

Taqi ud Deen an-Nabahani

التَكْتُلُ الحِزْبِي

Party Structuring

(Translation from Arabic)

From the Publications of
Hizb ut Tahrir

Taqi ud Deen An-Nabahani

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Party Structuring (At-Takattol al-Hizbi)

Since the Thirteenth Century Hijri (Nineteenth Century CE), numerous movements were established for revival (nahDah), yet, none of these attempts succeeded. However, these attempts left a significant impact on those who came to mount subsequent attempts. The reviewer of these movements, studying these attempts, concludes that the principle cause for all their failures, from the aspect of structuring (takattol), is due to the following four matters:

First: The movements were established upon a general, undefined Thought (Fikrah), which was either ambiguous or somewhat ambiguous. In addition, the Thought lacked crystallization (tablawr), purity (naqaa') and clarity (Safaa').

Second: The movements did not define a Method (Tareeqah) to implement their Thought (Fikrah). Instead, the Thought advanced through improvised and twisted means, in addition to ambiguity and vagueness clouding the Thought.

Third: The movements were dependent upon individuals within whom the correct awareness (wa'ee) was incomplete and the correct will (iraadah) was not concentrated. Instead, the individuals had ambition and enthusiasm alone.

Fourth: The individuals carrying the responsibility of these movements did not have a correct bond (raabTah) among themselves. They were merely bonded by virtue of being members in a structure that manifested itself within various actions and numerous titles.

Consequently, it was only natural for such structures to surge forwards, until their stores of effort and enthusiasm were exhausted, causing their movement to fade away. Then, other movements emerged, of individuals who performed the same role, until they too

exhausted their stores of effort and enthusiasm after a certain point, and so on.

The failure of all these movements was only natural because; they were not based on a correct, clear and defined Thought (Fikrah), they did not determine a direct (mustaqeem) Method (Tareeqah), they were not dependent upon aware (wa'ee) individuals and they were not bonded by a correct bond (raabTah).

As for the subject of the Thought (Fikrah) and the Method (Tareeqah) of these movements, it arose from the erroneous philosophy upon which the movements were based, assuming that they had any philosophy at all. Some of these movements were Islamic, whereas others were nationalistic. The founders of the Islamic movements called for Islam but in a general and undefined manner. They tried to interpret Islam in a manner to either comply with the status quo or adopt from other systems. This was to the extent of reforming Islam so that it complies with the other systems, as well as interpretation that either justifies the survival of the other systems or the adoption from them. As for the founders of the nationalistic movements, the Arabs amongst them called for the revival of the Arabs, upon a vague and ambiguous nationalistic basis, in complete disregard to Islam and Muslims. They used such terms as nationalism, dignity, pride, Arab, Arabism and independence, alongside other similar terms, without their having any clear concept of such terms that are consistent with the reality (Haqeeqah) of revival (nahDah). The Turks among them called for the revival of the Turkish homeland on the basis (asaas) of Turkish nationalism. The advocates of nationalism, from both the Arabs and Turks, were directed by colonialism. Colonialism also directed the Balkans, through nationalistic movements, towards independence from the Ottoman State, by virtue of it being an Islamic State.

Amongst the Arabs, debates erupted in the newspapers and magazines between advocates of both movements, the Islamic and the nationalist (qawmeeyah). The debates can be summarized in the form

of a question: which is better and closer at hand, the Arab league or the Islamic confederation? The debates were a prolonged, exhausting futile struggle, because neither the Arab league nor the Islamic confederation have any firm basis. Moreover, they were both colonialist projects to divert attention away from the Islamic State. Consequently, the failure of the struggle was not merely restricted to the absence of any outcome, but extended beyond that, by distancing the Islamic State from both sight and mind.

Besides the Islamic and the nationalistic movements, some patriotic (waTaneeyah) movements were also established in various Islamic lands. This was a consequence of both the occupation by the colonialist kuffar, of various regions of the Islamic State, and the political and economic oppression that afflicted the people, as a result of the implementation of the capitalist system upon them. Although these movements were borne of a reaction to this suffering, some of these movements were directed by the Islamic viewpoint, whilst others were directed by the patriotic viewpoint exclusively, resultant from artificial movements that the colonialist established. It was a result of the patriotic viewpoint that these movements surged forwards, engaging the Ummah in a cheap struggle, which further strengthened the enemies' foothold. This is besides all that was absent from them of thinking (fikr) to direct them.

We believe that the only true philosophy for revival (nahDah) is an ideology (mabda') that encompasses both the Thought (Fikrah) and the Method (Tareeqah). We believe that this ideology is Islam because it is an 'aqeedah (doctrine) from which emanates a system (niZaam), governing all the affairs of the state and the Ummah, as well as a treatment (mu'aalajah) of all of life's problems. Although Islam's entity is systemically global, it is not part of its Method to work for it in a global manner from the outset. Islam must be propagated globally, whilst initial work for it must be confined to one or several countries, until it becomes firmly established. Once established, the Islamic State naturally grows until it encompasses all of the Islamic countries. Then

the state propagates Islam to the rest of the world, because the Islamic State must convey the Islamic Dawah as a global message, for all of humankind, in all its eras.

Indeed, the entire world is suitable for the Islamic Dawah. However, since the people in the Islamic countries are Muslims, the Dawah must certainly start there. Moreover, whilst being part of the Islamic World, since the people in the Arab countries speak the Arabic language, when the Arabic language is an essential part of Islam and a fundamental root of the Islamic culture, the priorities amongst the countries are the Arab countries, at the onset of the carrying of the Dawah. Furthermore, combining the power of the Arabic language with that of Islam is necessary because both have the propensity for; influence (ta'thir), expansion (tawasa'a) and propagation (intishar). Therefore, it is only natural for the Islamic State to be re-established in the Arab countries first, so that it serves as a nucleus for the Islamic State that encompasses all Islamic lands. Although carrying the Islamic Dawah in the Arab countries is imperative, it is also imperative for the Islamic Dawah to reach out to the rest of the Islamic World. Initiating the work in the Arab countries does not mean that no work is to be done outside Arab countries, before their unification within the Islamic State. The work must be carried out in the Arab countries to re-establish the Islamic State, then the state will grow to encompass the neighboring countries, regardless of their being Arab or non-Arab.

We have stated that the correct philosophy for revival (nahDah) is an ideology (mabda'a) that combines Thought (Fikrah) and Method (Tareeqah) together. They both must be understood by every structure (kotlah) that aims to undertake the serious work that leads to revival.

The ideology is clarified and its understanding for the sake of the structuring is perceptible. Therefore, it is natural that after the clear proclamation of the ideology, the structuring that is endowed with this understanding is a structuring that is influential (mu'athir), constructive (inshaa'i) and ascending (irtiqaa'i). It is worthy of society embracing and

fully supporting it, as well as shouldering its burdens. This is because it is a structuring that assimilates its Thought, is insightful of its Method and comprehending of its cause (qadiyah).

However, the mere precedent understanding for structuring does not lead to a correct revival, unless the individuals that are charged are suitable for this structuring, whilst the bond (raabiTah) that binds the individuals to the structure must be a correct (saHiH) and productive (muntij) bond. It is the method of bonding (Tareeqat ur-rabT) in the structuring that determines the suitability (salaHeeyah) of the individuals. So, in an ideological party (Hizb), the method of bonding individuals within its structuring is the absolute embrace of the 'aqeedah and maturity (taDaj) in the party culture. Therefore, the suitability is determined naturally through the individuals being molded into the party, when the Dawah interacts with them. So, it is the method of bonding is what determines the suitability of the individuals, instead of the organizational procedures of the party. This is because the bond which binds these individuals in the structure is both the 'aqeedah and the party culture (thaqaafah), emanating from this 'aqeedah. If we review the structuring that was present in movements emergent during the last century, we discover that the corrupt method of structuring was a major reason for their failure. This was because this method was not based on a party basis preceded by a concrete understanding, but it was based instead on either an organizational basis or a nominal party basis.

Prior to the First World War, the Muslims perceived that there was an Islamic State for them. Despite the weakness and collapse (inhiyaar) of the state, as well as the differing views regarding it, the state remained the focus of their thinking and vision. Although the Arabs viewed that it suppressed their rights and was imposed upon them, they looked upon the Islamic State with their hearts and minds to reform it and that it was their state in any case. As for these people, there was a deficiency in both understanding the reality (Haqeeqah) of revival and understanding of its Method (Tareeqah), as well as not achieving

structuring amongst themselves. We can judge that these people to have been as most Muslims were.

Moreover, this era was when the foreign culture had infiltrated the Islamic countries. Through this culture, the colonialists were able to attract towards them a group of Muslims, enticing them to establish within the Islamic State party structures that were established on the basis of secession and independence. In particular, the colonialists were able to attract towards them a group from among the Arabs, gathering them in Paris, to form from them a structure (kotlah) that would fight the Ottoman State, in the name of the independence of Arabs from it. What brought them together was that foreign culture: the foreign thought and the patriotic and nationalistic emotions (mashaa'ir) that the colonialist kafir established within them. Since their intellectual and emotional (shu'oori) bond was a single bond, they were unified by a single logic (manTiq) that led to the unification of the objective (haDaf), which is independence for the Arab people, as long as the Ottoman State neglected their interests, permitted its oppression upon them and suppressed their rights. This unified aim was a device by which they structured a nominal party structuring. It led to the instigation of the Great Arab Revolt, which resulted in all that it produced of an extension of the authority of kufr and colonialism over the Islamic countries, particularly the Arab countries. The purpose of these parties ended there. Spoils were divided by the appointment of rulers over some of the Islamic countries, who were agents to colonialism.

