ideology so that it becomes her ideology. It is mentioned in the Book of "Al-Takattul Al-Hizbi": The aim of the interaction is to explain to the Ummah the ideology of the party so that it becomes her ideology. Hence the objective of the explaining is for the party's ideology to be the Ummah ideology. Hence it is imperative to undertake the actions which would achieve this objective. These actions are the attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah, or listed under the attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah. Hence, it is imperative to undertake this attempt in order to realise whether she has adopted the party's ideology as her own or not. So if the party were successful in this attempt, then this success would indicate that the Ummah has indeed adopted the party's ideology as her own. Then the party should endeavour bravely and with perseverance to undertake this attempt with all the actions involved and with several and various styles until it succeeds. Hence, it becomes clear that if the party were not attempting to take the leadership of the Ummah, it would not be performing all the activities of interactions; hence it should perform all of the actions involved so that its progress in this stage becomes natural and leading to the third stage, i.e. the stage of rule, in an inevitable and natural manner.

This is as far as the nature of the interactive stage is concerned. As for the reaching of rule, i.e. the seizure of power, the party would only attack the rulers, the Kuffar and the colonialists by way of adopting and exposing, without generating alongside these actions what would remove the support that supports the authority, and what would weaken the means which assist in the supporting of the authority. The party would only attack the rulers and the westerners through the adopting and the exposing alone. Although this would affect the natural support and shake its confidence, and although it would affect the unnatural support and weakens its support, the party would not however aim at removing the support that supports the authority, whether this were natural support or unnatural support. Furthermore, the party would never challenge the means which assist in supporting the authority in order to weaken them.

Therefore, the activities undertaken up until now by the party are insufficient and would not lead to the seizure of power. These actions are the attempt at taking the Ummah's leadership, or listed under

the taking of the Ummah's leadership. This is so because the authority is represented in three sections: The one who discharges the authority, i.e. the ruler, those who support the authority naturally or unnaturally, and the means which assist in supporting the authority. In order to reach the rule, it would be imperative to recognise the support of the authority, and to establish whether it is natural or unnatural. This cognisance of the authority's support must be realistic rather than logical, i.e. a knowledge carried out through sensory perception rather than deduction. The means which assist in supporting the authority should also be recognised. Once this realistic cognisance is achieved, the actions of the one who discharges the authority would be attacked with the concepts, criteria and convictions which the party had adopted, by applying them to current events or to events that are subject of study. It should be noted that when the attack takes place, this should be done fiercely and in a manner that would subject the established authority to what bruises its ribs, and strip it of its reverence, 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 rules of Shari'ah, the authority of Islam, the banner of Islam and the return or the Imamah of the believers or the Khilafah of the Muslims. It should also be noted that this would be an attack on a Kufr rule and a non Islamic authority. Therefore, the Muslims should be harsh with it, and if this Kufr rule were implemented by the agents of the Kuffar, the attack should then be fiercer. This is why the harshness and the ferocity should be manifested in the attack. This attack on those who discharge the authority should be undertaken by the Ummah, because she is the natural support and because the authority belongs to her, and also because the authority lies in the Ummah. During the attack, the support that supports the authority should be identified, i.e. is it a natural support or an unnatural support? This identification should be realistic rather than logical. The work towards removing this support via the incitement of resentment among the Ummah will have started alongside this attack. Therefore, if the support were the Ummah, then the support would be natural and the authority would be autonomous and derived from its proper source. In this case, the work of the party would be to take the Ummah from the ruler and to weaken her support of the ruler, or even weaken her links with him, and also to make her gather around the party and its thoughts. This necessitates generating a public opinion based on a general awareness about the party's thoughts and about the party itself, so that the masses become ready to struggle in the way of the party's thoughts and in the way of the party on the long term, and so that those who oppose the party's thoughts would no longer dare to openly declare their opposition, and if they did, they would be resisted by the masses and alienated from among the masses. It also necessitates placing those who represent the forces which influence society, such as the intellectuals, the wealthy and the groups leaders, in a position that strips them off their ability to stand in the face of the party, that is if it were not possible to turn them into party supporters. It also necessitates winning over strong personalities with influence in society, to become members or Dariseen, alongside those party grown personalities, acquired through the struggle and the emergence of their competence to the people. All this must be accompanied by the participation of the Ummah in the attack on those who hold the reins of power. Therefore, the party will have worked towards removing the natural support that supports the authority, if this authority were supported by a natural support.

