

ENTERING THE SOCIETY

In the course of the Da'wah, Hizb ut Tahreer has completed the stage of attempting to address the public. It was able to make its presence known as a political party based upon a specific 'Aqeedah. The Hizb's impact was also made upon the existing political media. It was able to attract the people in such a manner that the ideas it conveyed were considered by those people as their own ideas. Hitherto, the Hizb was able to reach the door of society, in order to open it either by the initiative of the Hizb or society.

The Hizb studies what is behind the door (latches & bolts) as well as everyone in the house, from the guards to the housekeeper. This study will enable the Hizb to enter the society effectively and to continue to pursue its mission with steadfastness. It must be clear that while the Hizb mobilizes its strength to enter the society, it maintains its ideological make-up, i.e., of being established on a specific 'Aqeedah. The Hizb has to comprehend the fact that it is an Islamic party entering a non-Islamic society. It seeks to resume the Islamic way of life in the society by reestablishing the Islamic State. In turn, it is this state, the Khilafah, which carries the Islamic Message to the world. Additionally, the Hizb has to be careful about the method to the same degree as it is about the idea. Attention must also be paid regarding its adopted styles with respect to their legitimacy. The Hizb would abandon its idea or method if it was proven wrong. Regarding the idea, method, or styles, the Hizb considers any change exercised via Ijtihad an obvious mistake if it is unintentional. However, it would be considered diversion if the mistake was intentional. Therefore, any opinion which is unclear in the minds of a member should not exist, whether it is related to politics, ideology, or administration. Ideas related to these subjects have to be deeply rooted in the mind through conviction and satisfaction.

In this stage, Hizb ut Tahreer will be subjected to Fitnah. Many suggestions and advice will be given from people and members with regards to the lengthy period of standing at the door. Some of these suggestions would take the current examples of parties entering the society. This stage would be marked with the Seerah and ideas of the Hizb being twisted by the sincerity of the Shabbab. Other factors of influence would be external currents beyond the Hizb. This will increase after entering the door of the society. At that moment, the opposing currents will be at the forefront. It will be a stand-off between pure Islam and pure Kufr. The suggestions would increase. No attention would be directed towards complying to the ideas of the Hizb. Therefore, it is a must for the Hizb to be fully aware of its idea, method, and styles, regardless of how lengthy the wait is at the door of the society.

The Hizb must realize that we must enter the society to influence it, rather than be influenced by it: creating the change and not being changed; walking firmly and not being shaken; walking in a manner that causes others to be moved while maintaining our high standard and values.

In order for the Hizb to comprehend why it is knocking at the door of the society, it must understand how to proceed in changing the fundamental idea that governs society and to overwhelm it. Changing the emotional landscape of people requires to contemplate and know the meaning of the society as defined by the Hizb. For example, we must understand the make-up of the areas defined by the Hizb as Majal. This requires a thorough understanding related to the general and specific make-up of a society.

A society is composed of human beings, thoughts, sentiments, and the system. This is a general definition arrived at by studying any society and placing into consideration the targeted society we seek to change. To illustrate this further, the sum total of individuals would form a group. If permanent relationships exist between them, they would be a society regardless of their number. The existence of this relationship is achieved through the common interests between them, whether they are beneficial or not. The internal momentum within the person to acquire benefit is classified as vital energy. Every human being has energy that requires satisfaction. Consequently, from this internal momentum, feelings naturally emanate. In the case of animals, the satisfaction will be directed by biological needs and trial and error. In the case of human beings, the satisfaction of the needs will be achieved through a given set of concepts that are adopted. These concepts would

identify for the person the kinds of emotions that pushes him to satisfy his needs and how to satisfy them. According to these concepts, Man will organize his interests. Based on this, relationships between human beings will arise. This results in the development of relationships based on certain ideas, emotions, and systems being implemented. Thus, the element which renders people as a society is the relationship. Therefore, entering the society is nothing more than addressing the existing relationships amongst the people in the society.

These relationships are maintained by an authority. Another kind of relationship that exists in society is the one between people and the authority. Therefore, in attempting to influence the society or to enter it, it is insufficient to only address the relationship between people. The existing relationship between the authority and people must be addressed in an open and firm manner. This will result in planting the seeds for this relationship to be severed.

This is because the authority is the power that is tasked with managing the affairs of people and controlling the relationships amongst them in their entirety and between other societies. Therefore, if the hand controlling the society is not consistently attacked and firmly, people will not realize the grievous situation of the society and the pressing need for a change. They will also not realize the erroneous ideas and emotions they carry regarding their interests.