The foreign culture had the greatest effect through concentrating the thoughts of kufr and colonialism, preventing successful revival and the failure of the structured movements, whether organizations or parties. This is because culture (thaqaafah) has the greatest impact upon human thinking directing the course of life. Colonialism formulated educational and cultural curricula based upon a firm philosophy, which reflected its outlook on life, the separation of matter from spirit and the separation of the Deen from the state. Colonialism made its personality the sole basis from which our culture

(thaqaafah) is taken. Colonialism also made its civilizational culture (haDarah), its concepts, the norms in its lands, its history and its environment, the primary source for all that we fill our minds with. Colonialism did not suffice with this alone, it created a deception as well. Through careful selection of concepts and facts, it presented its personality in a manner that contradicted the colonialist nature of this personality. It put forward this deception both as an ideal model for us and a powerful construct that is indispensable to proceed without, whilst hiding the true face of colonialism using malicious styles. Colonialism even intervened in the minutia of the syllabi, to ensure that not a single component deviated from this general curriculum. Consequently, we became cultured with a corrupt culture which taught us how others think, making us incapable, naturally, of learning how we must think for ourselves. This was because our thinking (fikir) was disconnected (munfasil) from our environment, our personality and our history, and was not derived from our ideology. Thus, as cultured individuals, we became alienated from our people, unaware of our surroundings and of its needs. Consequently, the feeling (shu'oor) of the cultured individuals became disconnected (munfasil) from their thinking (fikir) and intellect, so they became, naturally, disconnected from the Ummah and her feeling and sensations (aHaasis). So, naturally, this thinking; neither led to a correct understanding of the prevailing situation in the countries, nor led to a correct understanding of the needs of the Ummah, nor led to awareness of the Method for revival. This was because it was thinking (fikir) disconnected from the feeling (shu'oor), if not entirely devoid of feeling, and above all else, it was all foreign thinking, carried by an individual with Islamic feeling. It was natural that this thinking did not lead to the correct structuring, preceded by a correct understanding. The impact of the foreign culture was not limited to the cultured individuals alone. Instead, through the thoughts this foreign culture carried, the entire society had its thinking disconnected from its feeling. As a result of all that, the problem in society became more complicated and the heavy burden of revival upon

the correct party structuring increased manifold, when compared to the burden before the First World War. Prior to the First World War, the problem that the Ummah or the party faced was the problem of the revival of the Islamic society alone. However, now the problem became that of generating harmony between the thinking (fikr) and the feeling (shu'oor) of the cultured individuals, as well as generating harmony between the society's individuals and its collective form, in respect to thinking and feeling. This was more so in the case of cultured individuals and society, because they were devoted to the raw foreign thinking (fikr), devoid of feeling (shu'oor). This devotion drove them to; alienation from their society, belittling it, withdrawing from it and regarding it with indifference, just as this devotion drove them to intimacy with the foreigner, respecting him, drawing close to him and regarding him with attention, even though he was a colonialist. Therefore, the cultured individual could not conceive of the circumstances prevailing in his own country, except by imitation (taqleed) of this foreigner in his conception of the circumstances of his own country, without perception (idraak) of the reality (Haqeeqah) of the circumstances. Accordingly, it prevailed that when he spoke of revival, the cultured individual did not know what revives the Ummah, but for imitation of the foreigner. Thus, the sensations (aHaasis) did not motivate the cultured individual for the sake of the ideology, but motivated him for the sake of the homeland and the people, which is the wrong motivation. Consequently, he would neither undertake a correct revolution for the sake of his country nor would he fully sacrifice for the sake of the people. This is because neither would he feel the circumstances that surrounded him with intellectual feeling (shu'oor fikri), nor would he sense the needs of the people with intellectual sensation (iHsaas fikri). If we assumed that he did revolt and call for revival, it would either be a revolution borne of a shock amongst shocks, alongside his own interests, or a revolution in imitation of the revolutions of other peoples. Consequently, it would not be long before the revolution came to an end; either when the shock dissipates upon

his appointment to public office, or upon the satisfaction of his inclinations, or the revolution comes to an end when it collides with his ego and benefit, or harm befalls him through it.

The correct structuring (takattol) cannot be built from the cultured individual without his treatment, by generating harmony between his thinking and his feeling, through culturing him anew with a correct ideological culture, the Islamic culture. His treatment through culturing (tathqeef) mandates that he assumes the role of a student (talmeez) whose intellect ('aql) has to be reshaped anew. After solving this problem, he is transferred to the state of generating harmony between himself and his society. It is then easy to solve the problem of revival in the society. Had it not been for the foreign culture the problem of reviving the society would be less burdensome than now.

Thus, it is not possible to establish a correct party structuring with this foreign culture in society, or to establish the like of this structuring on the basis of this foreign culture.

The colonialists did not restrict themselves to the culture alone, they also poisoned the atmosphere (jow) with several political and philosophical ideas and opinions, which corrupted the correct viewpoint held by the Muslims and corrupted the Islamic atmosphere. Thus, the thinking of the Muslims was confused, with confusion apparent in diverse realms of life. With that, the Muslims were deprived of the focus (markaz) around which their natural perceptiveness (tanbah) revolved. Thus, the colonialists made every awakening a disorderly and inconsistent movement, similar in motion to that of the slaughtered animal, ending in deterioration, desperation and surrender. In political realms, the foreigner exploited the setting of his personality, both as the center of the cultural sphere and the compass for directing culture. For both politicians and career politicians, the foreigner made the focus of attention the seeking of the assistance from the foreigner and dependence upon him. Therefore, it prevailed upon most of the structures to innately attempt to seek foreign assistance. So the

countries witnessed the rise of those who sought the assistance of foreign states. This was without them realizing that the seeking of assistance from the foreigner and furthering dependence upon the foreigner, regardless of his origin, constitutes foreign poisoning (tasmeem) and betrayal of the Ummah, regardless of good intentions. It prevailed that they did not perceive that linking our cause with other than ourselves constitutes political suicide. Therefore, it is not possible for there to be any success for any structuring that poisons its thinking (fikir) with dependence upon the foreigner or the furthering of it.

Similarly, the foreigner poisoned the society with patriotism, nationalism and socialism, just as he poisoned it with narrow parochialism (iqlaamiyah). He made these the focus of immediate action. He also poisoned the society with both the notion of the impossibility of establishing the Islamic State and the impossibility of unifying the Islamic countries in the presence of cultural, racial and linguistic differences. This was even though all the Islamic countries constitute one Ummah, bound together by the same Islamic 'aqeedah from which its system emanates. Other than this, the foreigner also poisoned the society with erroneous political thoughts, such as the sayings, "The Ummah is the source of authority" and "Sovereignty for the people," amongst others. He poisoned society with incorrect thoughts, such as the sayings, "The Deen belongs to Allah and the homeland belongs to all," "We are unified through afflictions and aspirations," "The homeland is above all," and "Glory is for the homeland," and similar sayings. He also poisoned the society with reactionary, pragmatic opinions, such as the sayings, "We take our system from our reality (waaqia)," "One must accept the status quo" and "We must be pragmatists," amongst other opinions of a similar nature.

Due to this poisoning, the society in the Islamic countries, including that in the Arab countries, was in a state that could never lead

to the establishment of a correct structuring. Accordingly, it was not surprising that all the nominal party structures failed, because they were not established upon the basis of deep thinking that leads to meticulous organization and reliable preparation. Instead, they were established without any basis.

Thence, it was natural that the parties that were established in the Islamic World, particularly in the Arab World, were incoherent parties because they were not based upon an ideology (mabda'a). Whosoever studied the parties can see that they were established as a crisis response i.e. they were created by circumstances that necessitated the establishment of party structures. So, when these circumstances disappeared the parties also disappeared or weakened and withered away. Others were established based upon friendship between individuals. This friendship brought them together so they structured on its basis. Their structures ended with them revolving around themselves. Yet others were established upon the basis of immediate, personal interests or other interests. With this, there was no ideological party bond, either amongst the individuals who structured upon this basis or in these atmospheres and societies. So, not only was the presence of these movements devoid of any benefit, they were harmful to the Ummah. In addition, to their existence in society preventing or delaying the emergence of the correct partisanship (Hizbiyyah), they create despair in the masses, filling the hearts of the public with gloom and doubt and inciting suspicion about every party movement even if it were a correct one. Moreover, they sow amongst people the seeds of personal grudges and family feuds. With their styles, they teach the people to both oscillate and revolve around benefit. In other words, they corrupt the pure nature of the masses and increase the burden upon the correct party structures that inevitably rise from the heart of the masses.

Alongside the Islamic, nationalistic and patriotic movements, socialist movements were established, based on materialism. These movements are subordinate to the socialist movement in Russia and

steered under its supervision. Their Method (Tareeqah) is destruction and sabotage. Apart from establishing socialism in the countries, one of their aims is to disrupt the Western colonialism in favor of the Eastern Bloc, by virtue of their founders being agents to the Eastern Bloc. These movements neither evoke a positive response from the Ummah nor have any impact. They naturally fail because they were against human nature (fiTrah) and contradict the Islamic 'aqeedah. These movements made use of patriotism for their ends. Thus, a new complexity was added to the complexities that burdened the society.

