

Party Structure

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Party Structure

Since the thirteenth century after *Hijra* (nineteenth century AD), several movements were established to initiate revival. Although these attempts failed, they left an effective impact on those who succeeded them, to repeat the attempts once more. If one were to scrutinise these attempts and study these movements, he would conceive that the principal cause for the failure of all these movements was from a structural point of view attributed to four matters:

1. They were established on a general and undefined idea, which some people found it vague, and others found it almost vague. In addition, the idea lacked crystallisation, purity and clarity.
2. They did not know of a method to implement their idea. The idea rather proceeded by improvised and twisted means. Furthermore, it was fraught with vagueness and ambiguity.
3. They depended on persons whose sound awareness had not been accomplished, nor had their proper will been focused; they were rather persons who were only driven by desire and zeal.
4. Those individuals, who shouldered the responsibility of these movements, did not have amongst themselves a correct bond, other than being in the same structure which reflected itself in certain forms of actions and various expressions given to names.

Therefore, it was only natural for these blocs to surge forward with their supply of effort and zeal till it was depleted. Then their activities subsided and became extinct. Then other movements emerged in their wake, formed of other people, who in turn played the same role until they too discharged their supply of zeal and effort to a certain extent, and so on.

The failure of all these movements was natural, because they were not based on a correct, clear and defined idea. They also did not have a straight method, nor did they depend on persons with awareness, nor were they built on a proper bond.

As for the issue of “the idea and the method”, this was apparent in the error of the philosophy upon which these movements were based, assuming they had a philosophy. These movements were Islamic and Nationalist. Those in charge of the Islamic movements called for Islam in a general and undefined manner. They also tried to interpret Islam in such a way as to comply with the prevailing

situations at that time, or with those they aimed at adopting from other systems, so as to make Islam suitable for those situations, and so that they could use this interpretation as an excuse for either maintaining or adopting those situations.

As for those who were in charge of the Nationalist movements, the Arabs amongst them called for the Arab revival on a vague, ambiguous and nationalist basis, with disregard to Islam and Muslims; they relied on terms such as nationalism, dignity, pride, Arabs, Arabism, independence and the like, without acquiring any clear concept about these terms, which agrees with the reality of revival. The nationalist Turks for their part called for the revival of the Turkish homeland on the basis of Turkish nationalism. The nationalist campaigners amongst both Arabs and Turks were instructed by the colonialists, who also instructed the Balkans through these nationalist movements to seek independence from the Ottoman state, in its capacity as an Islamic state.

Arguments between Arabs from the two movements, the Islamic and the nationalist, broke out in the press as to which would be better and more appropriate, the Arab League or the Islamic League. A lengthy period of time passed during which a great deal of fruitless efforts were exhausted, because both the Arab League and the Islamic League had no factual existence. Moreover, they both represented a colonialist project designed to divert people's minds away from the Islamic state. Consequently, the failure of their efforts did not confine itself to fruitlessness, but it exceeded this and distanced the Islamic state away from people's visions and minds.

Beside the Islamic and the nationalist movements, patriotic movements were established in the various Islamic countries as a result of the disbelieving colonialist's occupation of some parts of the Islamic state, and also as a result of the political and economic oppression that had befallen the Muslims due to the implementation of the capitalist system upon them. Although the establishment of these patriotic movements was a reaction to these sufferings, some of them continued to be influenced by the Islamic aspect, whilst others were influenced purely by the patriotic aspect due to the factitious moves undertaken by the colonialist. As a result of this patriotic aspect, these movements stormed forward and engaged the Ummah in cheap struggle, which consolidated the enemies' foothold, in addition to the lack of any thought to steer these movements.

We believe that the true philosophy for revival is an ideology which combines the idea and the method together. This ideology is Islam, because it is an Aqeedah (doctrine) from which emanates a system governing all the affairs of the state and the Ummah, and a solution to all life's problems. Although Islam is a universal system, it is not part of its method to work towards its implementation on a world-wide scale, it should rather be propagated world-wide whilst the scope of the work towards its establishment must be confined to one or several countries until it

becomes firmly concentrated within its scope, hence the Islamic state would be founded and she would grow naturally until she engulfs all the Islamic countries first, then she would carry Islam to the rest of the world, because it is her Message and because it is an eternal and universal Message for all mankind.

The entire world is a suitable place for the Islamic Da'awah (call), however, since the majority of people in the Islamic countries believe in Islam, it would be necessary to start the Da'awah there. Furthermore, since the Arab countries, in their capacity as part of the Islamic countries, speak the Arabic language, which is an essential part of Islam and a fundamental element of Islamic culture, it would be more appropriate to start carrying the Da'awah in the Arab countries. It would also be necessary to blend the faculty of the Arabic language with the faculty of Islam, so that the Arabic language unites with Islam, due to their ability to influence, expand and spread. Therefore, it is natural for the Islamic state to be established in the Arab countries so as to be the nucleus of the (Greater) Islamic State which would encompass all the Islamic countries. Although it would be inevitable to carry the Da'awah for Islam in the Arab world, it would be equally inevitable to spread the Da'awah to the rest of the Islamic countries. Notwithstanding this, to initiate the work in the Arab world does not mean that the work must not be carried out in other countries before uniting them with the Islamic State, the work is rather carried out in the Arab countries to establish the Islamic State, then it grows in the neighbouring countries irrespective of them being Arab or non-Arab countries.