Thus, it has to be apparent that the Hizb's function is to address the relationships between the authority and people in all aspects, whether related to the affairs of the people, such as building bridges, hospitals, schools, or related to the actions enabling the authority to look after the affairs of the people, such as the formation of the cabinet, establishing ministries, or electing representatives. The current regimes in the Muslim world are not restricted to the rulers alone as in the case of Islamic ruling. The current ruling structure is based on the imitation of democracy. Therefore, it is based on the ruling elite and not just the ruler. The "career politicians" and parties possessing political clout hail from this elite. Thus, the attack must be launched on all components of this elitist class in all of its actions, ideas, the rulers' relationship with the Ummah, and other nations. It has to be clear that the current relationships in the society are controlled and managed by these rulers.

Therefore, the current situation and destiny of a nation cannot be influenced and one cannot enter or interact without addressing the rulers' ideas, actions, and agenda. Effective and meaningful interaction amongst the people cannot occur unless this relationship is highlighted and addressed. Anything related to this task is the function of a political party. This has to be clear from the onset in order to maintain the party's identity and ideas influential so as to make inroads in the way people's affairs are conducted. This would underscore the practical aspects of the party's ideas and will depict the relevance of the Hizb's ideas, both in the mind of the Hizb and the people. The ideas will remain relevant. Thus, the people will feel the reality of the idea via their senses and comprehend it with their mind. We strive for this in order for the party to mobilize its political ideas in the society and thereby dynamically change the society. Therefore, we need to comprehend what is mentioned in the book "Political Concepts", that both mass and concentrated education which the Hizb conducts is part of politics, although it may be viewed as an educational process. On the contrary, this acculturation is given in order to crystallize the foundation for questioning the ruler and the manner in which the affairs of the people are conducted. Also, mass and concentrated education is considered part of the politics of exposing and adopting the interests of the Ummah. Through this, Hizb ut Tahreer will initiate addressing the actions and functions of the ruler. Therefore, in the first stage, it would be trying to understand the idea and the method so that it will walk towards the society. The party does not consider addressing the society as working in the society. The Hizb considers this as walking towards the society. It does not consider itself entering the society and working in it until it addresses the relationship between the ruler and Ummah, the way the politicians and the ruling elite see it.

It can then be clearly said that the Hizb walked the entire distance towards the society without acceleration or hesitation. In other words, it was natural. The factor which contributed towards this process was the political actions which occurred in 1956-1957. Those political actions contributed to the Hizb's walk towards the society. Currently, the Hizb works in addressing the relationships of the society, so the door will be opened. Hizb ut Tahreer is trying to influence the positions of the rulers and politicians. It seeks to influence the Ummah's point of view towards the Hizb, rulers, and politicians in three aspects: to solve the problem, confidence, allegiance.

This method will lead the Hizb to establish its position in society. Therefore, political activism in its two aspects: intellectual and political struggle, must focus on the domestic and foreign relationships in society. This should be pursued while imparting both concentrated and mass education. In addition, alertness must be paid to the creativity in the ways and means.

This would not be productive unless the Hizb addresses issues in a relevant manner. If the situation remains as in the first stage (explaining the ideas of the Hizb by discussing paragraphs from its books, with the objective of leading the individual to believe in these without comprehending its relevant or reality), it would not effectively lead the party to enter society and to wield full command. Therefore, there is a need to understand the reality of the society in which we work as well as the role of the Wilayah committee in each country. This does entail comprehension at an extremely detailed manner but an overall understanding coupled with some pertinent details. More importantly, the plan to enter into society must be understood. This plan is outlined in leaflets entitled "Launching Point" and "Political Activism." Both of these leaflets need to be understood by each member, especially the local and the Wilayah committees. As for the practical aspects of the plan, it can be summarized as follows:

The ideological struggle must continue; it should be expanded without any pre-arrangements by the leadership committee.