Other structures were established on the basis of association (jam'iyyah). So local and parochial associations with charitable objectives emerged within the countries. They established schools, hospitals and shelters and participated in work of philanthropy and charity. However, these associations were dominated by the sectarian tendency. Colonialism encouraged these associations and promoted their efforts, until their charitable work was apparent to the people. Most of these associations were cultural and charitable. There was seldom any political association amongst them.

Detailed scrutiny of the consequences of these associations reveals that they neither yielded anything that benefits the Ummah nor assisted in revival. Their harm was hidden, in as much that it was not evident but to scrupulous observation, whereupon their existence was of immense harm regardless of any partial benefit. This is because the Islamic Ummah, in her entirety, had the sensations (aHaasis) for revival rooted within her, by virtue of; the presence of some Islamic thoughts, the application of some Shariah rulings and the firmly rooted Islamic emotions (mashaa'ir), due to the influence of Islam. The Ummah has a passion ('aaTifah) for goodness (khair) and a natural inclination (mayil) for structuring, because the spirit of Islam is a collective (jama'iyah) spirit. Had the Islamic Ummah and her affair been left alone, these sensations (aHaasees) for revival would have turned logically (manTaqiyan) into thinking (fikr). This thinking would have generated action to revive the Ummah. However, the presence of the associations

prevented this, as they were both a vent for the blazing passion and a drain for these sensations, through partial work resulted from the partial nature of the association. A member of the association (jam'iyah) sees that he either built a school, or established a hospital or participated in a work of philanthropy. He thus feels comfort and tranquility, convinced of the value of the work. In contrast, had this association not been established, the collective spirit would have driven him towards the correct structuring, the party structuring, that would generate the correct revival.

Alongside these cultural and charitable associations, moral associations were established for the revival of the Ummah on the basis of morals (ikhlaaq), through preaching and guidance, lectures and publications, on the assumption that morals are the basis of revival. These associations spent a tremendous amount of money and effort, but produced no significant results, whilst the passion of the Ummah was vented through the boring, repetitive and stereotypical rhetoric.

The establishment of moral associations was based on a misunderstanding of the Speech of Allah (swt) addressing the Messenger (saw), **وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَىٰ خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ** **“And you are of great moral character.”** [TMQ Al-Qalam: 4]. The Ayah means to describe the Messenger (saw) as a person, and not the society at large. As for the Speech of the Messenger (saw), **إِنَّ اللَّهَ بَعَثَنِي لَتَمَامِ مَكَارِمِ الْأَخْلَاقِ** **“Truly Allah has sent me to perfect the high moral standards,”** and his (saw) speech, **إِنَّمَا بُعِثْتُ لِأَتَمِّمَ مَكَارِمَ الْأَخْلَاقِ** **“Truly I have been sent to perfect the high moral standards.”** In truth, these two hadiths and those similar them, relate to the characteristics of the individual, and not of the community. They were also formed upon the mistake of the poet in his saying,

وَإِنَّمَا الْأُمَمُ الْأَخْلَاقُ مَا بَقِيَتْ فَإِنْ هُمْ ذَهَبَتْ أَخْلَاقُهُمْ ذَهَبُوا

“Indeed it is by morality that nations survive; when their morals cease, so do they.”

However, nations are not established on morals. Instead they are established upon the 'aqa'id (doctrines) they embrace, the thoughts (afkaar) they carry and the systems they implement. Similarly, the associations were established on a misunderstanding of the meaning of society, such that it is constituted of individuals alone. However, society as a whole is actually constituted of the following parts; human beings (insaan), thoughts (afkaar), emotions (mashaa'ir) and systems (anZimah). The corruption (fasaad) of society stems from the corruption of thoughts, emotions and systems, and not from the corruption of the human beings. Therefore, reform (iSlaaH) of society mandates reform of its thoughts, emotions and systems.

They were also established upon what was concentrated in the minds of the social reformers and ulemaa' of morals, which is that the community is destroyed by the individual and that the morals of an individual either build or destroy him. So, sound morals make him strong, straight, effective and productive, as well as an agent for good, righteousness and reform, whereas bad morals make him weak and lazy, as well as being devoid of usefulness, goodness and any concern in life, other than satisfying his desires and pleasing his ego. Accordingly, they believed that reform of the community is achieved by reforming the individual. So, they sought reform of society by the moral approach, invoking morals for reviving the Ummah.

Despite the failure of all the reformist movements that were established on the basis (asaas) of moral principle, many people remain convinced that this moral principle is the basis of reform (iSlaaH) and they have established reformist associations upon this basis. Nonetheless, in reality, the means of reforming the community differ from those of reforming the individual, even though the individual is part of the community. This is because the corruption of the community stems from the corruption of its collective emotions, as well as corruption of its intellectual and spiritual atmospheres. Corruption stems from erroneous concepts within the community. In other words, corruption (fasaad) stems from the corruption of the public convention

(al-'urf al-'aam). Reform of the community will only occur through generating the correct public convention. In yet other words, it is only achieved by; reform of the emotions of the community and the generation of both the correct spiritual atmospheres and intellectual atmospheres that are linked to the spiritual aspect, as well as the implementation of the system by the state. This will only ever be achieved by the generation of the Islamic atmosphere, so certainly there must be correction of the concepts towards things within all people. Through this alone, both the community and the individual are reformed. Reforming the community cannot be achieved through structuring on the basis of association, nor can morals, preaching and guidance be made the basis for structuring.

Hence, the failure of all the structures that were upon the basis of association, to bring about either revival or reform, came to be. Similarly, came to be the failure of all the structures that were upon a nominal party basis, that were not built upon a specific ideology. They were neither preceded by any understanding, nor did they make a bond built on the correct union (jaam'i) between individuals.

The failure of all these structures also occurred due to their membership. Besides their establishment on other than the correct structural basis, due both to the absence of the Thought and the Method and the mistake in the method of structuring, this failure was because they did not assess the structuring on the basis of the assessed suitability of the individual. Instead, they assessed the structuring on the basis of the individual's social status and the immediate benefit from his presence in the party (Hizb) or the association (jam'iyyah).

A member ('uDw) would be selected on the grounds of being either prominent in his people or wealthy amongst his community, or a lawyer or a doctor, or others with position and influence, regardless of him being suitable or unsuitable for the structuring that he was selected for. As a result, fragmentation (tafakuk) within membership dominated these structures, as did the elitist tendency. So, the members of the

party or association were consumed by a sense of being distinguished from the rest of the people, not only in terms of their wealth and social status, but also by virtue of being members of the party or the association. Hence, neither interaction nor convergence occurred between them and the people. So the existence of the association or the party made matters worse. A new complexity was added to the pre-existing complexities that burdened the society. Thus, we are able to say after study, contemplation and induction that not a single correct structure (kotlah), which would lead to revival, was established in any of the Islamic countries during the past century.

All the structures which materialized failed because they were established upon an incorrect basis, even though the Ummah will not revive without a structuring. So, what is the correct structure that will cause the revival of the Ummah? This is what we need to elucidate.

It is not allowed (laa yajooz) for the correct structure that revives the Ummah to be established upon the basis of association, whose collective organization mandates certain tasks and speech, or tasks alone, or speech alone. It is neither allowed to encourage this kind of structuring, within the Ummah that aims for advancement, nor is it allowed for structuring to be upon the basis of non-ideological parties, such as the parties that have been formed in the Islamic world, since the First World War until now.

Indeed, the correct structure is that which is established upon the Islamic, ideological party basis. The Thought is the soul (rooh) of the body (jism) of the Party (Hizb), its seed (nawaah) from which everything grows and the essence of its living (sire ul-hayah). The first cell (khaleeyah) is a man who embodies a Thought, as well as a Method which is of the same nature as the Thought. Thence, he becomes a man of the same nature as the Thought in his purity (naqaa') and clarity (safaa'), and like the Method in its elucidation (wuDuH) and forthrightness (istiqaamah). When these three elements exist together, the profound ('ameeq) Thought, the elucidated Method and the pure

man, the first cell comes into existence. It will not take long before this cell proliferates into other cells to form the First Circle (Halaqah) of the Party, “the Party Leadership” (qiyaadat tul-Hizb). Once the first circle is formed, the party structure (kotlah Hizbiyyah) emerges because it is not long before this circle transforms into a structure. At such a time, the structure requires a party bond (raabTah Hizbiyyah) to gather the individuals who have embraced both the Thought and the Method. This party bond is the ‘aqeedah from which emanates both the philosophy (falsafah) of the party and the culture (thaqaafah) whose concepts characterizes the party. It is then that the party structure is constituted and will thus advance in the mainstream of life. In an alternating manner, the hot and cold atmospheres will fluctuate around the structure, the stormy and light winds will gust upon it and the clear and cloudy conditions will envelop it. If the structure withstands these elements then its Thought becomes crystallized and its Method becomes elucidated, whilst it would prepare its membership and strengthen its bonding. Thence, it is able to take the practical steps both in the Dawah and the transformation from a party structuring to a fully-fledged (mutakaamil) ideological party, working for the correct revival. This is the correct structuring (takattol) whose seed is the Thought, because it is the essence of its life.