We have stated that the true philosophy of revival is an ideology that combines together the idea and the method, both of which need to be understood by every structure that aims at undertaking a serious effort that leads to revival.

This ideology has now become clear and its perception with the aim to establish a structure has become available. Therefore, after this clear understanding of the ideology, it would be natural for the structure which is preceded by this understanding to be influential, initiating and progressive; it would also deservedly be fostered and supported by society. Society would also shoulder its burdens, because it would be a structure that digests its idea, perceives its method and understands its cause.

However, the mere antecedent understanding of the structure would not lead to the correct revival; unless the individuals were fit for this structure and the bond which binds these people in a bloc were a correct and productive one. The suitability of the individuals would be determined according to the method of affiliation in the structure. Hence the ideological party would determine the method of affiliation in its structure as being the embracing of the Aqeedah and the maturity in the party culture. Therefore, the suitability of the individuals would be determined naturally, through their moulding into the party when the Da'awah interacts with

them. Accordingly, it would be the method of affiliation, rather than the shape of the party that determines their suitability, since the bond which binds these individuals in a bloc would be the Aqeedah and the party culture which emanates from this Aqeedah.

If we were to review the structures of the movements which appeared in the past century, we would find that their corrupt method of structuring was a central cause for their failure, because they had not been established on a party basis preceded by a true understanding, they had rather been established on an associative basis or a nominal party basis. This was so because the Muslims had felt prior to the First World War that they had an Islamic State, and despite the weakness and decline of this state and the diverse views towards her, she occupied the focus of their thought and vision. The Arabs looked upon her as being suppressive of their rights and imposed upon them, nevertheless, they turned to her with their hearts and minds in order to reform her, as she was their State in any case. Those Arabs lacked the understanding of the reality of revival and also the understanding of its method, and no structure happened between them. We can judge that this was the case for the majority of Muslims.

However, by that time the Western culture had invaded the Muslim countries, through which the colonialists managed to lure a number of Muslims, and talk them into establishing party structures inside the Islamic state, built on the basis of independence and separation. The colonialists managed specifically to attract a number of Arabs, whom they gathered in Paris to form of them a bloc to fight the Ottoman state under the guise of Arab independence. The Western culture and the Western thoughts, along with the patriotic and nationalist emotions generated amongst them by the disbelieving colonialists, gathered them. Hence their intellectual and emotional affiliation became the same, and they became gathered by the same logic, which in turn led to the unifying of the aim, which was the independence of the Arab people, since the Ottoman state disregarded their interests and allowed herself to oppress and suppress their rights. Therefore, this unified aim served as a means upon which they gathered as a nominal party which led to the preparation for the Arab revolt, resulting in the spread of the influence of disbelief and colonialism over the Islamic countries, especially the Arab countries.

The mission of these parties ended at that point; they shared the spoils by being appointed as rulers of some Islamic countries and agents of colonialism.

After the removal of the Islamic State from existence, colonialism assumed her role, ruling directly the Arab countries, and extending its influence over all the Islamic countries. So it physically occupied the Arab countries and set about establishing a foothold in every part of the Arab world through its covert and vicious styles and means, the most dangerous of which were the Western colonialist's culture, money and agents.

The Western culture had the greatest effect in concentrating disbelief and colonialism, in the unsuccessful attempts of revival and in the failure of the formative movements, associations and parties alike, because culture had the greatest influence on the human thought which in turn influences the course of life. Colonialism set up the educational and cultural curricula on the basis of a fixed philosophy which reflects its viewpoint about life, namely the detachment of the matter from the spirit and the religion from the state. It had made its personality the only basis from which our culture was exacted. It also made its civilisation, concepts and the constituents of its countries, its history and its environment the original source of what we filled our minds with. However, colonialism was not satisfied with that, it also intentionally distorted the concepts and facts it exacted for us from its personality, then reflected the colonialist image on this personality by giving it the ideal example to emulate, and the strong position which would be indispensable during progression, while it concealed the true face of colonialism by resorting to vicious styles. It then intervened in the minute details of these syllabi to ensure that not any fraction deviated from this general principle. Therefore, we became intellectual with a corrupt culture, which taught us how others thought and made us naturally incapable of learning how we should think; because our thought was not linked to our environment, personality and history, nor was it derived from our ideology. Accordingly, we became in our quality as educated persons, alienated from our people, unaware of our surroundings and its needs. Consequently, the emotions of the educated persons became separated from their thought and their ration. They naturally became isolated from the Ummah, and from her emotion and her sensations. Inevitably, a thought such as this would not lead to the correct understanding of the current situation in the countries and of the needs of the Ummah, nor would it lead to an awareness about the method of revival, because it would be a thought separated from the emotion, if not devoid of emotion. Moreover, it would be a Western thought adopted by a person with Islamic emotions. Hence, it would be only natural for such a thought not to lead to a correct understanding.