The Wilayah committees should mobilize their efforts by any means possible, provided that it does not violate what the Hizb has adopted. What is important is that the Shabbab thoroughly understand the reality of the ideas being applied in this ideological struggle. They must present it to the people in a relevant and obvious manner. This can be achieved by surfacing many examples, both historical and current. This is especially the case when talking about the latches that the Kuffar will place behind the door in order to prevent entry. As an example, Arab nationalism must be addressed in both its idea and practical aspects. This idea needs to be exposed for its vagueness, false wishes and hopes, unclear ideas, subhuman tendencies, being based on the survival instinct, and lack of a system. When explaining its tribal and racial features, the incident of Ghazwah Mustaliq from the Seerah should be related as a historical example to remind people of its dangers. Another example would be to bring the current European nations' inability to unite either through a federation or confederation because of nationalism. These examples illustrate the subject from a practical aspect.

Many other examples can be brought, such as the Al Wa'ee library in Beirut and the AUB. Those entering Al Wa'ee library would find relevant discussions, whether related to current political events or related to any contemporary relationship in the society. While in AUB, academic debates would be discussed without considering their relevancy. Consequently, Al Wa'ee is in the society and AUB is not. The local and Wilayah committees should initiate lively discussions in order to spark intellectual dialogue on relevant topics.

The political struggle up to this point is not being carried effectively. The struggle has to be exercised in the following manner.

Address the current relationships between the authority and Ummah, specifically related to the interests of the people. In the past, the Hizb would initiate any act as long as it can bear its repercussions. Since it currently has not entered the society but is knocking at the door, then it must

avoid those acts which would result in a severe strike. The Hizb would not worry about any harmful strike, just the severe ones. In the future, during the interaction stage, the Hizb would not even worry about severe strikes. It will start to worry about the fatal strike that would lead to its death. We are not in the interaction stage but it must be comprehended early as interaction will surely take place once the Hizb enters society.

Challenging the relationships in society means to address its interests. Criticizing actions in a blunt manner translates into addressing its interests. Therefore, the whole issue is to address the interests in a strong way. Those interests are one of two categories. Beneficial, short term interests and political, short term interests. Addressing the long term interests whether they are political or beneficial cannot be achieved by the political struggle. They can only be achieved through intellectual struggle hand in glove with concentrated education and mass education. Only the short term public interests can be addressed in the political struggle.

Addressing the short term public interests can be done by addressing the present interests of the Ummah, whether it is particularly related to certain section of the society such as merchants or certain province like Syria or Cairo or generally related to the whole Ummah, a country or the Majal. This can be achieved by explaining the events or provoking the people's emotions against the rulers without mentioning the Hukm Shari' on the issue, such as addressing the oppression of squandering the wealth of the Ummah in wasteful projects which do not benefit the Ummah. It can also be addressed by the mismanagement of people's affairs along with mentioning the Hukm Shari' in an issue, such as a police citation which forces the individual to go to a court and engage in all sorts of bureaucracy, thereby disrupting his life (the Muhtasib in Islam would issue the verdict without a postponement, thereby freeing the person from bureaucracy and disruption in his life).

Addressing the immediate political interests of the people is achieved by addressing the how the cabinets or ministries are formed to foster the affairs of the people. This would necessitate attacking the naiveté of the parliament; cheapness of Democracy (which placed certain people into governmental posts and has made them the political medium in the society); exposing foreign intervention in internal affairs through embassies; and exposing the influence of tribal chiefs and capitalists on the rulers. This can occur case by case on a warranted basis, such as when a cabinet is formed, commencement of a session in parliament, or when a vote of confidence is suggested. It could occur also when any need arises.

This is the plan of how to work in the society. Carrying the plan with a thorough understanding would enable the Hizb to open the door of the society or for the door of the society to be opened for the Hizb. It has to be understood by the people and members that the Hizb targets the authority in order to assume the authority itself in order to transform a state into the Islamic State. The Hizb does not seek to create parallel authority in the same society. The authority which subjugates and oppresses the people is the target of the Hizb. The Hizb seeks this change through the Ummah in order to change the system to be Islamic and to carry Islam as its Message.

There could be two results from this: the Hizb does not differentiate between ministries/cabinets in conducting the affairs of the people. The Hizb would not attack one ministry/cabinet while leaving another alone. The Hizb seeks to challenge and confront all ruling groups in power.

Second, we should not tell the people that their interests will be guaranteed once the Islamic State is established because this statement would distance the people from the real comprehension of their interests and distance the Hizb from authority. What we should do is to address the method by which the people are ruled and the address itself should be according to the Hukm Shari'. Furthermore, the struggle should be conducted against the authority under attack, its legitimacy should be undermined, strengthening the hands which will destroy the authority. All of this should have the people yearning to witness the establishment of Islamic ruling and Islamic flag. It has to be understood that the objective is not ruling but resuming the Islamic way of life and carrying the Da'wah to the world. This formidable task revolves around the ruling authority. Acquiring the

ruling position will enable the Hizb to render the relationship amongst the people Islamic. We should not view acquiring the ruling position as more than a method. Therefore, the issue is not just undermining the authority but to have the Islamic concepts overwhelm the society. This will be conducive for the people in power to be removed due to the impact of the Islamic concepts.