As for how this ideological party structuring emerges, as a natural development in the Ummah that wants progress, the elucidation is as follows:

The Ummah is a single body that is indivisible and she is just like the human being in her entire composition. Just as the human body, when cured after falling ill through a severe illness that verged upon death, has the flow of vitality (Hayaweeyah) take hold of it, flowing simultaneously into all of its entire being, the declined (munHaTah) Ummah is also considered ill. So when vitality flows back into the Ummah, it flows back into her entirety simultaneously, by virtue of her being a single human collective, when considering her as a whole. The life (Hayaah) for the Ummah is the Thought that is associated with a

Method of its nature that it is implemented by. Thus, both the Thought and its Method together constitute what is called the ideology.

The mere existence of the ideology within the Ummah is not sufficient to bring back life into her. Instead, only her advocacy (ihtidaa') for the ideology and its practical implementation in her life brings life to the Ummah. The ideology may exist in the Ummah within her legislative, cultural and historical heritage, but she may be either negligent of all of it, or negligent of its Thought alone, or negligent of its Method alone, or negligent of the linking of them both together. Thus, the mere existence of the Thought and the Method does not lead to revival.

Vitality (Hayaweeyah) flows into Ummah whenever society experiences severe shocks that produce a shared (mushtarak) sensation (iHsaas). This collective (jamaa'i) sensation leads to an intellectual process that produces propositions (qaDaayaa), as a result of discussion about the causes and effects of the shock (hazah), as well as the likely and unlikely means of salvation from it.

Yet, even whilst this sensation (iHsaas) is collective, simultaneously sensed within the entire community, within all its individuals, it varies in degrees amongst people, according to the magnitude (miqdaar) that Allah (swt) endowed them with, by what He (swt) accords people of differing propensities. Hence, the community's advocacy for the Thought remains latent within it, until its influence (ta'theer) accumulates, so that it concentrates in those who are endowed with a greater degree of sensation (iHsaas). Thus, the Thought awakens them, inspires them and instills within them motion (Harakah). Accordingly, the signs of life appear in them first.

The sensations of the community are imprinted within those who are endowed with a higher degree of sensation. The Thought is concentrated within them, mobilizing them in a motion of awareness (wa'ee) and perception (idraak). They are the aware ones of the Ummah and the aware elite (thulatah waa'eeyah) within her.

Yet, this aware elite is initially anxious and confused, seeing numerous paths, confused over which path to follow. Moreover, within this collective group, this motion of awareness varies within it. The logic of sensation (manTiq ul iHsaas) is higher in some of the group, than in others. So, from within this aware elite, a distinguished faction (f'iah mutamayyizah) arises that embraces one of the paths after study and deep research. It perceives the objective (ghaayah) that this path leads to, just as it will perceive the elucidation (wuDuH) of the path, so it will adopt the path towards its objective (ghaayah). In this way, the faction is guided to the ideology with both its Thought and its Method and believes in it as a deeply rooted 'aqeedah. The ideology is embodied in the faction and becomes the 'aqeedah for it. This 'aqeedah, along with the culture of the party, is the bond (raabiT) that binds the individuals within this faction (fi'ah).

When the ideology (mabda') becomes embodied within these individuals, it cannot bear to be confined within them. Instead, the ideology will drive them towards Dawah (invitation) to it. So their actions will be; shaped by it, advance according to its methodology (manhaj) and restricted to its limits. Their very being (wujood) becomes for the sake of the ideology, for the sake of Dawah to it and fulfilling its commandments (takaaleef). This Dawah both aims at the people's embracing (i'tinaaq) of this ideology alone, to the exclusion of all others, and the generation (eejaad) of general awareness (wa'ee 'aam) about it. So, the First Circle (al-Halaqat ul-oola) grows into a structure (kotlah), then the structure grows into an ideological party. The ideological party undergoes a natural growth (numuw) in two aspects; firstly, proliferation (tukaathur) in its cells by generating other cells that embrace the ideology upon complete awareness (wa'ee) and perception (idraak), and, secondly, the generation (eejaad) general awareness (wa'ee 'aam) about the ideology throughout the Ummah. From this general awareness about the ideology is constituted the unification, collectively (jamaa'eeya) if not unanimously (ijmaa'ee), of the thoughts, opinions and beliefs within the Ummah. By such means,

the objective (hadaf), 'aqeedah and viewpoint about life (wijHa tu naZar) of the Ummah are all unified. By doing so, the Party becomes the smelting furnace of the Ummah, purifying her from the impurities and corruptions that led to her decline (inhiTaaT), or originated within her during her decline (inhiTaaT). The Party undertakes this smelting process within the Ummah, which causes the revival (nahdah). It is a laborious process. For that reason, the only entity capable is the party (Hizb) that; lives according to its Thought, makes its entire life according to the Thought and perceives every single step of its steps.

This is because it is sensation (iHsaas) that leads to thinking (fikr) in the party (Hizb). This thinking initially shines upon the Ummah amidst other modes of thinking, but merely as one amongst many. Moreover, initially, it is the weakest of them because it has just been born and come into existence. It has yet to become concentrated and has not generated atmospheres for itself. However, since it is a thinking based on the logic of sensation (manTiq al-iHsaas) i.e. an understanding (fahm) resulting from sensory perception (idraak hissy), it generates an intellectual sensation (iHsaas fikree) i.e. it generates a clear sensation as a result of the deep thinking (fikr 'ameeq). Hence, due to its nature, the thinking purifies whoever it is imprinted upon, making him sincere (mukhliS), such that even if he wished not to be sincere, he is not able to do so.

This thinking will be embodied as an 'aqeedah' and culture in the sincere one, such that it generates within him an unruly agitation (thawrah). Through the combustion of feeling with thinking, this agitation is like an explosion (infijaar) that spreads blazing passion, enthusiasm and honesty in the Dawah, just as it spreads, simultaneously, the logic (manTiq) and the thinking. It becomes a fire that burns corruption and a light that illuminates the road to righteousness. Henceforth, the Dawah is in a struggle (Siraa') with the corrupt thoughts (afkaar), the dilapidated doctrines ('aqaid) and the degenerate habits ('adaat), which try to defend themselves. However this defense itself becomes a friction (iHTikaak) with the new ideology

which only increases in its strength. This struggle will continue until all these thoughts, doctrines and ways collapse and only the ideology of the Party remains in the Ummah as its thinking and 'aqeedah. Once the Party has unified the thoughts, beliefs and opinions, it establishes the unity of the Ummah with clear insight, smelting and purifying her, so as to become one single Ummah. With that, the correct unity (waHdah) is achieved.

Then follows the second stage (marHalah) of the Party which is the leadership of the Ummah to undertake the radical (inqilaabee), reformatory (iSlaaHee) work to revive the Ummah. Thereafter, the party will carry, with the Ummah, the Message (risaalah) of Islam to other peoples and nations, in order to fulfill her obligation (waajib) towards humanity.

The party structuring (takattol) is a collective movement and it is not possible for it to be anything but a collective movement, because the correct structuring cannot be an individualistic movement. Thus, those in charge of the Party in the Islamic countries must study the collective movements deeply and understand them deeply.

Understanding of the collective movements which had the power of influence in their time reveals to us that movements do not emerge where welfare is easily accomplished, natural rights of man are certain, luxury is obtainable and individual competence is the criterion for holding important positions. This understanding of the collective movements makes it easy for us to evaluate every movement upon standardized benchmarks, by studying; the environment in which the movement existed or exists, the circumstances which surrounded it or surround it, the role given to the bright (naabeh) individuals in running its affairs, the ease of its mission in removing that which stood in the way of its success or obstructed its advance (sair).

The success of a collective movement is measured by its ability to both incite the spirit of resentment amongst the people and to provoke them into declaration (iZhaar) of their resentment, each time

there is serious intent by the ruling authority, or the existing system, towards that which afflicts the ideology of the movement or manipulates it according to the interests and desires of the authority.

Understanding these collective movements requires us to study life in the society and to know; the relationship of the Ummah with the rulers, the relationship of these rulers with the Ummah, the composition of both of these relationships, society's complete reality in the view of Islam, the views (aaraa'a), thoughts (afkaar) and rulings (aHkaam) that Islam calls for, the comparison (muwaazanah) with what society stands upon, what these thoughts, opinions and rulings are exposed to of change (taghyeer), alteration (tabdeel) and interpretation (ijtihaad), as well as the reality of this interpretation (ijtihaad) in the branches (faroo') and the fundamentals (uSool) and whether Islam approves of the interpretation or not. Similarly, understanding these collective movements requires us to study the dispositional (nafseeyah) state of the Ummah as she witnesses the receding, from the world in which she lives, of these Islamic opinions, thoughts and rulings, which the system of life and the system of ruling are depriving her of, using force, deception and wealth.

Understanding these movements also requires acquaintance with the Ummah's inclination (mayil) itself in a general manner and its view towards the systems that are being implemented upon her, which threaten her Islam with extinction and throw her into the abyss of misery and wretchedness. It also requires an acquaintance with; the inclination of the thinkers in the Ummah, the extent of their acceptance of the corrupt system implemented upon them and how much it induces in them of complaining (tadhammur). It also requires an acquaintance of the extent of; their being effected by temptation or threat, the extent of their being taken in by this temptation and their submission to this threat.