The effect of the Western culture was not only confined to the educated persons, but the thought of the whole society became, due to the thoughts contained in this culture, separated from its emotion. Consequently, the problem in society became more complex, and the burden of revival facing the proper party structure multiplied in comparison to what it had been before the First World War, because the problem which faced the Ummah and which would have faced the party at that time, would have been the revival of the Islamic society, but then it worsened to become the generating of harmony between the thought and the emotion amongst the educated persons, and the generating of harmony between the individuals and society, in both the thought and the emotion, especially between the educated persons and their society. Because those educated persons had become devoted to

the abstract Western thought, which was devoid of emotion. This devotion induced them to feel alienated from their society, scorn it, distance themselves from it and meet it with indifference. It has induced them to develop an intimacy with the westerner, to respect him, approach him and to meet him with attention, even though he was a colonialist. Therefore, it was impossible for this educated person to visualise the status quo of his country except in imitation to how the westerner would visualise the status quo of his country, without realising the reality of these situations. Hence he became unaware of what would revive the Ummah except in imitation to the westerner when he speaks about revivals. The emotions of such an educated person would not respond for the sake of the ideology, but rather for the sake of the homeland and the people, which would be the wrong response. He would not even revolt properly, nor would he sacrifice fully for the sake of his people, for he would not have an intellectual perception of the situations surrounding him, nor would he have an intellectual awareness of the people's needs. If we assumed that he had revolted and called for revival, this would have been a revolt born out of a shock to his personal interests, or a copycat revolt of the peoples' revolutions. Therefore, such a revolt would soon vanish either once the shock has died away, by giving him a job or by satisfying his desires or if this shock were to clash with his egoism and his benefits, or if he were to suffer harm from it.

The sound structure could not be originated from such a person, until after treating him by generating harmony between his thought and his emotions through culturing him from the beginning with an ideologically correct culture i.e. an Islamic culture. Treating him through this culturing process would require the assumption that he is a pupil, whose mind is to be reshaped anew, in order to proceed, after solving this problem, to generate harmony between him and his society. Then the problem of reviving society would become easy. Had it not been for the Western culture, revival would have then been less burdensome.

Accordingly, it would be impossible with the presence of this Western culture in society for a sound party structure to exist, or for such a sound structure to be established on the basis of this Western culture. Colonialism was not content with the use of this culture, it also poisoned the atmosphere with a host of political and philosophical thoughts and opinions, with which it also corrupted the sound viewpoint held by the Muslims. It also corrupted the Islamic atmosphere, and confused in an evident way the thought of the Muslims in all the various aspects of life. Hence it dispossessed them of the focus around which their natural attentiveness evolves. It turned every awakening into a muddled and confused movement, similar to a headless chicken, a movement which ends with extinction, despair and submission. The westerner exploited the fact that his personality became the focus of culture, and the focus of attention, in the political aspects; he made the seeking of the westerner's help and dependence on him the polestar of

politicians or those who practised politics. Therefore, most of the structures attempted, unconsciously, to seek the support of the Westerners. Hence some people throughout the land deemed it appropriate to seek the assistance of Western states, without realising that any kind of support sought from a Westerner and the advocating of the idea of depending on him, whatever his race, would be considered a Western poisoning and a betrayal of the Ummah, even if it were done with good intentions. They became unaware of the fact that linking our cause to people other than ourselves would be political suicide. Therefore, there would be no success in establishing any structure whose thought had been poisoned with the idea of relying upon the westerner or propagating for him.

Colonialism also poisoned society with patriotism, nationalism and socialism, as well as narrow regionalism, and made it at the centre of the current work. It also poisoned society with the idea that it would be impossible to establish the Islamic state and impossible to unify the Islamic countries due to the cultural, racial and lingual differences, despite the fact that they are all one Ummah, bound with the Islamic Aqeedah from which its system emanates. Furthermore, it also poisoned society with a host of erroneous political thoughts, such as "Take and demand", "The Ummah is the source of authority" and "sovereignty is to the people" among others. It also poisoned it with a host of erroneous thoughts such as "Religion belongs to Allah and the homeland belongs to all.", "We are united by our sufferings and our hopes", "Homeland is above all", and "Might to the homeland" among others. It also poisoned society with realistic and reactionary opinions such as "We adopt our system from our reality.", "One must accept the accomplished fact." and such as "We must be realistic." and similar expressions.

As a result of this poisoning process, society in the Islamic countries, including the Arab countries, set out in a way which could not have led to the establishment of a correct structure. Hence it came as no surprise when all the nominal party structures failed, because they had not been established on the basis of a profound thought, which would have led to a precise planning and a reliable preparation. Instead they were established without any basis.

Therefore, it was natural for the parties established in the Islamic world, particularly in the Arab countries, to have been fragmented, because they had not been based on an ideology. A study of these parties would lead us to conceive that some of them had been established on the basis of incidental occasions, generated by circumstances which necessitated the establishment of party structures, and when these circumstances disappeared, the parties also disappeared, or weakened and withered away.

Others had been established on the basis of friendships among individuals; these friendships harmonised between them so they gathered on that basis, until their

gathering ended up with them revolving around themselves. Others had been established on the basis of current and selfish interests, or on other basis.