However, if the authority were supported by an unnatural support, i.e. by a foreign power, this support would then be taken as a target and the authority enjoying that support would also be targeted. The Ummah would also be incited against this support and against the supported authority. The struggle between the Ummah and the foreigner (westerner) would take place alongside the struggle between her and the ruler. Consequently, this unnatural support would be removed, for it would be sufficient to expose it to the Ummah and to urge her to take it as an enemy in order to have it removed. As for the natural support, this would be different, for not only does it need to be removed from the rule, the party would in this case need to win it over as well. Once the support that supports the authority has been removed, this authority would undoubtedly fall. However, while working towards removing the support, work should also be aimed at weakening the means which

help at supporting the authority, such as the army, parliament, the various security services and the judiciary. Their weakening does not necessarily mean attacking them, but rather weakening their influence in helping the authority, by making them disaffected with injustice, falsehood and the rule of Kufr which the authority perpetrates, and by exposing to the Ummah those from amongst them who persist on being hypocrites and attacking them as well, just like the attacking of the ruler.

This is the method to reach the rule, so it would be sufficient for the party to attack the rulers and incite the Ummah against their actions, alongside the spreading of its thoughts; it should attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah against the authority and against the thoughts upon which it had been established. This is why it would be imperative to take the leadership of the Ummah alongside the other actions which it is performing up until now. The party has perceived this fact with a sensory perception when it issued the leaflet of "The Access to Society", in which it explained the method to enter society, how the state is established and how the authority is transferred. It has also issued an "Answer to Question" under the title of "Where does the authority lie and could it be reached?" It has become axiomatic to the party that the interactive stage would be immediately followed by the stage of rule, and that the move from the interactive stage to the stage of rule should be inevitable and achieved in a natural manner, exactly like what happened during the move from the cultural stage to the "Departure Point" or the "Attempt to Address", and exactly like what happened during the move from the "Attempt of Address" to the interactive stage. Therefore, the party deemed that the challenging of relationships in a repetitive manner should be accompanied by the taking of the Ummah's leadership. Therefore, as soon as the party entered the interactive stage, it issued a Circular dated 28th Shawwal 1379h, corresponding to 23rd April 1961, in which it explained that it had reached the stage of interaction and that in this stage it would be inevitable for it to attempt to take the leadership of the Ummah alongside the challenging of relationships, and if it did not attempt to take the leadership of the people, it would freeze and collapse even if all its apparatuses performed their duties and even if all its Shabab as a whole, without any exceptions, did so as well. It has been a year since this Circular was published and since the party embarked on the interactive stage and an attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah is yet to be made. The party had thought about making this attempt but it failed in generating it practically save for the seeking of few people's help in distributing leaflets. The party remained as it was during the attempt of address, performing only the activities which it had been performing at that point, i.e. the "Departure Point", without adding to them any other actions. Consequently, people did not feel that the party has changed its course of action and that it is now in a new position; even many of its Shabab failed to feel that the party had entered the interactive stage. Many of the Shabab had heard that the party entered the interactive stage and they just took it for granted, without perceiving this transfer through a sensory perception. They are not to blame for this because the progress of the party was not altered and the actions did not change, nor did the styles and means; unlike the progress in the "Departure Point", for when the party started in it, people felt the party's shift from the cultural stage to the "Departure Point", because the party was no longer confined to performing the activities of the cultural stage, but rather continued to perform them and then added to them other tangible and sensed actions; it had also adopted a host of new styles and means. In the cultural stage, the party used to perform both the concentrated culture and the collective culture and some of the means it used were the mosques, the magazines and the leaflets with their various types, as well as the memoranda. As for the styles, the party used the spontaneous contacts, the arranged contacts, the visits and the delegations. Therefore, people had felt the party's move and its progress in a new setting. However, in the interactive stage people failed to feel anything because nothing new happened. Hence, as long as the party does not perform what is required in terms of new activities in the interactive stage, which are reflected in the attempt at taking the leadership, it would not be possible for people to sense its presence in a new position, i.e. in the interactive stage. The party could not even proceed in the interactive stage in a manner that would lead it to the objective which it had in the first place targeted prior to the start of the stage. Stagnation and collapse would occur.