We must realize that the Islamic Khilafah will be established upon new ideas and the authority will change based upon these ideas. When the ideas become concepts, they will cause changes in behavior. The viewpoint regarding life will be changed, including those ideas that pertain to interest and authority. The authority is no more than fostering and overseeing the affairs of the people and this cannot happen except by the strongest group amongst other groups. If people in an area were unified in the way they view their interests, they would establish an authority that would conduct their affairs. They would at least approve the authority established itself for this purpose. The authority is vested in the Ummah through direct means or by its approval of the ones who possess authority.

However, if the Ummah is not united and fields different opinions about its interests, the authority would be assumed by the stronger faction. This faction would possess authority and subsequently foster the affairs of the people based upon its understanding of interest, thereby consolidating the interests of other factions, and in turn establishing a common interest for all. This will lead to all factions either melting into one or until the other groups accept this and thus their view becomes the same. Alternatively, all of these factions could unite against the faction which assumed authority and repossess its authority. This is the natural disposition of authority, whether it is tribal, democratic, Islamic, or dictatorial. Even in a dictatorial society, one individual does not have sole influence without the approval of other powerful elements in the society, either by their silence or acceptance towards the dictator's action.

Ideas about life and a strong faction convinced with these ideas and conveying them is necessary. The word "faction", as used here is not to be equated with the word "Hizb", but rather denotes a sector of people in society. The Hizb is not a faction. Rather it is an Islamically mandated entity. Specific ideas manifested in concepts, convictions, and standards constitute the foundation for the State. Acceptance of this set of concepts is a prerequisite for the Islamic State to be established. Acceptance can occur in one of two ways: either when the ideas are clearly and systematically presented or by realizing them due to practical problems that repeatedly present themselves in life. Ideas must be translated into a set of concepts and standards that encompass the ideology about life. Following this, a group or stronger element of the Ummah has to accept this set of concepts in order for the State to emerge in a natural manner. Acquiring the ruling in any country cannot occur except by adopting the set of concepts adopted by the Ummah or the stronger faction. The people's affairs must be taken care of based on these concepts. However, the ruling and its basis running counter to the convictions of the people would not occur except by an external invader, whose material or intellectual power would be far superior than that possessed by the Ummah.

Therefore, we must work to explicate the set of concepts and standards to the Ummah so that it leads to the Ummah's acceptance (i.e., the Ummah adopts these same concepts and standards) and then acquire the ruling through the Ummah. Once the Islamic State is established in an area, it would expand towards the other parts of the Muslim world with its intellectual and material strength and thus be united as one state. The factor which causes the Ummah or the stronger element in the society to adopt these ideas, concepts, and values in their entirety is the party, and not the illuminati nor the individual with his individualistic approach. This is due to the fact that the state is an executive entity implementing a set of ideas, concepts, or values that the Ummah adopts. The state is not an intellectual entity and cannot ignore the practical situation of the Ummah. All it can do is to express the adopted concepts by implementing them, thereby producing the intellectual momentum to put the concepts into practice. The state cannot change these concepts, as it is an executive and not intellectual entity. The Ummah is composed of males and females with different levels of material resources, differences among individuals, and specifically possessing different

ways and means to execute concepts. As one entity, they are controlled by concepts derived from major concepts they carry. People are controlled by these restrictions and thereby cannot constitute an intellectual entity. Thus, the Ummah, as a mass, cannot change its concepts about life.

The State and people are not the source for concepts, but rather a place where the concepts are applied. This is common regardless of how profound or shallow those concepts are. The concepts and standards are applied on the Ummah by the State. In this regard, both the Ummah and the State are passive. They are influenced by the set of concepts about life. This set of concepts comprises the socio-legal foundation for State and Ummah. An active force tasked with instilling the concepts in the Ummah and the State must exist. This force is distinct from both the Ummah and State. It is the one capable in building them, establishing them, modifying them, changing them, and saving them. Some would claim that the illuminati in the Ummah would be capable for bringing the revival. The example of the Prophets and Reformers would be used to justify this position. The Prophets and Reformers would be cast as individuals who triggered change on the societal level. This position is misleading because individuals (even the Prophets and Reformers) within their capacity do not constitute an entity.