Therefore, an ideological party bond was lacking among those individuals who had gathered on those basis, in such climates and among such societies. Therefore, their presence was not only devoid of any benefit, but also harmful to the Ummah.

In addition to the fact that the presence of such parties would either prevent or delay the emergence of the sound partisanship, they would implant despair in the souls of the masses, fill the hearts of the common people with gloom and doubt, and would arouse suspicion about every partisan movement, even if this were sound. It would sow among people the seeds of personal rancour and family feuds. With these styles of theirs, such parties would teach people hesitation and the revolving around the benefit, in other words, it would spoil the pure nature of the masses and increase the burden of the sound party structures which would inevitably have to emanate from the core of the masses.

In addition to the Islamic, nationalist and patriotic movements, a host of communist movements, based on materialism had been established. Those movements were dependent of and controlled by the communist movement in Russia. Their method was destruction and subversion and their objective, apart from introducing communism to the countries, was to disrupt western colonialism in favour of the eastern bloc, with the elite of these parties acting in their quality as agents to the eastern bloc. These movements neither responded to the Ummah, nor did they make any impact. Their failure was natural, for they contradicted human nature and they were incompatible with the Islamic Aqeedah. They exploited patriotism to achieve their aims and they were yet another problem added to the problems with which society was burdened.

Other structures on the basis of association were established; hence a host of local and regional associations which had charitable aims, sprung throughout the country. They established schools, hospitals and shelters and participated in charity work. These associations were predominantly affected by a tinge of sectarianism. Colonialism had encouraged these associations until their charity works became manifest to people. Most of these associations were cultural and charitable, seldom were there political associations amongst them.

If one were to scrutinise the consequences of these associations, he would conceive that they did not yield anything beneficial to the Ummah, nor anything which could have assisted in her revival. Their harm was concealed and could only be unveiled by the scrutiniser, and yet their mere existence, irrespective of their partial benefit, represented a great harm. This was so because the Islamic Ummah as a whole, by virtue of the existence of some Islamic thoughts, the application of some Shari'ah rules and the firmly rooted Islamic emotions due to

the influence of Islam, has the sense of revival, the sentiment of goodness and the natural inclination for gathering, because the spirit of Islam is collective. Therefore, if the Islamic Ummah were left to her own affairs, this sensation would, logically, turn into a thought, and this thought would generate an activity which would revive the Ummah. However, the presence of the associations prevented this from happening, because these associations served as an outlet for this blazing passion and as a discharge for this emotion through the triviality of this work, which was down to the triviality of the association. A member of the association would realise that he had built a school, or established a hospital, or participated in a charitable act, hence he would feel tranquil and reassured and he would be contented with his work. Whereas had this association not been established, the collective spirit would have driven him towards the sound structure, which is the party structure that generates the proper revival.

In addition to the cultural and the charity associations, a host of ethical associations were established to work towards the revival of the Ummah on the basis of morals, through preaching, direction, lectures and leaflets, on the assumption that morals are the basis of revival. A great deal of effort and money was spent on these associations, however, they produced no significant results, they merely gave vent to the Ummah's sentiments through those boring, stereotyped and repetitive rhetoric. The establishment of those associations was based on the misunderstanding of the words of Allah (swt), addressing the Messenger (saw) T.M.Q. *"And you are of a great character"*, albeit this was a description of the person of the Messenger (saw) not that of society; and also on the misunderstanding of the saying of Allah's Messenger (saw): *"Truly Allah has sent me to perfect the high moral standards."* And his saying (saw): *"Truly I have been sent to perfect the high moral standards"*, despite the fact that these two Ahadith and similar ones being related to the individual characters and not to the group of people. It was also based on the error of the poet who said: *"And truly the nations are the morals provided they are upheld -*- For if their morals disappeared, they too would disappear."*, though the nations would not prosper through morals, rather through the Aqa'id (doctrines) which they embrace, the thoughts which they carry and the systems which they implement.

It was also based on the misunderstanding of the meaning of society, as being formed of a group of individuals; though society is a whole formed of the human being, the thoughts, the emotions and the systems. The corruption of society would stem from the corruption of the thoughts, the emotions and the systems, not from the corruption of the human, and its reform could only be achieved through the reform of its thoughts, emotions and systems.

It was also based on what had been embedded in the minds of many reformists and moralists that society would be destroyed by the individual, and that the individual

is developed or wrecked by his morals. Hence the sound character would make the individual strong, straight, effective, productive and active for goodness, righteousness and reform. Whilst the bad character would make him weak, slack, devoid of any benefit and goodness, with no concern in life other than satisfying his desires and pleasing his ego. Therefore, they conceived that the reforming of society would be through the reforming of the individual, accordingly they wanted to reform society by way of following the moral procedure and they sought the moral means to revive the Ummah.