It is true that people have sensed that since the party entered the interactive stage, there was an increase in the party's activities, and their perception of the party's courage and struggle increased. The party's personality become noticeably more developed and moved from strength to strength in a tangible manner. However, all this was not the result of its success in the interactive stage, but rather the result of the repetitive challenge of relationships, i.e. the result of its knocking on society's door. This is so because before entering the interactive stage, the party had embarked on knocking the door of society, i.e. it had started challenging the relationships, especially the local relationships. It seemed then that due to people's rigidity towards the party and due to the emotional wave which was engulfing the region, the party would not be able to continue to challenge the relationships. However, the cease of the foreign currents and the attempt of the collaborators at concentrating their domestic matters as well as the emotional ebb that took place after that strong rise, all this helped the party to continue its repeated challenge of the relationships and its publication of political leaflets and its voicing of political opinions. The party had been able to carry out the work as necessary and with relative ease; this moved him quickly from starting to knock society's door to knocking the door repeatedly, regardless of the type of relationship it was challenging and regardless of whether the party was able to challenge it or not. The party was in a position to challenge any relationship as and when it occurred regardless of the circumstances. Hence, this challenge of the relationships continued after the party had entered the interactive stage, and as a result of its repetition and continuity the party duly reflected the image of being productive and active. However, this does not reflect nor indicate the success in the interactive progress. To be confined to such activities would be a failure rather than a success. Therefore, when the party felt that it could not attempt at taking the leadership of the people, it paused and began thinking about this from a practical angle. Hence it became clear that this was due to the lack of personal contact. Hence the party embarked on generating personal contact and adopted several styles for this purpose. The party has effectively managed to motivate this personal contact, however this was not self-motivated, but only when the Shabab were prompted , and when the prompting stopped, the personal contact also stopped. Despite the repeated prompting, with the use of several styles, the motivation was not established and the Shabab were still in need of repeated prompting. At that stage, the party opted to review its move into the interactive stage; in other words, did the party move into the interactive stage naturally or did it move into it prematurely? The signs which served as an indication that the party had reached the interactive stage were reviewed, then it was concluded that these signs did effectively occur and that they were known and sensed by all the Shabab of the party and by the people. The Shabab's aspiration towards the rule was sensed, and people's viewpoint towards those whom they liked from amongst the rulers was noticed, also their incitement of the party against those whom they hated was also noticed. It was these signs which forced the party to move towards the interactive stage, and their presence meant that the party's move into the interactive stage was natural. Then the party studied itself in the light of what had been mentioned in "Al-Takattul Al-Hizbi" and it became clear to it that it had fulfilled all the conditions of entering society. The necessary qualities that the party would have required in order to move naturally into the interactive stage were there, for the party had succeeded in the cultural stage in a spectacular way, and this success became known to people. People realised that there was a Da'awah and all the Shabab who are currently working in the interactive stage are known to be carrying a Da'awah. The collective spirit amongst the Shabab was developed during the cultural formation in the Halaqas, and during their contact with society. The Shabab's collective inclinations have also become remarkably strong, and all the Shabab have matured culturally, meaning that they have understood all the topics they had studied in the Halaqas, in a way that enabled them to enter into a discussion naturally and normally. Their mentality and their disposition became Islamic, although there were some behavioural lapses. If these characteristics were found in the party , then they would serve as evidence that the party has naturally moved into the interactive stage. Therefore, the fact that the party were unable to gain the leadership of the Ummah, this was not down to its move into the interactive stage prematurely, because it moved into it naturally and inevitably; it was surely down to the lack of personal contact. Hence, it was felt that

there was a need for means and styles in order to generate personal contact in a constant and continuous manner, without the need for prompting at each contact. The failure in taking the Ummah's leadership has failed because of the weakness of personal contact. If it became strong, it would be possible to attempt to take the Ummah's leadership. Hence, it would be imperative to concentrate the efforts on this in a manner that would dominate every activity, every means and every style. Therefore, a new style has been introduced with the aim of generating personal contact in a constant manner and with self motivation: The Mas'uls would each week give the Shabab some vivid, covering a specific topic, these thoughts must be vivid, i.e. thoughts that have a reality to be applied to. These thoughts must be explained to the Shabab in a concentrated and realistic manner. These thoughts would be discussed with the Shabab, then they would be asked each week to give to people these vivid which would have a reality to apply them upon. This would establish a regular source of thoughts, hence personal contact would be established spontaneously and with self-motivation, and also in a regular and continuous manner. However, success in personal contact, by the attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah, as well as success in the attempt at taking the Ummah's leadership, by taking her leadership, would necessitate five matters:

1- To focus on certain thoughts with the aim of highlighting them and passing them on to people in a defined and crystallised manner. This is so because although the party's work is to explain Islam to people, it has however adopted a host of specific thoughts, rules and opinions, and has called for them as it has been calling to Islam. It has been explaining this host of thoughts, rules and opinions to the Ummah so that she adopts them as her own. Hence the party has determined its Da'awah to Islam by a host of specific thoughts, rules and opinions. It proceeded in this course of action throughout its various steps. In the interactive stage however, the party aims at attempting to take the leadership of the Ummah through personal contact, in order to resume the leadership of the Ummah effectively. Therefore, it would be imperative for the party to determine a host of specific thoughts, rules and opinions and make them predominant over all the other thoughts, rules and opinions, and the pivot around which all thoughts, rules and opinions revolve. For instance, the party has adopted a host of basic thoughts about life and it works towards establishing them and destroying all that contradicts them, in a way that would remove all the extrinsic and symptomatic thoughts during the process of concentrating these basic thoughts. While continuing to spread and call for these adopted thoughts, the party would select the most important from amongst them and the most applicable to the current events, while stressing the need to concentrate them more than the other thoughts. It would stress for instance that the Aqeedah of separating the Deen from life is a Aqeedah of Kufr, that happiness means the constant peace of mind under all circumstances and in various conditions. The party would also address the issue of "prettiness and ugliness" and the like, by basing all this on the Islamic Aqeedah and by linking it to the establishment of the Khilafah and the carrying of the Da'awah to the world by way of Jihad. The party has also for instance adopted a host of rules related to government, economy, the social system and education. While continuing to spread and call for these rules, the party would select the most important amongst them and the most applicable to current events, while stressing on the need to concentrate these rules more than the others, such as for instance the Baya'ah of the Khalifah, foreign trade, the fact that the woman can vote and can be elected and so on, by basing all of this on the Islamic Aqeedah and by linking it to the establishment of the Khilafah and the carrying of the Da'awah to the world by way of Jihad. The party has also adopted certain rules in Jihad and explained that it is a method of carrying the Da'awah to the world. Hence, it would be imperative to focus on these rules and by doing so the party will have determined the thoughts with which it performs personal contact and will have concentrated them upon the Aqeedah, the establishment of the Khilafah and Jihad. Hence its contact would serve as an indicator about its success in the attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah and then taking it effectively.

2- People should be exhorted to act upon these thoughts, because in addition to the fact that the mere propagation of the thoughts does not affect people, nor does it generate any revival or any

intellectual revolution, it would also be insufficient to make the Ummah give her leadership to those who spread the thoughts. The best example would be the huge army of authors, writers, scholars and editors who spread the thoughts all over the place without finding anyone to give them leadership on the basis of these published thoughts. Therefore, in order for people to be led by the party, these thoughts must reach them with the intention to affect them. The Da'awah carrier must enable the people he debates with to touch the reality of these thoughts and to place the finger on that reality; he must also exhort people to work towards establishing these thoughts as a public opinion among people and establishing them in the relationships and in the state. However, the passing of these thoughts must be coupled with the exhortation of people to work towards establishing them. This exhortation must be done in an influential manner, so that the thinking about these thoughts becomes attractive to people whilst they work towards establishing them and so that they find themselves, when they wish to work for these thoughts, in a position where the party should lead them. This exhortation must be constant and not casual, or only whenever it springs to mind.

3- To determine what the party aims to lead people to. For the leadership of any person or any party would either be in the partialities, though within the general objective, i.e. the achievement of a partial demand of the Ummah such as the building of a road for instance, or in order to achieve the original demand, which is to establish the rule. However, the party does not lead the Ummah in order to achieve the partial demands. It would rather utilise the partial demands as a method to achieve the leadership of the Ummah by inciting the resentment among her and by driving her towards demanding the implementation of Islam. However, it would not lead her towards achieving partialities and would not even express its satisfaction when partialities are achieved and the radical and comprehensive implementation of Islam is abandoned. The party leadership of the Ummah would be to demand the implementation of Islam and the establishment of the Islamic Khilafah. Therefore, it would be of paramount importance for the party to determine its leadership of the Ummah, which is to establish the Khilafah. This determination must be evident and sensational. Hence, the attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah must be confined to the establishment of the Khilafah, whilst continuing to adopt the partial interests and to notice the difference between the adoption and the leadership of the Ummah, and whilst maintaining the perception of what it aims at leading the Ummah to, i.e. the establishment of the Khilafah.