In addition, the Prophets and Reformers did not function as individuals. Rather, they spearheaded an organized da'wah, which itself was underpinned by a specific set of concepts. The Ummah in its entirety is an entity and the state is also an entity. Hence, it would be impossible to influence and affect either one except for an entity stronger than them, something composed of elements which are bonded together, thereby rendering it as an entity. Hence, no matter how capable the individuals were, they would not be able to influence an entity, no matter how weak this entity were. Hence, only an entity could affect or influence another entity.

On the other hand, when the individual acquired the ideas, they would have an individualistic aspect, regardless of its origin. Whether it emanates from his creativity, or acquiring it from someone else, by reading, or by way of teaching, the idea would retain this individual aspect for as long as it remains within the realm of thought. The individual would consider it his own property and would be eager to characterize it with his personal signature. Hence, his property would amount to theory which he would speak about or publish in a piece of literature. They would not produce any effect in the State or Ummah, no matter how numerous the number of intellectuals were and no matter how numerous the number of books and publications were. However, when this idea manages to be transferred into a conviction in the person's mind, it would move from the theoretical aspect to the standard and concepts that the society seeks to implement.

The cause for this transfer would be the decisive belief (Iman Jazim) in it, i.e., it would be the decisive trust (Tasdeeq Jazim) which conforms with reality as conceived in the mind of the person. As for the manner in which this would take place, it would be realized through continuous study, persuasion of the concept by furnishing the Daleel, and implementation of the concept. This could not be brought about except within a party. The continuous study, discussion of the concept (augmented with the Daleel), and implementation of the concept all would continue within this party until the idea merges with the party in such a way that it will become a distinct trait of the party. This would dominate in such a way that it will be viewed as its own, while at the same time in the party, each individual would view it as his own. The idea would dominate their viewpoint about life and encompass it, and it would dominate their behavior and correct them. The idea would become an authoritative force and would create its own environment in which man would be affected.

Hence, a specific entity for this idea would be produced, which would be other than the entity of the Ummah, though it would be a part of it. This specific entity would proceed under the authority of the state, not under its own. This intellectual entity would be the party which would be formed within the Ummah. Hence, what really influences people or the state would be the party, not individuals.

The party, in its quality as an entity, would engage in a struggle with the State and Ummah. In order to overcome both of them, it would seek to maintain the quality of being effective rather than being affected. This would be opposite the State and Ummah, each one of which would have the quality of being affected rather than being effective. It would be the party's adherence to its ideology that determines the period of its struggle, for its ideological adherence as an entity would shorten the period of its struggle, while its leniency would lengthen this period. As long as the party does not deviate from its concepts, standards, and convictions, it would undoubtedly overcome the two entities: the Ummah and the State. It would overcome the entities of the strongest factions among people, as they would come together as one single visible entity that would take the reins of leadership of the Ummah. With this new entity, it would strike the entity of the State. Subsequently, it would, along with the ideological entity and executive entity, seize the rest of the factions and would fuse them into one single entity which constitute the entity of the Ummah.

Although the struggle that takes place would be intellectual, it would nevertheless be a struggle between concepts, standards, and convictions that were relevant to the daily affairs of life and not one that was realized in the realm of theory. Hence, it would address public relationships and interests, aiming to destroy the false concepts, standard and convictions upon which the Ummah is formed. This is not exercised by destroying the Ummah, nor any individual from among it, for it seeks to gain the confidence of the Ummah, elevating its position and changing its present condition by providing it with an entity which would become characterized by dignity. Therefore, the struggle of the party as an ideological entity would be directed at the executive and societal entities. The work would be focused on these two entities and nothing else. The focus of the struggle would be that of an entity against another entity, and since it were the entity of the state which holds the reins of power and assumes the running of the Ummah's entity, the manifestation of the struggle would be seemingly focused merely on the state's entity, whereas in fact it would be directed at both entities.

Therefore, it would be imperative for the party to enter society as an intellectual entity. The Hizb should function as one unique entity and not in a multifaceted capacity. It would be wrong to associate any other quality with it, as it is an entity which will interact with the other two entities. Otherwise, it would weaken the Hizb in its struggle and dilute its entity.