Despite the failure of all the reformist movements which were established on the basis of the moral principle, people are still convinced that this principle is the basis of reform; hence they established the reformist associations on this basis. In fact the means of reforming society are other than the means of reforming the individual, even if the individual is part of society. This is so because the corruption of society stems from the corruption of the collective emotions, her intellectual and spiritual atmospheres, it also stems from the presence of the erroneous concepts within society. In other words, it stems from the corruption of the common traditions. The reforming of society could not become feasible unless the sound common traditions are generated. In other words it could not become feasible unless the common emotions of the Ummah are reformed and unless the sound spiritual atmospheres and the intellectual atmospheres connected to the spiritual aspect are generated, and unless the system is implemented by the state. This could not be brought about unless the Islamic atmospheres are generated, and when doing so it would be essential to correct the concepts about things throughout the entire population. By this method society would be reformed and the individual would also be reformed. This could not be feasible by gathering on the basis of associations, nor by adopting the morals, or preaching and guidance as a basis for structuring.

This is why all the structures established on the basis of associations failed to generate any revival or reform. Similarly came the failure of all the structures established on a nominal party basis, which were not established on a specific ideology, nor preceded by a certain understanding, and which did not base their bond on a correct unity among the individuals.

Furthermore, with regard to their individuals, the failure of all these groups was also inevitable. Because in addition to their establishment on other than a correct structural basis, due to the absence of the idea and the method, and due to the wrong method of structuring, they did not establish their structures on the basis of the individual's personal suitability; they rather established them on the basis of the individual's social status, and on the potential instant benefit which could be obtained from his presence in the party or the association.

The member used to be selected on the grounds of being either prominent among his folk, or wealthy among his society, or a lawyer, or a doctor or an influential person, regardless of whether he was suitable or not for the group for which he was chosen. Therefore, these groups were dominated by fragmentation and class orientation. Hence the members of such groups or associations were engrossed by an ulterior feeling of being distinguished from the rest of the people, not only in terms of their wealth and status, but also by being members of the party or the association; hence no interaction or rapprochement occurred between them and the rest of the people. Accordingly, the existence of such an association or such a party made things worse and added a new complex to the problems which this society was already burdened with.

Hence, we can conclude, after study, contemplation and scrutiny that during the past century, not one single correct structure, leading to revival, were established. All the structures which came into being failed, because they had been established on an incorrect basis, though the Ummah could not revive except through structuring. So what is the correct structure which leads to the revival of the Ummah? This is what we need to address.

The correct structure with which the Ummah revives must not be established on an association basis, whose associative system necessitates that it undertakes certain actions and sayings, or some actions only or some sayings only. This kind of structure must not be encouraged within the Ummah who aims at revival, nor should the structure be established on a non ideological party basis, like those which were established in the Islamic world since the First World War until now.

The correct structure would be the one which is established on an Islamic ideological party, to whom the idea would be the soul to the party's body, its nucleus and the secret of its life. Its first cell would be a man in whom an idea and a method of the same nature are embodied, until he becomes a man of the same nature of the idea, in his purity and clarity, and like the method in his lucidity and straightness. Once these three things are found, i.e. the profound idea, the clear method and the pure man, the first cell would come into being. Then soon the cell would multiply into other cells to form the first circle of the party, i.e. the "Party Leadership". Once the first circle is founded, the party bloc would spring, because this circle would soon turn into a bloc. Then the bloc would require a party bond, to bind the individuals who had embraced the idea together. This party bond would be the Aqeedah, from which the philosophy of the party emanates, and the culture by whose concepts the party is characterised. By then the party bloc will have been formed and proceeded in the mainstream of life, hence the atmospheric elements would alternate over it hot and cool, clear and cloudy, while the winds would whiffle upon it strong and mild. If it manages to withstand these factors, then its idea will have become crystallised, its method clarified, its members prepared, its

bond strengthened, and it will have been by then able to take the practical steps in the Da'awah and the activity, and move from being a party bloc to becoming a complete ideological party, working towards the correct revival. This would be the correct structure whose nucleus would be the idea, for this would be the basis of its life.

With regard to the way in which this ideological party structure is established naturally in the Ummah who aims at revival, here follows the explanation:

The Ummah is a whole indivisible body, and in its collective overall structure, she is like a human being. Therefore, just like when the human being suffers from a severe disease which brings him to the brink of death and then when life flows back into him, it flows into him as a whole. Similarly, the declined Ummah is considered ill as well, and if vitality flows into her, it would flow into the whole of her in her quality as a single human entity, and as a whole. Life to the Ummah is the idea, which is accompanied by a method of the same nature, so as to be implemented with it; hence from both the idea and the method, the ideology is formed.

The mere existence of the ideology within the Ummah would not be sufficient to bring vitality to her. It would be rather her discovery of the ideology and its putting it into practice in her life which make her alive. For the ideology may exist in the Ummah within her legislative, cultural and historical heritage, but she may be unaware of it, or unaware of its idea, or its method, or unaware of linking them together. In this case, the mere existence of the idea and the method would not lead to revival.

Vitality would usually stream into the Ummah when severe shocks occur in society. These shocks would produce a common sensation. This collective sensation would lead to an intellectual process which in turn would produce a host of issues as a result of the discussions about the reasons and the consequences of the shock, as well as the immediate and remote means to salvage the Ummah from it. These issues are usually accompanied by their proofs; hence the correct thought would ensue from them and from their natural logic. This thought would continue to be linked to the logic, i.e. linked to the issues and their proofs, and due to this constant linkage, the thought expands to cover the past, the present and the future of the Ummah, the history of peoples and nations and incidents and events, the means of their revival and all the comparisons. In such a situation, reason would be guided to the ideology with its idea and its method. Hence it perceives it and believes in it, once the logical issues have proven its correctness, suitability and productivity. This discovery of the ideology would be collective in society, because it was the common sensation that led to it.