4- A great deal of care and attention should be devoted to turning the Shabab into strong individuals, because the party would seize power with its strength, its personality, the strength of its members and with the public opinion emanating from the general awareness it would enjoy in society and among the masses. In other words, the party would reach the rule and would establish itself when it becomes a political force with wide influence, precise organisation and based on a greater platform from the Ummah's masses and the general public. This necessitates from its Shabab to be strong. Their strength would play a major part in strengthening the party's personality, for in addition to the activities it undertakes and its dynamic thoughts it spreads, people would be able to sense for themselves the strength of its personality through the strength of its Shabab. Undoubtedly, the supplication of the Messenger of Allah (saw) to Allah (swt) to support Islam with either of the two Omars (Omar Ibnul Khattab or Omar Ibnul Hakam, alias Abu Jahal) was in order to strengthen the personality of the Da'awah in people's hearts. Therefore, an effective attention should be given to making the Shabab strong in society. As for how this would happen, this is clear from the reality of life. A person would become strong as a result of actions he performs, which would generate strength for him in the eyes of other people; he could either perform actions in the Da'awah which could generate strength, or he could have performed actions before the Da'awah, related to serving Islam, or science or solving people's problems and the like. Therefore, in order to make the Shabab strong, two ways should be followed:

1- All the Shabab should get involved in personal contact in a powerful and influencing manner in order to become influential personalities. However, this should not be done through artificial moves

or deliberate actions, this should be rather through the sincerity of their manner of speaking, the clarity of their thoughts, the frankness of their statements and the embodiment of the high values in their conducts. This would undoubtedly lead to the prominence of some strong individuals from among them, who would impose themselves on the Ummah and she would in turn regard them as leaders to her. The Ummah would even regard them as the only leaders. She would prefer them to the established so-called Ulama (scholars) in the understanding of Islam and its taking from them; she would also prefer them to the politicians in the understanding of politics from them, and to the chiefs in their obedience to them and handing over to them the running of their affairs. This would generate strong personalities in the party.

2- The party should attempt to win over some strong personalities to study in the Da'awah and become members of the party if they manage to impose themselves upon the party. This should not however be at the expense of the Da'awah, by concentrating the Da'awah on them and paying all the attention to them. Some attention would be given during the Da'awah to those who have a strong and influential personality, either intellectually, politically or economically, or as far as solving people's problems is concerned or anything similar. Persons like these require diligence, perseverance and patience. However, what must be avoided with them is flattery and leniency. They would be treated in the Da'awah just like any other person. So they would be addressed with "Hikmah", i.e. the rational proof rather than leniency if they wish to understand Islam in an rational way. They could alternately be addressed through "the good advice", i.e. the beautiful reminder, if their circumstances did not allow them to give attention to the thoughts and the study. Or they could be addressed with the powerful and influential discussions if they were from among those who carry thoughts which are contradictory to what the party had adopted in terms of the method, or in terms of thoughts. We should first endeavour to win them over to the thoughts which the party has adopted, then afterwards try and win them over to the party's body. We must not seek to gain new persons to the party at first, we must rather clearly perceive that in essence, we must win them over to the thoughts

5- The purpose of all the activities related to personal contact should be to establish in society a greater platform from among the Ummah's masses and the general public for the party. This is what is referred to by some people as the "Popular Platform". This is because the Ummah is the natural support of the authority and it is the effective means for the removal of the unnatural support which support the authority. The Ummah is the influential tool that weakens the means which assist in the support of the authority. Therefore, the practical way to seize power in a natural manner would be through the establishment of a greater platform from among the Ummah's masses and the general public, which would act as the direct tool in the seizure of power and the impregnable fortress that protects it and raises its standing. This is why an outstanding effort should be exhausted in order to establish it, and why every Shab should illustrate during the performing of his party activities, especially personal contact, the importance of establishing this platform. Hence, he would embark upon laying the bricks to build it, at least one brick during each activity, so that the building of this platform is performed speedily and with care, attention, awareness and consistency. However, it must be made absolutely clear that the purpose of building the greater platform from among the Ummah's masses and the general public, would not be merely to generate a public opinion for the party and its thoughts, and to attract the masses to support the party and proceed behind it, hence the party and its Shabab would rush into this task by arousing people's emotions and illustrating the Ummah's demands as being close to being achieved and yielding favourable results and worldly gains. The purpose should rather be to generate a greater platform ready to shoulder the heavy burden to be loaded upon it, by way of facing the dangers and fighting the elements on a long term basis and uninterrupted stamina. Hence, we ought to rely on generating the general awareness ahead of generating the public opinion, and to rely on the thought before relying on the emotions, and on

generating the realistic perception, and to distance ourselves from the theoretical assumptions and fantasies.