The entity of the party does not simply mean its apparatus. It is more comprehensive than that. The party's activities would be initiated by its apparatus. The concepts, standards, and convictions upon which the apparatus is based on are part of the Hizb's entity, which is greater in scope than this. Its makeup is defined as the group of concepts, standards, and convictions which are embodied in a group of people in their quality as a collective unit, and not in their individual quality. Therefore, if the actions were initiated by this group of people, or by any of the committee within the apparatus or by any individual of this group, and these actions were initiated according to these concepts, standards, and convictions, these actions would be initiated by the party as an entity, not by the individual, nor by the apparatus from which it was initiated.

Hence, the entity is composed of elements, which are bonded together that renders it as an entity. The elements which form the entity for the Hizb is a set of standards, concepts, convictions, and the group of people that adopts and conveys them. The bond consists of the 'Aqeedah upon which the party is founded upon and the culture by which the party is characterized. From these elements and bonds, the entity of the Hizb would be established. It is this entity alone that should operate. It is a personality that can be sensed, whose strength and standing can be felt, similar to the State's or Ummah's personality being recognized and felt. This entity would be the one that enters the struggle within society. It would be this entity that should endeavor to resume the Leadership of the Ummah. The image of this entity should be taken by Ummah as its personality while at the same time this entity should take the personality of the Ummah.

In order for the party to enter society according to the plan designed in this leaflet, the following style should be adopted:

As far as this plan is concerned, there will be no new prearranged initiative to carry this plan by party members or by the Local Committees, whether this were a political or intellectual struggle. Every party member would continue carrying the Da'wah, conducting discussions, contacting people, and operating study circles. The Local Committees would continue to perform their party activities of concentrated and public education, supervising the Da'wah, and undertaking the necessary steps related to discussion, such as giving specific topics in order to activate discussions, or conjuring a specific style in order to motivate the Shabbab. The Local Committees and party members would execute all that which they had been directed to carry by those who have the competence. This execution should point up complete obedience, and highlight the fact that it is the Hizb in operation, not an individual or a Committee. Every single party member should proceed with self motivation even if he were to lose contact with the Local Committee, and every Local Committee should proceed with self motivation even if were to lose contact with the Wilayah Committee.

The Wilayah Committee is the administrative organ of the party. It is the political aspect through which the party is viewed. It operates in society as a party. Therefore, its outward appearance within the Ummah and political circle constitute a political aspect. This should be the same as its outward appearance from an intellectual aspect. Hence, politics would project its outward appearance and intellect should be its nature.

This is the reality of the Wilayah Committee in society. Once it becomes known, it would become easy for it to proceed with self motivation, even if were to lose contact with the Leadership committee for a period of time and under any circumstances.

The functions of the Wilayah Committee are classified into two sections: Executive functions are the exclusive responsibility of the Mu'tamad (one who is in charge of the Wilayah); administrative functions related to its area are within the purview of the Committee as a whole; decision making would be conducted according to what had been mentioned in a previous leaflet, which stated that if the opinions were to lead to a thought, then the correct thought should be followed, which may entail more time for the thought to be studied; if no agreement were reached conclusively, the opinion of the Mu'tamad would be final. For example, would pressuring the government to perform certain actions lead the party to seize power or not? Or for example, would the political struggle in a specific matter lead to a fatal strike in the Wilayah or not? Hence, any opinion leading to a thought should not be subject to a majority consensus. However, if the opinion were to lead to an action, then majority opinion would be followed. As an example, shall we raise this issue in the mosques or by distributing leaflets? Or for instance, shall we distribute this leaflet all over the country or just in strategic cities?

The Wilayah Committee would undertake the execution of the plan to enter society and the styles to do so as directed by the leadership.

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

To print and publish all that which is sent to it from the Leadership Committee in terms of communiqués, leaflets, memoranda, etc., whether this were general, concerning the party as a whole, or specific to the Wilayah's area. This could be sent and put in its final version, in which case, it should be published verbatim. It could also be a host of specific points, or part of a communiqué or a leaflet, in which case, the Wilayah Committee would accordingly draft it as a communiqué, leaflet, or memorandum, and put it in its final version as it deems fit; it would print and publish it with the name and signature of the party. It could also be a specific interest which the Leadership Committee has given permission for the Wilayah to adopt, in which case, the Wilayah

Committee would draft the leaflet and prepare the plan of contacts or the word of mouth, it would print and publish as it deems appropriate, this is done with the name of the party and its signature. All these leaflets would take the aspect of executive activities (Mu'tamad), in terms of laying down the idea and deciding which interests to pursue.