Although this sensation would be unique and common amongst the individuals of society, it would however be of various ratios among people, according to what Allah (swt) has prepared them with, as a result of what He bestowed upon them in terms of distinguished qualities. Hence society's discovery of the idea would remain latent in it until the effect of the sensation gathers, then it would settle in those who had acquired a higher degree of sensation; hence it would awaken them, inspire them, and motivate them into action, and the signs of life would appear in them first.

Those who had acquired a higher degree of sensation would have a natural tendency towards the sensations of society, and the idea would settle in them. Hence, they are the eyes of the Ummah and the aware group from amongst her.

However, this aware group would be anxious and confused. It would perceive numerous paths and would be confused about which path it should follow. However, this motion of awareness within this collective group would be of different ratios; hence the perceptual logic would be in some higher than it would be in others. Hence, out of this aware group, a select and distinguished band would emerge, and would, once the study and the deep research are concluded, opt for one path. It would perceive both the objective which this path leads to and the clarity of the way; hence it follows it and proceeds towards its objective. Therefore, it would be guided to the ideology with both its idea and its method and would embrace it as a deeply rooted Aqeedah; hence, it would become embodied in it and a Aqeedah for it. This Aqeedah, together with the party culture would become the bond between the individuals of this band.

When the ideology becomes embodied within the individuals, it could not bear to remain confined, it would rather drive them towards calling for it; hence their actions would be adapted to it, proceeding according to its method and restricted to its limits. Their existence would be devoted to the ideology, calling for it and fulfilling its obligations. This call aims at making people embrace this ideology alone, to the exclusion of all others, and at establishing a general awareness about it. Therefore, the first circle would grow into a bloc, then the bloc would in turn grow into an ideological party, which would develop naturally in two aspects; firstly the multiplication of its cells by generating other cells who would embrace the ideology with complete awareness and perception; secondly the generating of general awareness about the ideology throughout the whole Ummah.

This general awareness about the ideology would result in the collective, if not the unanimous unification of the thoughts, opinions and creeds among the Ummah. Hence the objective of the Ummah, as well as her Aqeedah and her viewpoint about life would be unified. Therefore, the party would act as a crucible which melts the Ummah, thus purifying her from the impurities and from the causes of corruption which led to her decline or came as a result of her decline. This melting

process would be undertaken by the party within the Ummah. This process would cause the revival. It would be a tedious operation. Therefore, it could only be achieved by the party which lives by the idea, makes its survival dependent on it and perceives each one of its own steps.

This is so because the sensation which leads to thought in the party would shine in the Ummah amidst several thoughts; it would be one of these thoughts and at first, the weakest of them, because it would be newly born and the latest in existence; it would not be established yet, nor would it have any atmospheres yet. However, because it was a thought resulting from the perceptual logic, i.e. an understanding that had resulted from the sensory perception, it would generate the intellectual sensation, and i.e. it would generate a clear sensation as a result of the profound thought. Hence, it would naturally purify whosoever it impresses, making him sincere, even if he tried to be insincere, he could not be. This thought would become embodied as an Aqeedah and a culture in the sincere man, and generates within him an unruly outburst. This outburst would be nothing but an eruption which occurs in the wake of combustion in the sensation and the thought; this would spread in the Da'awah a blazing passion, enthusiasm and truthfulness. It would at the same time spread the logic and the thought and becomes a fire that burns corruption and a light that enlightens the road to righteousness. Therefore, the Da'awah would be caught up in a struggle with the corrupt ideas, the dilapidated doctrines and the degenerate habits; these would try to defend themselves. However this defence would itself become a friction with the new ideology, hence increasing its strength and it would only be a brief period of struggle before the ideas, doctrines and methods collapse, and before the party's ideology becomes the only ideology in the Ummah, adopted as her thought and her Aqeedah.

Once the party unites the thoughts, the doctrines and the opinions, it will have fashioned the unity of the Ummah with clear insight, and it will have melted and purified her; she would become one single Ummah, hence the sound unity would be generated.

Then follows the second stage of the party, which is to lead the Ummah towards undertaking the action of radical reform, in order to revive the Ummah, then to carry with her the Message of Islam to other peoples and nations, so as to fulfil her obligation towards humanity.

This party structure would be a collective movement and it could not be but a collective movement, because the sound structure could not be an individualist movement. Therefore, it would be incumbent upon those in charge of the party in the Islamic countries to meticulously scrutinise the collective movements and to profoundly understand them.

Understanding the collective movements which had the power of influence in their time, would show us that those movements would not be established when affluence is obtainable, the human natural rights secured, prosperity ensured and when the personal competence is the criterion for holding the important posts.

This understanding of the collective movements would make it easy for us to assess every collective movement properly through the study of the environment in which it existed or in which it exists, the circumstances which surrounded or surround it, and the extent of the activity undertaken by the bright individuals in running its affairs and ease its task when it comes to removing what hinders its success or obstructs its progress.