Furthermore, acquaintance with the party structure itself is also required, as is verification that it enjoys; sharp sensation (aHsaas), deep

deliberation (tafkeer) and pure sincerity (ikhlaaS khaaliS) and that the events taking place in society do not weaken its belief in Islam and its laws, and that all temptations, threats, terrorizing, favors and trials have absolutely no effect upon the structure. Verification is also required that; this structure preserves its inherent values completely intact, its domain of belief (eeman) is secure, its being replete with deep Islamic thoughts, its adoption (tabanee) of the public interests (muSaalaH 'aamah) and its feeling of responsibility (mas'ooliyah). All of this must be complete in a manner that the ideology is secluded in a heavily fortified fortress, no matter how much tyranny ('asuf), injustice (jaur), adversity (shiddah) and terrorizing (irhaab) befalls the structure. Then there must be verification that this faction has solidified its determination to shoulder responsibility (mas'ooliyah), in expectation of all consequences and its preparedness to bear them.

The historical and factual research of the collective movements guides one to the reality of the advance (sair) of the Party, in consideration of it as a collective movement and to the assurance of its having fulfilled its prerequisites (sharaa'iT), proceeding in its natural path. If it notices any deviation in itself or notices that studies demand amendment in the apparatus, or resilience in the advance (sair), or firmness in struggle (kifaaH), it abides by the styles (asaaleeb) that guarantees for it delivery its Message in reviving the Ummah and making the Ummah the carrier of this Message to all the peoples and nations.

The correctly structured party advances along the following path:

1. The guiding to the ideology (mabda') of a man excelling in thinking (fikr) and sensation (aHsaas), such that it interacts with him, until it is crystallized within him and becomes elucidated to him. At this point, the first cell of the Party is founded, practically. In no time, this cell proliferates in a slow proliferation (tukaathur), so other individuals are gathered, becoming cells who will be connected to each other by

the ideology completely. Constituted from them is the First Circle of the party structure (kotlah), the Party Leadership (qiyaadat tul-Hizb). Certainly, the ideology, without anything other than it, is alone the pivot (mihwar) of the structuring (toktattul) between these individuals and also it alone is the force attracting them to it.

2. In the beginning, this First Circle (al-Halaqat ul-oola), naturally, consists of a few in number and is slow in movement. This is because although its form expresses the sensations (aHaasees) of the society in which it lives, its expression is in terms and meanings that contradict with what the society is used to as terms and meanings. It has new concepts that contradict the prevailing concepts of society, even if they express its sensations. Therefore, this First Circle is as if it is strange to society and so will attract only those individuals who possess strong feeling. People are not attracted to it at the beginning, except for the one in whom the sensation (aHsaas) is strong, to the extent that there is found within him the susceptibility of attraction to the magnet of the ideology (mabda') that is embodied in the First Circle.

3. The deliberation (tafkeer) of the First Circle, the Leadership, is, naturally, deep and its Method for revival is radicalism i.e. begins from the roots. Hence, this circle rises above the bad reality (waaqi'a) in which the Ummah lives and soars into the upper atmospheres. From there, it sees the reality (waaqi'a) that it wants to transfer the Ummah to live in i.e. it sees the new life that it wants to transfer the Ummah to, just as it sees the path that it pursues to change the reality (waaqi'a). So, therefore, it will see what is beyond the wall, whilst the majority of the society where this circle lives see only what is in front of them, by virtue of their adhesion to the bad reality that they are in, which makes it difficult for them to soar above it. So, perception (idraak) of the change (taghayeer) of the reality, in a correct perception is difficult for society. This is because the declined (munHaaT) society has thinking in its primitive beginnings, so it derives all its depictions from its reality (waaqi'a). It then makes analogy with the reality in an incorrect, all-

inclusive analogy and conforms itself to the analogy, and therefore makes its benefits circle within this reality.

As for the First Circle of the Party, it has passed the initial stage in its thinking and proceeded towards completeness in its thinking. Hence, it will make the reality (waaqi'a) the object (mawd'i) of its deliberation (tafkeer), in order to change it according to the ideology. It does not make the reality the source of deliberation, so as to make the ideology revolve around the reality. Hence, it attempts change, formation and subjugation of the reality according to its will, so that it makes the reality revolve around the ideology that it is convinced of. It does not make the ideology revolve around the reality. Herein, there will be a disparity between the society and the First Circle of the Party, in understanding the viewpoint (wijHa tu naZar) about life, which needs approximation.

4. The thinking (fikr) of the First Circle of the Party, "the Leadership," is based on a constant (thaabit) principle (qaa'idah), that thinking (fikr) must be linked to action ('amal), whilst both thinking and action must target a specified goal (ghayah). Consequently, due to the embodiment of the ideology in the First Circle and due to basing thinking upon the principle (qaa'idah), a constant atmosphere (jow) of Iman is generated and it assists in both subordination and change of the reality. This is because this thinking does not form according to the mold of whatever it passes through. Instead the thinking molds whatever it passes through according to its own form. In contrast, since the declined (munHaT) society has no principle (qaa'idah) for its thinking, because in its entirety it does not know the goal for which it thinks and acts, the goal for its individuals is immediate and selfish. As a consequence, there is no atmosphere of Iman generated in society, so it is forced to mold according to whatever surrounds it, not molding it according to its own form. As a result, there is a clash (taDaarub) of opinions between the First Circle of the Party and the society in which the first circle first emerges.

5. In view of the fact that from the duty (waajib) of the First Circle of the Party, the Leadership, is to generate the atmosphere of Iman that induces the method of deliberation. It must initiate planned (maqsood) movements for both the rapid expansion (tanmiya) of itself and the complete purification of its atmosphere (jow), until its party body is soundly constructed at spectacular speed. And it must transform, with a rapid development (taTawwur), from a party circle (Halaqah) to a party structure (kotlah), then to a full-fledged (mutakaamil) party (Hizb) that imposes itself on society, so that it becomes an active effector (faa'il) on society and is not passively affected (munfa'il) by society.

6. These planned (maqsood) movements are formulated through a conscientious study of the society, the individuals and the atmospheres. They are also planned through cautious safe-guarding against the infiltration of the entity of the party by any corrupt element and without any error occurring in the assembly (tarkeeb) of any institution (jihaaz) of the institutions (ajhizah) of the Party. This is so that the Party is neither diverted by it to a direction (wijha) other than its correct direction, nor does it split itself asunder.

7. The deeply rooted and firm 'aqeedah and the mature (naaDij) culture of the Party must form the bond between the members of the Party. It is this which is the law (qanoon) that directs the party, instead of the administrative law that is written on paper. The method to strengthen this 'aqeedah and culture is the study (daraasah) and thinking, so as to form a specifically constituted intellect and to generate thinking that is linked with the feeling. The atmosphere of Iman must constantly prevail over the party collectively, so that which brings the Party together are two matters, which are the heart (qalb) and the intellect ('aql). Therefore, it is necessary that there is Iman in the ideology until the heart starts bringing together the members of the Party. It is also necessary that there is study (daraasah) of the ideology in a deep study (daraasah), as well as memorizing (hifZ), practiced memorization (istiZhaar) and understanding (fahm) of it to constitute

the second bond (raabiT), the intellect ('aql). As a result, the Party is endowed with correct preparation and its bond (raabiTah) is strong in strength of will (mataannah), which enables it to stand firm before all manner of destabilizations.

8. The Party Leadership, the First Circle of the Party, resembles the combustion engine in some aspects. Its similar aspects are:

The internal combustion engine, by way of example, has heat energy that is generated from the ignition spark and gasoline, during the engine cycle. This heat energy raises air pressure. It is this pressure that drives the crankshaft. Thus, it is this pressure that is the driving force (muHarik) that imposes its motion upon other parts, causing mechanical rotation. Accordingly, the presence of; the ignition spark, gasoline and the engine cycle, is the cause. This is because, through its generation of heat energy, pressure is produced which imposes its motion upon the other parts, causing mechanical rotation. If the engine cycle were to stop, all the parts would stop. So, the ignition spark, gasoline, and the engine cycle must all be present for both the engine's motion and the mechanical rotation. Similarly, regarding the Party Leadership, the Thought (Fikrah) plays the role of the ignition spark and the sensation (iHsaas) of the aware persons of the Leadership (qiyaadah) play the role of gasoline, whilst the person, whose sensation is affected by the Thought, is the engine cycle. When the Thought comes into contact with the sensation of the person, thermal energy is generated, which drives the Leadership into motion (Harakah). This motion of the Leadership imposes itself upon other parts of the party, whether these parts are individuals, circles (Halaqaat), local committees (Iijaan mahillayah) or other parts. All of these are affected by its heat and so when it moves, all the parts rotate, in mechanical rotation. This is where the advance (sair) of the party begins, taking the form of growth (numuw) in its formation (tashkeel).

Therefore, it is essential that there is the transmission of heat energy from the Leadership to all other parts of the Party so they move,

just as it is essential that there is an engine cycle for mechanical rotation. In this aspect, there is a similarity between the combustion engine and the Party Leadership. The leaders of the Party must notice this aspect and maintain their contact and motion with the other parts of the Party, so that the heat (Haraarah) of the Leadership to effect the whole. If after several contacts, the leaders see that other members and committees do not move unless they move, they must not despair. They must know that this is natural because there is no mechanical rotation, unless there is an engine cycle and heat transmission from it.