The party would establish the state through this platform. It would also face the war of intervention with this platform. It would also carry the Da'awah as a state to the world. It would confront other states on the international scene and among the international community with this platform. Therefore, the whole of the Ummah, or its majority should, form the platform, and the public opinion among her should be based on the general awareness and established entirely on rational belief and conclusive trust with evidence. The support of the masses should reach a level whereby people would be ready to seek martyrdom with consent, peace of mind and a yearning for the Gardens of Bliss and the pleasure of Allahs(wt).

The party does not want the Ummah to give the party her votes in the elections. It rather wants her to perform Jihad against the Kuffar, so that the word of Allah reigns supreme. There is a difference between the objective of seeking votes in order to succeed in seizing power, and the objective of those who wish to perform Jihad in the way of Allah and engage in the decisive battles to hoist the banner of Islam highest. If it were appropriate to give an example of what is less, just like Allah (swt) gave the example of the lantern and the cresset as being less than His Light, then what happened in Syria to Abd An-Nasir, when he thought that he had a popular platform in there, and what happened in Turkey to the democratic party after it had been ousted from power and when people stood by the party's orientation, could serve as an example that highlights the difference between a platform from among the Ummah's masses and the general public that is built on emotions and on portraying the demands as close to being fulfilled, and a platform built on what the Ummah carries in terms of Aqa'id (doctrines) which are deeply rooted in the souls.

Abd An-Nasir had enjoyed a grandiose standing and popularity and he built a popular platform in which he relied upon a complex nominal system and he supported it with the Ummah; he nurtured everything with emotions and more emotions. He had thought that it would be able to sustain the strongest of shocks. Therefore, when the coup was staged against him in Syria, he rose in order to fight it with an emotional speech, and threatened those who staged the coup to march towards them from every corner. This was however like a pile of hay that soon became extinguished from the first blow. As for the democratic party in Turkey, despite the might of the military who staged the coup, it enjoyed a greater platform from the masses of the Ummah and the general public who stood behind it in the darkest of hours; had it not been for the lack of precise organisation, it would have been able to foil the coup staged against it from the very first day. Therefore, we find that this platform stood overwhelmingly behind the party at the deputies and the senate assemblies' elections, organised with the aim of appointing new rulers. Despite the authority's stand against the party and in favour of its opponents, the results of the elections were regarded as a coup against the coup. These results would have been sufficient to regain the authority had the heirs of the democratic party had the courage and had they perceived the meaning of struggle. This was so because Adnan Menderes and the democratic party had carried what the Ummah possessed in terms of deeply rooted Aqeedah, when they had adopted the respect of Islam, the restoration of its sensations, the encouraging of its culture and thoughts, and the rekindling of the hope to restore its state.

This difference could outline the dangers of the greater platform built solely on emotions and public opinion, and the importance of the greater platform that is taken through the deeply rooted thought in the souls. Therefore, it would be imperative to perceive the nature of this greater platform of the Ummah's masses and the general public which we aim at building for the party in order to perceive, through the perception of its essence, the way forward towards its establishment. However, it must be made absolutely clear that the establishment of the greater platform from among the Ummah's masses and the general public through the thought rather than the emotions does not mean that we have to neglect the emotions or not teach all people all the Islamic thoughts and rules. What is rather meant is that the basic thoughts should be given to people in a manner that would make them deeply

rooted in the souls, or they should be given the most important of thoughts in a way that would stimulate the thinking and make their roots penetrate deep in the souls. This would generate the continuous flow of emotions and the constant zeal. This is because what would generate the ideology and establish it within the individuals and the Ummah would be the basic thought; as for the partial thoughts and the rules which deal with actions, these would come as a result of the establishment and the deepening of the basic thoughts. Hence, the basis for which we should work would be the implanting of the seeds and their irrigation with what would protect them and develop them. In other words, the establishment of the Aqeedah with the most important of its thoughts, and then linking them to what brings them into the realm of life as an authority and what carries them to the world as a force. If the greater platform from among the Ummah's masses and the general public were built in this manner, with these thoughts and rules, it would undoubtedly be the greatest and mightiest of platforms.