As for printing, distribution, style and similar matters, these fall under the domain of administrative actions, whether these were initially issued by the Leadership Committee, or were a reply to a proposal put forward by the Wilayah Committee.

Every Wilayah Committee would immediately - using its own initiative and with no prior permission from the Leadership Committee - address the people's relationships and address the established relationships between the authority and the Ummah. Concerning the people's interests, it should discuss the leaflets of 'Political Activism' and 'The Launching Point'. The Wilayah Committee should establish the styles that increase productivity. With this objective in mind, it would execute the following:

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

To ensure that our arranged visits take place and interaction occurs with our contacts.

To convey the ideas using the 'word of mouth' method albeit with a specific, pre-planned style.

To publish a local magazine or journal on condition that these remain as such and would not become the mouthpiece for the Hizb.

Progress should be defined according to what the party has adopted in terms of rules, thoughts, and political opinions. Great care and deep research should be afforded in deriving concepts from the adopted thoughts. The Leadership would correct all the mistakes which occur at the Wilayah's level during this process. Everything published by the Wilayah Committee in terms of leaflets and magazines should be sent as they are published to the Leadership. A written letter should be sent to the Leadership on a biweekly basis. A messenger from each Wilayah should be sent to the Leadership bimonthly in order to ensure progress in a consistent, precise, and sound manner.

During this period, the Wilayah Committee should endeavor to achieve party concentration and strengthen its relationship with the Ummah in all its actions. Two issues would emerge from this: one related to the party and the second related to the relationship of the party with the Ummah. As for the party itself, the Wilayah Committee would be concerned with extensive education and the shaping of its members as opposed to recruitment of prospective members. "Therefore, as of today, there will no place in the party for the honorary members or the supportive members. Every member should either give a Halaqah or take a Halaqah. He should attend the monthly Halaqah and execute all that which he has been ordered to carry out in terms of party activities. One should not feel apologetic or sympathetic for those excommunicated by the party, for in fact they are the ones who de facto abandoned the Hizb. How could they fall asleep once they had been awoken while in the front-line and in the midst of the struggle?"

As for the relationship of the party with the Ummah, we ought to be anxious not to sever it. The idea that contravenes Islam should be addressed and corrected in a frank and bold manner. However, this does not mean that the discussion be a hostile one. The correct idea should be delivered in a natural and real manner, i.e. that it is done so to in order to salvage and revive it and elevate its standing.

"The responsibility is individual and activity is collective." The Wilayah Committee should aspire towards fully understanding and implementing this principle adopted by the party. It would be imperative when it comes to assign a task and responsibility to one person in order to empower him to execute the duty at hand. This is so because if the authority were assigned to a group, the responsibility would be divided and this will create a loophole for excuses and neglect because accountability is ambiguous. The task should be executed with all available resources, because the power would be vested in the group and not the individual. Therefore, the Wilayah Committee operates as a whole. However, any Mu'tamad is responsible in an executive capacity. He could seek the assistance of whoever he needs or whatever resources are required from the Wilayah Committee, local committee, or the members. Accordingly, the Mu'tamad should remain in the capital. He should not leave unless this were necessary for him or for the Da'wah. The members of the Wilayah Committee should carry out the non-scheduled or scheduled visits to the various areas.

This is the strategy of entering society and the style of executing it. It should be made absolutely clear during the pursuit of progress that the society we aim at entering is a non Islamic society (Muslim inhabited lands not ruled by Islam) and that the thoughts which dominate this society are thoughts of Kufr. The mindset should be that of Islam against Kufr. The Kufr controlled society and those in charge of it, rulers and politicians alike, and their associates are fighting to prevent the access of the Islamic concepts into society, and they use for this purpose several methods. Therefore, no Islamic movement has entered society since the demise of the Islamic Caliphate. They have remained outside society and the society continued to remain devoid of Islam. Hizb-ut-Tahrir is the first Islamic Movement since the demise of the Islamic State that is seriously willing to enter society. Its access to society would be a victory to Islam over Kufr. It would not be easy for the colonialist Kafir, nor would it be easy for the rulers and politicians to witness Islam entering society.