However, in the case of the Leadership, the First Circle of the Party, its motion is not effective by imposing motion on the Party alone, as is the case with the combustion engine, where the driving force always imposes its motion on the other parts. Instead, its motion is like that only in the initial stages. As for later it is not so, during the advance (sair) of the party. In this aspect, the Leadership, the First Circle of the Party, differs from the combustion engine. The combustion engine is always the driving force (muHarik) of the machinery. However, the Leadership is more like a social engine, than a combustion engine. The members, circles and local committees of the party are of flesh and blood, not metal, with life within them, so they will be affected by the heat of the Leadership i.e. they are affected by the heat of the ideology, which is embodied in the Leadership, the First Circle of the Party. Consequently, after their understanding (fahm) of the Thought (Fikrah) and their contact with the heat of the Leadership, they become a part of the engine itself. At that time, it becomes so that the mere motion of the Leadership, due to the heat energy, transmits motion in the entire Party, in a natural transmission. This is because the Leadership, as a social engine, is a prevalent intellectual whole (kul fikri shaa'i) within the Party in its entirety. At that time, the Leadership is no longer the sole provider of locomotion. Instead, with the growth (numuw) and the full-fledged formation (tashkeel) of the Party, the entire Party becomes the provider of locomotion. Thus, the advance (sair) of the Party neither needs the motion of the leadership, nor the transmission of its heat.

Instead, the ideology advances into the members of the Party, so that the Party's circles and local committees advance in a mechanical advance, without needing the motion of the leadership. That is because the heat of every part transmits from itself and from the prevalent intellectual whole in the Party, as well as the one connected through these parts by natural (Taba'ee) contact (itiSaal).

9. The ideological party will advance through three stages (maraaHil), so as to start implementing its ideology in society:

First: The stage (marHalah) of study (daraasah) and learning (ta'allum) for the generation of the culture of the Party.

Second: The stage of interaction (tafaa'ul) with the society that it lives in, until the ideology becomes the public convention ('urf 'aam) resulting from awareness (wa'ee) and the entire community (jamaa'ah) considers the ideology as its own ideology, such that the community defends the ideology collectively (jamaa'eeya). In this stage, begins the struggle (kifaaH) between the Ummah and those obstructing the implementation of the ideology, who are; colonialism and those that it places in front of it from the ruling classes, those accustomed to living in the dark and those seduced by the foreign culture. This is because the Ummah considers the ideology as her own and the Party as her leader.

Third: The stage of taking the reins of ruling by way of the Ummah fully, so that ruling adopts a Method (tareeqah) for implementation of the ideology upon the Ummah. Through this stage (marHalah), the practical aspect of the Party begins in the arena of life, whilst the aspect of Dawah to the ideology persists as the primary (aSlee) duty of both the state and the Party, because the ideology is the Message (risaalah) that both the Ummah and the state carry.

10. As for the first stage, it is the stage of establishment (ta'sees), which is to consider all individuals of the Ummah equally in that they are devoid of all the correct culture and to begin with culturing those who want to be members (a'Daa') of the Party with its culture, and to

consider the whole society as a school (madrassah) for the Party, so that the Party emerges, in the shortest period of time, as a faction (fi'ah) that is capable (qadir) of contact (itiSaal) with the community (jamaa'ah), for the sake of interaction (tafaa'ul) with it.

It must be realized that this culturing (tathqeef) is not education (ta'leem) and that it is completely different from the school (madrassah). Therefore, the culture (thaqaafah) of the circles (Halaqaat) must advance with the consideration that the ideology (mabda'a) is the teacher (mu'alim) and that the knowledge ('ilm) and culture (thaqaafah) that is taken is; only confined to the ideology, what is necessary for engagement (khaud) in the arena (mu'tarak) of life and taken for action in the arena of life without delay.

Therefore, the culturing must be practical ('amalee) i.e. it must be taken for action ('amal) in life. A thick barrier must be placed between the intellect (dhihn) and the academic ('ilmee) aspect, so that the Party culture is not directed towards the academic school culture.

11. The Party is a structuring (takattol) established upon a Thought (fikr) and a Method (Tareeqah) i.e. upon an ideology (mabda'a) that its individuals believe in. The Party supervises both the thinking (fikr) and sensing (Hiss) of the society, to advance them both in progressive (tuSaa'idee) movements. The Party prevents society's deterioration in thinking (fikr) and sensing (Hiss). The Party is established upon the culturing (thathqeef) of the Ummah, propelling the Ummah into the arena of global life. The Party is the actual (Haqeeqee) one who cultures (muthaqif), who cannot be replaced by schools no matter how diverse, numerous or comprehensive they are.

There is a difference (farq) between the Party and the school that must be perceived and this clear difference is in several points, including:

A. Regardless of how correct its program (barnaamij) is, the school cannot secure the revival of the Ummah without there being a

party that is established in society, as the one who cultures (muthaqif). This is because the school must be orderly (rateeb) by its nature, no matter how loose its formation. The school is established upon a particular form (shakal), taking on a particular character, such that the school loses the ability of transformation (tashakul) according to the changing form of events. If it is desired that the school transforms, its transformation depends on a complex operation, over a determined time period, until adaptation (takayyuf) occurs, since its preparation (i'daad) is upon a rigid basis that does not transform.

B. If the Party is based on a correct program (barnaamij), it will have the following:

i. Vitality (Hayaweeyah), hence it grows.

ii. Development (taTawwur), hence it transforms from one state to another state (Haal).

iii. Vigor (Harakah), hence it moves in every region (naaHiyah) and segment (juz'a) of society.

iv. Sensing (Hiss), hence it senses and feels all that influences and happens in society.

Its preparation (i'daad) accords to the transformation of life and emotions (mashaa'ir). So, there is constant development and continuous change and it does not advance in an orderly fashion, because it advances according to life and its forms, so as to mold them according to its atmosphere of Iman and to change the status quo, adapting it according to the ideology.

C. The school is established for the culturing, refinement (tarbiyyah) and education of the individual, in his capacity as a particular individual. Although the school in its form is a small community, it is individualistic from an educational perspective. Consequently, its results are individualistic and not collective. Thus, even if we assumed that a city of ten thousand inhabitants has schools that accommodate a

thousand students, these schools are unable to bring about any collective revival in this city.

D. The Party is established for culturing and refinement (tarbiyyah) of the community (jamaa'ah) in its capacity as a single community, regardless of its individuals. The Party does not look upon these individuals, within the community, in their capacity as distinct individuals. Instead, the Party looks upon them in their capacity as parts of the community, so it cultures them in a collective sense, such that they are reformed in their being part of the community, not in their individualistic sense. Thus, the results of the Party are collective and not individualistic. If we supposed that a community in a land (quTar) has a population of one million, with a party whose members numbered one hundred, then there would occur a revival in this land that the school would be unable to bring about, no matter how much effort the school expends or time it spends or how many students it graduates.

E. The school is established for the preparation (tahyi'a) of the individual, such that he influences the community in which he lives. However, he is only able to influence partially, because he only possesses feeling (shu'oor) partially, which has a weak influence in the stimulation (eeqaaZ) of thinking (fikir).

F. The Party is for the preparation (tahyi'a) of the community, such that it influences the individual. The community is able to influence completely because its collective feeling (shu'oor) is strong, stimulating and capable of provoking thinking (fikir). Therefore its influence upon individuals is strong and it evokes revival in them with the least amount of effort, in the shortest time. Indeed, it is feeling (shu'oor) that stimulates thinking (fikir), so the motion to revival (naHdah) is achieved upon their mutual interaction.

The main differences between the Party and the school are summarized in the three points:

1. The school is orderly, unable to transform, whilst the Party is constantly developing and not routinely ordered, as well as capable for transformation in response to life, so it transforms life according to its atmosphere of Iman.

2. The school cultures the individual to influence the community, so its results are individualistic, whereas the Party cultures the community to influence the individual, so its results are collective.

3. The school prepares the partial feeling within the individual to influence the emotions (mashaa'ir) of the community, so the individual is not able to influence the community and is incapable of stimulation of its thinking (fikr), whereas the Party prepares the entire collective feeling of the community to influence the emotions of the individuals (mashaa'ir), so it is able to influence the individuals and it is capable of stimulation of their thoughts in a comprehensive manner.

12. At this stage, there must be a continual perception (idraak) that the society in its entirety is the wider school (madrassah) of the party, along with a continual perception (idraak) of the difference between the school and the party with respect to its culturing circles (Halaqaat). As for the perception that the entire society is the school of the Party, it is because of the task of the Party in this period is the resurrection of the true beliefs ('aqaai'd) and the generation (eejaad) of the correct concepts. This cannot come to be except through a cultural process where the ideology of the Party is the teacher and its culture is the subject that is studied. The ideology (mabda'a) and the culture (thaqaafah) of the Party is represented by those in whom the ideology is embodied, so they are the practical teachers in the society, whilst the local committees with their circles (Halaqaat) are the classrooms of the society and the entire society is the school. This cultural process mandates from those who are the members of the Party adopting its concepts; deep study, correct understanding, memorizing (mudhaakarah) of its party culture at all times, as well as practiced memorization (istiZhaar) of its constitution, important rulings (aHkaam)

and the general principles (al-qawaa'id) that it adopts. This all requires a cultural process. Accordingly, it is imperative to pay attention to this aspect with everyone who enters the Party, regardless of whether he is cultured to a university or primary level or there is an aptitude for culturing within him. Every negligence (tasaahul) in this culture with any individual keeps this individual outside the bounds of the Party, even if he is affiliated to it, and that may result in damage to the general organization.