These are the five matters which personal contact necessitates, so that it succeeds in the attempt at taking the Ummah's leadership, then consequently leading her. We gather from all this that personal contact with all its requirements is what should accompany the actions which the party performs in the interactive stage, in addition to the actions which it had been performing in the "Departure Point". These could be summarised in the following:

- 1- The crystallisation of the path that achieves the resumption of the Islamic way of life as being the Khilafah and to exhort the Ummah to act accordingly.
- 2- The crystallisation of the practical way in order to achieve this objective and in order to strengthen the party's personality, so that it acquires a wide influence, so that a public opinion emanating from a general awareness is established, so that it could rely on the greater platform from among the masses of the Ummah and the of the general public and so that personalities who carry a gravity in society are found within a view of becoming members and arise in the party.
- 3- Personal contact and its requirements should be given preference to the leaflets in all their types, as well as all the means and styles; all these actions would all be listed under the attempt at taking the leadership of the Ummah.

As for who generates this attempt, or in other words, who transfers what is written on paper in order to turn it into a reality that lives amongst people and in the relationship, it is undoubtedly the Islamic Da'awah carrier, that is if he really were a Da'awah carrier. It is he who turns the Kufr household into an Islamic household, and it is he who turns Kuffar into Muslims, and turns society from relationships conducted by the rules of Kufr, into an Islamic society over which the banner of Islam is hoisted high.

Since the dawn of Islam, the Da'awah carrier is the one whom the carrying of the Da'awah has spurred him into Jihad and martyrdom in the way of Allah. It is he who spread the guidance amongst people, demolished the fortresses, conquered the lands, paralysed the monarchies and deposed the thrones. Had it not been for the Da'awah carriers, that little group of Muslims would not have been able to conquer those wide areas of land and transform them from a kufr household into an Islamic household, and transform their people from Kuffar into Muslims. The Da'awah carrier set off on a business trip to countries in Africa, Indonesia, China and Japan, among others, and he traded in the Da'awah ahead of the material trade, guided millions of people to Islam, and gained the pleasure of Allah (swt) in addition to the financial gains. Hence, the Da'awah carrier today is like the Da'awah carrier of yesterday. He has the ability to restore Islam in the Muslims' countries and to carry it to the world. He has also the ability to undertake these designed activities and turn them into a reality that runs amongst people, not for anything, save for the fact that he is a Da'awah carrier and nothing else. The carrier of the Da'awah would only live according to its thoughts, would not have the desire to live but for its sake and would not feel satisfied unless he performed the duties of the Da'awah. He would not feel reassured until after he had performed it; no trade or sale would preoccupy him

from remembering it, just like it did not preoccupy him from remembering Allah (swt). If the one who carries a da'awah to other than Islam or pretends to carry it, takes as a role model the carrying of the Da'awah to Islam and says: "The Da'awah to a Aqeedah, any Aqeedah, is a constant activity: An activity of everyday, every hour and every instant. It would be insufficient for the Da'awah to succeed and for the Aqeedah to become a reality so that we become reassured and so that the role of the Da'awah carriers may end... Islam after the lapse of all these generations is still today in need of Da'awah carriers, intellectuals, philosophers and publicity means, in order to spread the Da'awah and protect it. In the times when the Da'awah carriers became slack, enjoying the prosperity they had achieved, at such times the enemies of Islam won and the Muslims retreated, not because of the lack of weapons, but because of the lack of the Iman and the shaking of their Aqeedah."

If such a person says this, the more appropriate for the Islamic Da'awah carrier to illustrate the Da'awah as being the activity of everyday , every hour and every instant. If the neglect of the Da'awah after its success has led to the victory of Kuffar and the defeat of the Muslims, how should be the attitude of the Da'awah carrier with the whole of the Islamic lands a Kufr household, with no single piece of land in the whole world being an Islamic household? The necessity to turn what is designed on paper into a reality that runs amongst people, and in order to turn a kufr household into an Islamic household, we only need to say to the Shabab, make sure you remain Da'awah carriers and the banner of victory is knotted over your heads inshallah.