The success of the movement would be measured by its ability to incite the sense of resentment among people, and to exhort them to express their resentment each time the ruling authorities or the current regime undermined its ideology, or each time the regime manipulated it according to its own interests and desires.

Understanding these collective movements would require of us the study of life in society, the knowledge of the Ummah's relationship with the rulers and those rulers' relationship with the Ummah, the basis of each of these two relationships and its full reality from Islam's viewpoint, opinions, thoughts and rules. It would also require the assessment of society's status quo and the changes, alterations and Ijtihad which these opinions, thoughts and rules had been subjected to; also, the nature of this Ijtihad in the branches and the foundations, and whether Islam approves of it or not. Their understanding would also require of us the study of the psychological state of the Ummah, while she witnesses these Islamic opinions, thoughts and rules recede in this world in which she lives, and which the order of life and the ruling system establish for her by force, deception and money.

Understanding them also requires of us to know the inclination of the Ummah herself in a general aspect, her viewpoint about these systems which are implemented upon her, which threaten her Islam with extinction, and throw her in the abyss of suffering and misery; then to know of the inclination of the educated persons in the Ummah, the extent of their acceptance of the corrupt system implemented upon them, and whether it incited their resentment, and to know the extent to which they were affected by temptation and intimidation, as well as the extent of their drift towards this temptation and their submission to this intimidation.

Then comes the knowledge of the party bloc itself, and to make sure that it has the use of the sensitivity, the profound thinking and the absolute sincerity; and that measures taking place in society have not weakened its belief in Islam and its laws. To also make sure that all the temptations, intimidation and terror, the gifts and the trials which take place have not affected it whatsoever. Then to make sure that

this bloc is upholding its subjective values perfectly, that the domain of its belief is safe and that its saturation with the profound Islamic thoughts and its adoption of the public interests are all perfect, in such a manner that it places the ideology in an impregnable fortress, no matter how much oppression, tyranny, hardship and terror befell it. Also to make sure that this bloc has strengthened its resolve to shoulder the responsibility, with full consideration of all the consequences and its readiness to bear them.

This historical and factual study of the collective movements would lead to the reality of the ideological party's course of action, in its capacity as a collective movement, and to ensure that it fulfils its conditions, proceeding in its natural track, so that if any deviation were noticed in it, or if it were noticed that the studies necessitate a modification in the apparatus, or flexibility in the progress, or firmness in the struggle, then the styles, which would ensure that it conveys its message of reviving the Ummah and make her carry this message to all peoples and nations would be followed.

The sound structure of the party would proceed in the following way:

1. A person possessing an outstanding thought and sensation would be guided to the ideology, hence this ideology interacts with him until it is crystallised in him, and becomes clear to him. By then the first cell will have effectively come into being. This cell would not take long before it slowly starts multiplying. Hence other persons would join it; they become cells and they link with each other entirely through the ideology. Hence, from them, the first circle of the party bloc i.e. the party leadership would be formed. It would be imperative to have the ideology alone, to the exclusion of any other thing, as the pivot of structure between these persons, and as the centripetal force which attracts them around it.
2. This first circle would usually be few in numbers at first, and slow in motion, because although it expresses the sensation of society in which it lives, its expression would be delivered by terms and meanings alien to what society had been accustomed to hear. It would have new concepts, different to society's prevailing concepts, even though they express society's sensations. Therefore, this first circle would appear as if it were strange to society, hence at first, the people who would be attracted to it are only those who have a strong sensation, to the extent that it generated in them the susceptibility to being pulled to the magnet of the ideology embodied in the first circle.
3. The thinking of the first circle (the leadership), would usually be profound, and its method of revival would be radical, in other words, it would start from the roots. Hence this circle would rise above the bad reality in which the

Ummah lives, it would hover high in the air and discern the reality which it aims at transferring the Ummah to live under; in other words, it would discern the new life which it aims at transferring the Ummah to. It would also discern the path it treads in order to change this situation. Hence it discerns what is behind the wall while the majority of society where this circle lives sees no further than its nose; and due to its clinging to the bad reality in which it exists, it would be hard for it to hover, hence it would find it difficult to perceive correctly how to change the reality. This is so because the thought of the declined society would be primitive, and this society would derive all its illustrations from its own reality, then it would measure matters according to this reality in an erroneous general way, and would shape itself according to it; consequently it would make its interests revolve around this reality. As for the first party circle, it will have surpassed the initial stage in its thought, and it will have proceeded in the way of integration. Hence, it would make reality the object of its thinking in order to change it according to the ideology, rather than the source of its thinking, by making the ideology revolve around the reality. Hence it would attempt to change the reality, shape it and subjugate it to its will, so as to make it revolve with the ideology which it embraces, rather than make the ideology revolve with the reality. Therefore, there would be a disparity between society and the first circle of the party in understanding the viewpoint about life, which requires approximation.