It is imperative at this stage to place a thick barrier between action and the Party, before it has individuals cultured in the culture of the Party. Hence, this stage is a culturing stage and nothing else.

As for the perception (idraak) that there is a difference between the school and the Party in culture, this is so the culture of the Party does not turn into an academic culture, such that the Party loses its effectiveness (fa'aaliyah). Therefore, it is important to place a thick screen between those affiliated with the Party and the academic aspect in the culture of the Party and that is clear that the culture of the Party is to; change the concepts for action in the arena of life and carry the intellectual leadership in the Ummah. It is not allowed for the possessor of the culture to plunge into the academic aspect. If he has an academic need, the place for that is the school and not the Party. It is dangerous to plunge within the culture towards the academic aspect, because it spoils the quality (khaaSiyah) of the work and delays the transition to the second stage of the stages of the work.

13. The second stage (marHalah) of the Party is the stage of interaction (tafaa'ul) with the Ummah and it is accompanied with struggle (kifaaH). This stage is considered delicate and success within it is evidence of the correct formation of the Party, whereas failure within it is evidence that there is a defect (khalal) that must be repaired. This stage is built upon the preceding one. Thus, success in the first stage is a pre-requisite (sharT asaasee) for success in the second stage. However, the mere success in in the first stage culturally is not enough

to bring about success in the second stage on its own. Instead, the cultural success must be known to the people i.e. the people know that there is a Dawah and they know that the member carries a Dawah, just as it is necessary that the collective spirit (ruH jamaa'eeyah) is formed during; the cultural formation in the circles (Halaqaat), the contact of the members with the society in which they live and their attempts to influence that society, such that when they transfer to the second stage, the collective readiness is present. Therefore, it is easy for them to interact with the Ummah.

14. The member of the Party does not move from the cultural role (daur) to the role of interaction until he has matured culturally. Maturity makes him an Islamic personality through the compliance of his nafsiyyah (emotional disposition) with his 'aqliyyah (mentality). The Messenger of Allah (saw) said, لَا يُؤْمِنُ أَحَدُكُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَكُونَ هَوَاهُ تَبَعًا لِمَا جِئْتُ بِهِ, **“None of you will have real belief until his inclinations conform to what I came with.”** Thus, the people know of the member that he is carrying an Islamic Dawah. The collective inclination is strengthened within him and dominates over him, through his presence in the circles (Halaqaat) and his contact (itiSaal) with society, so that insularity ('uzlah) is eradicated from him. Insularity is a blend of cowardice (jubn) and hopelessness (ya'as) that must be eradicated from the individuals and the society.

15. The Party transfers from the cultural role to the role of interaction naturally, in respect of the fact that if it tried to transfer prematurely, it would be unable to do so. This is so because it is during the cultural role that the Party passes the Starting Point (nuqTat ul ibtidaa), whereupon the ideology is embodied within the individuals and the society senses the presence of the ideology with clear sensation (iHsaas). When this embodiment is completed within the individuals, i.e. the ideology takes roots in their souls, accompanied by the sensation (iHsaas) of the ideology by the society, the Dawah crosses beyond the starting point and it is then inevitable that it moves on to the Departure Point (nuqTat ul-inTilaaq). When the Party begins the advance upon the

Departure Point, it is inevitable that it begins with the Address (mukhaaTabah) of the Ummah. In order to begin the Address of the Ummah, the Party must first make the attempt to address the Ummah, until this attempt of the Party succeeds, becoming a direct (mubaashirah) Address. The attempt to address is exclusively constituted of concentrated culturing in circles (Halaqaat), collective (jamaa'eeyah) culturing of the people everywhere possible, exposing the plans of colonialism and adopting the interests (maSaaaliH) of the Ummah. If the Party succeeds in these four matters together, it moves towards Address of the Ummah, moving on to the Departure Point naturally. This transfer (inthiqaal) of the Party to the Departure Point is one that transfers the party naturally from the first stage, which is the cultural role, to the second stage, which is the role of interaction ensuring that the party begins the interaction with Ummah, in a natural way at the appropriate time.

16. This interaction (tafaa'ul) with the Ummah is necessary for the success of the Party in its mission. Unless they interact with the Ummah, no matter how numerous the members of the Party are within the Ummah, they are not able to carry out work alone, regardless of their strength, unless the Ummah advanced with them. They are not able to drive the Ummah to work with them and the Ummah will not advance with them, unless they interacted with her and succeeded in this interaction (tafaa'ul). Their interaction with the Ummah does not mean that they are able to gather people around them. Instead, it means that through interaction the Ummah understands the ideology of the Party, so that the ideology becomes hers alone. This is because the root of the ideology, Islam, is present in the Ummah, such that the sensations (aHaasees) of the Ummah transform into thinking (fikr), crystallized in the distinguished faction (f'iah mutamayyizah) from which the Party is constituted. The principle (qaa'idah) of these sensations, which is "the thinking (fikr) and the work ('aml) is for a goal (ghaayah)," is the actual expression of the ideology. Hence, the ideology, Islam, is the intrinsic sensation of the Ummah and the party is

an expression of this sensation (ihSaas). So, if the Party is eloquent in expression, clear in language and honest in tone, the Ummah will rapidly understand the ideology and interact with the Party and then the Ummah in its entirety will be considered as the Party. The distinguished faction (f'iah mutamayyizah) carries the leadership of the movement through the structuring (takattol) of the Party. It is through this movement that the Ummah, under the leadership of the Party, advances towards the third stage, which is the implementation of the ideology in a revolutionary (inqilaabee) manner, through the method of ruling (Hukm) which this party structure takes, in consideration that it is the only Method (Tareeqah) to implement the Thought (Fikrah), i.e. considering that it is part of the ideology.

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

A. The contradiction between the ideology and the system (niZaam) implemented in the society.

Indeed, the ideology of the Party (Hizb) is a new system (niZaam) for life with respect to the current society. It will contradict the system that the ruling faction (f'iah haakamah) implements upon society and rules the people by. Hence, this faction finds in this ideology a danger both to itself and its entity. It inevitably stands in its way and fights it, using various means; propoganda against it, harassment of the carriers of the Dawah and deployment of physical force. Therefore, while working upon interaction with the Ummah through calling for their ideology, it is essential for the carriers of the ideology to; protect themselves from harm by all possible means, counter the misleading propoganda by explaining their Dawah and endure all kinds of hardship (mashaqah) in this path (sabeel).

B. The divergence (ikhtilaaf) of the culture is amongst the obstacles.

Whilst there are divergent cultures in the society and there are differing thoughts in the Ummah, the Ummah has a singular sensation (iHsaas). The diverse cultures, particularly the cultures of the colonialists, are contradictory in expression to these sensations (aHaasees), whilst the culture of the ideology, i.e. the Islamic culture, is consistent (Saadiq) in expression with the sensations of the Ummah. However, both the cultural public opinion (ar-raa'ee al-'aam ath-thaqaafee) in the society and the cultural curriculums in schools and institutions, amongst other cultural epicenters, advance upon the foreign culture. Similarly, the advance of the political and cultural movements is entirely an advance upon foreign culture. Therefore, it is necessary for the Party, with its culture, to engage in the role (dawr) of struggle (kifaaH) with the other cultures and thoughts, until the correct expression of the Ummah's sensations (iHaasees) and feeling (shu'oor) appears within the Ummah, so that she advances with the Party. Whilst it is inevitable that in this role, there will be a clash (taSaadum) between the Party, with its culture and thinking, and other cultures and thoughts, this clash is nonetheless amongst the sons of the Ummah. Therefore, the role of futile argumentation must not be adopted. The cadre of the Party must advance on the path of drawing the straight line against the crooked line. The members must not engage in futile argument absolutely, lest it leads to egoism (anaaniyah) that blinds and deafens to the reality (Haqeeqah). Instead, the cadre explains the thoughts of the Party, whilst clarifying; the fallacy (zaif) of other thoughts, the invalidity (buTI) of other cultures and the dangers within their outcomes. Thereupon, the Ummah turns away from the other cultures and turns towards the culture of the Party and its thinking. Moreover, the advocates of the other cultures turn away from them as well, after their fallacy is apparent to them, if they were sincere, aware and upright. This operation will be one of the most difficult for the Party. Accordingly, undertaking interaction with the Ummah in places where the foreign culture is more prevalent, is more difficult than in places where this culture is less prevalent. Also, the susceptibility for revival in places

where the proportion of those cultured with foreign culture is lower, is more than in places where this proportion is higher. Therefore, the Party must be aware of the community with which it undertakes interaction, so that it can advance in the course appropriate for that community.

C. The presence of pragmatists (waaqi'oon) within the Ummah is amongst the obstacles.

Due both to the foreign culture, the foreign poisoning, and out of ignorance, two factions of pragmatists are found within the Ummah.

The first faction is the realist faction which, in an inevitable manner, calls to the reality (waaqia'), as well as contentment with and submission to the reality. This is because this faction takes the reality as the source (masdar) of its deliberation (tafkeer) and so takes solutions to its problems from it. The way to overcome the obstacle of this faction is to attempt depth in study with it, after which it would see and perceive that the reality must only be taken as the object (mawd'i) of deliberation in order to change it. Only then is it possible for it to abandon its thinking.