Therefore, they would place bolts (ideas) and latches (ideas) on society's door in order to prevent the party's entry. Once the party succeeds in breaking the bolts and latches in opening society's door, the authority would inevitably work towards generating apathy within society, lest it became once more an Islamic society. We must be fully cognizant of this slice of reality, during and after the attempt at accessing society, and fully determined to break all the bolts and latches, and to prevent apathy and neutrality from conquering society. The bolts and latches would be the basic standard of politics and legislation. This standard controls the masses and when public opinion is in their favor, they reject the thoughts which contradict this standard. Any attempt at accessing society would become impossible as long as this standard serves as the reference. With the help of these bolts and latches, society would remain closed and its barriers would be impregnable in the face of the Islamic thoughts, and access to the society would not be possible except through these concepts, criteria, and convictions alone. If diplomacy were simulated, and if the errant concepts, standards, and convictions were used as a means to introduce the Islamic thoughts, it would then be impossible for Islam to enter society as it would distance Islam from society. The individual would hence enter society on his own, through non Islamic standards, and would maintain the status quo of the society and thereby alienate Islam. Therefore, it would be imperative to break these standards in a strong ideological manner. The door of society would be open, and the struggle between the thoughts of Islam and those of Kufr would take place. The first step towards accessing the society would be to break down these standards first and foremost, especially the basic parameters. An example of the bolts and latches would be the thoughts of "Arab nationalism", "Positive neutrality", "Patriotism", "Socialism", "Democracy", "Personal Leadership" (leadership based on the personality of a person and not on an idea), "The flexibility of Islam", "Benefiting from what other nations have in terms of legislation", "Politics is other than religion", and other standards similar to these must be broken and their falsehood must be exposed by way of fierce struggle in order to facilitate access to the society.

This is as far as opening the door is concerned. As for the entry itself, Islam and Islam alone should be allowed to enter. The Kuffar, the rulers and politicians would attempt to introduce new Kufr thoughts or bolster the existing ones in society under the guise of Islam, in order to generate confusion in the society towards Islam itself. Therefore, the Muslims should be fully aware regarding this fact, so that they attack any thought that contradicts Islam in the same way any thought of Kufr would be fought for its character of being pure Kufr.

However, this attack should be aimed at political or legislative thoughts, i.e. on the thoughts related to relationships in society, which are the subject of study by the State. The attack must take place when these thoughts are proposed or when they are ratified. An example of this is the "Prohibition of being married to more than one wife", "Legitimizing of cooperatives", "Permissibility of participation in government", "Coordination between the head of states in the Muslim world about preserving of the status quo of each ruler", "Muslim league", "Raising of living standards" (projecting the economic problem to be characterized by the scarcity of resources, thereby focusing on increasing production), "Introduction of foreign investment to the country", etc.

All of these thoughts are Kufr, and they enter society on the basis that they are Islamic, or on the basis that they do not contradict Islam. These thoughts must be attacked and fought and they must not be allowed to enter the society, lest it cause confusion.

As for the other Islamic thoughts that are different than what the Hizb adopted, they would not be attacked, but the misunderstanding that they are rooted in would be explained. They are not Kufr opinions, and they should be declared as being Islamic albeit with weak evidences. For instance, there are some Mujtahideen who prohibit the Khalifah from being other than Quraysh or "Ahl ul Bayt", while others prohibited for the woman to be a judge; some of them permitted to hoard gold and silver once the Zakat had been paid; others also permitted to lease farming land and the likes. These opinions are Islamic and they would not be prevented from entering the society for they would not cause confusion in the society, simply because they are considered to be Islamic, similar to the opinions adopted by the party. The other opinions are based on an evidence or what could be viewed as evidence. It would be sufficient to merely explain the error of these Islamic opinions.

In any case, the party would absolutely not promote any opinion in its magazines, leaflets and discussion which is different than those which it had adopted. It would be permitted to publish opinions which the party had not adopted before as examples of the Fiqh or legislative understanding, without making any reference to their source, but by simply mentioning their evidences. This is as far as the opinions which the party publishes. Furthermore, if an Islamic opinion were published by some group or individual other than the party, and these opinions were different than the party's opinion, this opinion would merely be discussed if it was deemed necessary, otherwise the party would ignore it. By undertaking all these measures, the party would prevent the triple threats of confusion, neutrality, and apathy from creeping into society. The struggle between Islam and Kufr would continue until the head, body, and tail of Kufr is vanquished and Islam is crowned with victory.

Muharram 1377 / July 1958

Hizb ut Tahrir

Jerusalem