As for the second pragmatic faction, it is the faction of traditionalists, who refuse to live in the light. This is because they are used to life in the dark, accustomed to triviality (tafaaha) and superficiality (saTHiyah). So, it is afflicted by physical and intellectual lethargy. It is stagnant upon the long-standing tradition (al-Qadeem) upon which it found its forefathers, just because it is long-standing tradition. It is actually pragmatic because it is like the reality, whilst being stagnant intellectually. Therefore, this faction requires more effort (mu'aanaah). The way to overcome the obstacle of this faction is to attempt to culture it and strive to correct its concepts.

D. Another obstacle in the face of the Dawah is the attachment of people to their interests. That is so as any human is tied to one's personal interests and day to day actions, whilst simultaneously being attached to the ideology. It may seem that these interests conflict with

the Dawah to the ideology. Therefore, one may attempt the reconciliation (tawfeeq) between both. Overcoming this obstacle requires every person who embraces the ideology to consider the Dawah and the Party as the center of the sphere, around which his personal interests revolve. So, it is not allowed for him to be occupied in any work that contradicts, makes him forget or hinders him from the Dawah. By doing so, he moves from the Dawah revolving around his interests, to his interests revolving around the pivot of the Dawah.

E. Amongst the obstacles is the difficulty in sacrificing matters of worldly life, such as wealth and business, for the sake of Islam and carrying its Dawah. To overcome this obstacle, the Believer (mu'min) is reminded that Allah (swt) has purchased from the believers their lives and wealth in exchange for Paradise. This reminder should suffice, and the choice should be left to the individual to sacrifice these matters without any coercion. The Messenger of Allah (saw) wrote in a letter to 'Abdullah Ibn Jahsh, when he sent him to lead an expedition (sariyah) to observe the Quraysh at Nakhlah, between Makkah and Ta'if, which stated: **وَلَا تُكْرِهَنَّ أَحَدًا مِنْ أَصْحَابِكَ عَلَى الْمَسِيرِ مَعَكَ وَأَمُضِ لِأَمْرِي فِيمَنْ تَبِعَكَ**
“Do not coerce anyone of your companions to proceed with you, and go forth with my order with those who follow you.”

F. It may appear that one of the obstacles is the difference in urbanization between societies. This is because within the Ummah, the environments of cities, villages and the Bedouin life all differ with each other. The urbanization (madaniyyah) in a city is different from that of the village, whilst that of the village, in turn, is different from the camps and tents of Bedouin life. Therefore, these differences in levels of urbanization may inspire in the Party the notion of differences in the culturing or in ideological orientation. This one of the most dangerous notions because, regardless of the differences in levels of urbanization within her, the Ummah is one Ummah, her sensation is one and her ideology is one. Thus the Dawah with the Ummah is one with no

difference between the city and the village, so the work for interaction with her is one.

17. In this stage, the stage of interaction with the Ummah, the Party (Hizb) is exposed to two dangers: an ideological danger, i.e. to the ideology, and a class (Tabqee) danger. This is because when the Party is embarking on life in society, it contacts the public (jumhoor) to interact with it and lead it. Whilst the Party is equipped with its ideology, the public has gathered within it contradictions from old reactionary ideas, legacies from past generations, dangerous foreign ideas and imitation of the colonial kafir. When the Party engages in the process of interaction with the public, it provides the public with the opinions and thoughts of the Party, striving to correct its concepts, arousing the Islamic 'aqeedah within it and generating a truthful (Sadiq) atmosphere and virtuous (Saadiq) public convention ('urf 'aam), all with the concepts of the party. This requires Dawah and propagation, in order to gather the Ummah around the Party on the basis of the ideology in a way that strengthens the Iman of the Ummah in the ideology, arousing confidence in the Party's concepts, as well as respect and appreciation for it, preparing it for obedience and the work. At that time, the duty of the Party will be to increase its believing youth, trusted within the Ummah, so that they assume full control of her reins, like the officers in the army. If the Party succeeds in this stage of interaction, it will then lead the Ummah towards its goal (ghayah), within the limits set by the ideology, without being derailed.

If the Party led the public before it completed interaction with it, before it generated the general awareness (al-waee al-aam) amongst the Ummah, then its leadership will not be by the rulings (aHkaam) of the ideology and its thoughts. Instead, the leadership would be by identification (tashkhees) of what is simmering in the soul of the Ummah, by stirring her passion ('aaTifiyyah) and by portraying her demands as being within her reach.

However, in this case, the public is not devoid of its prior emotions (mashaa'ir) such as patriotism, nationalism and priestly spirituality, with the mob mentality agitating them. So at such a time, there remerge within the public; trivial traditions ('an'anaat), such as sectarianism and denominationalism (mazhabiyyah), old thoughts such as independence and freedom and corrupt prejudices, such as racism and nepotism. Thus, arise the contradictions between the public and the party, because the public assumes for itself demands that are inconsistent with the ideology and calls for immediate goals that are harmful to the Ummah. The public is impassioned about these demands and increasingly agitated about achieving them, with multiple prejudices appearing within it. In this situation, the Party is caught between two tough stances: either to face the anger and resentment of the Ummah, destroying all that the Party had built in order to dominate the community; or to face a deviation from its ideology, becoming lenient regarding it. Both these stances constitute danger to the Party. If the public comes into conflict with the ideology, it is imperative for the Party members to adhere to the ideology alone, even if the Party members are subjected to the resentment of the Ummah, for this resentment is temporary. Their steadfastness upon the ideology will restore the trust (thiqah) of the Ummah in them. Let the party members beware of contradiction with the ideology and deviation from its essence, even in the slightest. This is because the ideology is the life of the Party and it is what ensures its continuity (baqaa'). To prevent such critical situations and to ward off such a danger, the Party must strive to cultivate the Ummah with its ideology, to maintain the clarity of the thoughts and concepts of the Party and work to ensure its atmospheres dominate the Ummah. All of this is facilitated by; exquisite meticulousness (inayah) in the period of culturing, great attention in collective culturing, concern (HirS) over precisely exposing the plans of colonialism, constancy in vigilance over the Ummah and her interests, complete fusion of the Party with the ideology and constancy in scrutiny of the thoughts and concepts of the Party, so that they remain pure.

They must expend every possible effort in achieving all of this, no matter how much effort and hardship this entails.

As for the class danger, it seeps into the members of the Party, not the Ummah. This is because when the Party represents the Ummah or the majority of it, it has a prominent position, a revered status and is held in great esteem (ikbaar), by both the Ummah in general and the influential in particular. This establishes arrogance in the soul, so the members of the party see themselves as superior to the Ummah and that their calling (muhiimah) is to be the leadership, while the calling of the Ummah is just to be the led. Thus, they look down upon individuals of the Ummah, or some of them, without taking that into account. If this were to recur, the Ummah will feel that the Party is a class (Tabqa) apart from her, whilst the Party feels class elitism (Tabqiyyah). This feeling (shu'oor) is the first step to the collapse of the Party, because it weakens the concern of the Party for the trust (thiqah) of the common folk of the public, whilst weakening the trust (thiqah) of the public in the Party. At such a time the Ummah begins to turn away from the party. When the Ummah has turned away from the Party, the Party collapses and it needs redoubled effort to restore the trust. Therefore, it is mandatory for the members of the Party to be as individuals of the Ummah, as common folk, not thinking of themselves as anything but servants of the Ummah and that their Party duty is serving the Ummah. This generates within them an immunity that benefits them not only in maintaining the trust of the public, but also in the third stage, when they come to power to implement the ideology. So, when implementing the ideology is charged to them, they would remain, as rulers, servants of the Ummah.

18. The third stage is the acquisition of ruling (al-Hukm).

The Party (Hizb) acquires ruling through the Ummah and the actions of demanding (Talab) Material Support (Nusrah). It implements the ideology in its totality, which is known as the radical (inqilaabee) method. This Method does not accept power sharing, seizing power completely as a Method to implement the ideology, not as a goal in

itself. It radically implements the Islamic ideology and does not accept the method of gradualism (tadreej), regardless of prevailing circumstances.

Once the state has fully and comprehensively implemented the ideology, the state must carry the Islamic Dawah, creating within the state budget a particular provision for Dawah and propagation. The state assumes supervision over this Dawah from either a state or Party perspective, according to prevailing circumstances. Despite coming to power, the Party remains as a functioning party with its organization intact, whether its members are in ruling posts or not. Ruling is considered the practical step to implement the ideology of the Party within the state, whilst striving to implement it in every part of the world.

These then are the steps through which the Party advances in the arena (mu'tarak) of life, to transfer the Thought into practical existence. In other words, to transfer the ideology to the arena of life through the resumption of the Islamic way of life, to revive society and to carry the Dawah to the world. It is at that time that the Party begins the practical role, which is the role for which it was founded. Based on that, the Party is the true guarantor of; the establishment of the Islamic state, the continuity (baqaa') of the state, the implementation of Islam, beneficence (iHsaan) in the implementation of Islam, the permanence (istimraar) of this implementation and the carrying of the Islamic Dawah to the world. All this is because after it establishes the state, the Party will be its vigilant guardian (raqeeb), holding it to account, and leading the Ummah in engaging with it, whilst at the same time carrying the Islamic Dawah in Islamic countries, and in other parts of the world.