4. The thought of the first party circle (the leadership) would be based on a fixed principle, namely that the thought must be linked to the action, and that the thought and the action must be for a specific objective for which they both aim at. Therefore, as a result of the ideology's embodiment in it and as a result of the thought being based on a principle, a constant atmosphere of Iman would be generated; this would help subjugate and change the reality, because this thought does not take the shape of what it experiences, it rather shapes what it experiences according to its own shape. This is contrary to the declined society, whose thought would have no basis, because as a whole, it would not know the objective for which it should think and work, and to its individuals, the objective would be a current and self-centred one. Therefore, it would have no atmosphere of Iman, hence it would be forced to shape itself by what surrounds it rather than shape what surrounds it by its own shape. As a result of this, the conflict between the first circle of the party and society, where it exists at first, occurs.
5. Since the duty of the first party circle (the leadership) is to generate the atmosphere of belief which imposes a certain way of thinking, it should therefore undertake some deliberate initiatives in order to develop itself rapidly and to purify its atmosphere completely, so that it builds its party body

soundly and at a spectacular speed; it should also, at a rapid pace, transform itself from being a party circle, to becoming a party bloc, then an integrated party, which imposes itself on society in such a way that it becomes effective in society rather than being affected.

6. These deliberate moves are fashioned by the aware study of society, the individuals and the atmospheres, and by the vigilant surveillance to prevent any corrupt element from infiltrating the party's body and to avoid any flaws in the set-up of any party apparatus upon which the structure is based, lest these flaws deviate the party from its correct direction and lest the party split upon itself.
7. The deep-rooted and firm Aqeedah as well as the mature party culture must be the bond between the party members and the law that conducts the party group, rather than the administrative law written on paper. The method to strengthen this Aqeedah and this culture would be by the study and the thought, so that reason is developed in a special way and so that the thought which is linked to the emotion is generated. The atmosphere of Iman should at all times predominate the party collectively in order to have two things as the binder of the party; these would be the heart and reason. Therefore, it would be essential to believe in the ideology in order for the heart to start binding the individuals of the party, then to deeply study the ideology, learn it, memorise it and understand it, in order for the second binder, which is reason, to be formed. Thereby, the party would be soundly prepared and its bond would be strong in a way that would enable it to resist all the shocks.
8. The leadership of the party, i.e. the first circle of the party would be similar to the industrial engine on the one hand and different from it on the other hand. The aspect of similarity is as follows: The industrial gas engine for instance has heat energy generated from the ignition and the benzene in the mechanical motion. This heat energy produces air pressure, and this pressure propels the drive shaft, i.e. the driver, and imposes its motion upon the other parts, hence the machine turns.

Therefore, the presence of the ignition, the benzene and the mechanical motion is the cause, because by generating the heat energy, it produces pressure, and this pressure imposes its motion upon the other parts and turns the engine. Hence, if the motion of the engine stopped, all the other parts would stop.

Therefore, it would be essential to have the ignition, benzene and the mechanical motion for the engine to turn, hence turning all the other parts.

Likewise would be the party leadership (the first circle of the party), for the idea would be the ignition, the sensation of the aware persons of the leadership would be the benzene and the human whose sensation is affected by the idea would be the mechanical motion. Accordingly, when the idea comes into contact with the sensation in the human, the heat energy would be generated; hence it drives the leadership into motion. Its motion would be imposed upon the other parts of the party, whether these were individuals, circles, local committees or others, who would be affected by its heat, hence they move and they turn altogether, just like the machine turns. Here the party progression would start its motion and the growth in its structure would begin.

Therefore, it would be essential for the heat energy to emit from the leadership to all the other parts of the party, so that they move, also, it would be essential to have the mechanical motion in order for the machine to move. This would be the similarity between the industrial engine and the leadership of the party. Therefore, the leaders of the party must observe this aspect and maintain their contacts and motions with the other parts of the party, in order for the leadership heat to affect everyone. Hence if they made several contacts and found that the rest of the members and committees did not move unless the leaders moved them, they should not despair, they should realise that this would be natural, because the machine would not turn unless the engine turned and unless heat emitted from it.

However, the leadership (the first circle of the party) would not have an effective motivation simply by imposing the motion upon the party, like the driver would impose its motion upon the other parts of the industrial engine; this motivation would rather occur only in the beginning, however once the party has proceeded this would not be the case. In this aspect, the leadership (the first circle of the party) differs from the industrial engine, for the industrial engine would always be the driving force of the machine, whereas the leadership would be a social engine and not an industrial one; the party members, its circles and local committees are humans not made of steel, they have life in them and they would get affected by the heat of the leadership, i.e. they would get affected by the heat of the ideology which would have been embodied in the leadership (the first circle of the party). Therefore, once they have understood the idea, and once they have come in contact with the heat of the party leadership, they would become part of the engine; then the mere motion of the leadership, resulting from the heat energy, would naturally move the whole party, for being a social engine, it would be an intellectual whole, spread throughout the party. At that time, the leadership would not be alone in undertaking the mechanical motion, but - by its growth and by the integration in the structure of the party - the entire party would carry the mechanical motion. Therefore, the progression of the party would not require

the motion of the leadership, nor the emission of its heat, the ideology would rather move in the party members, and the party circles and its local committees would move automatically without the need for the leadership motion, because the heat of every part would emanate from within itself and from the intellectual whole spread among the party and linked naturally with these parts.

9. The ideological party would proceed in three stages until it starts implementing its ideology in its society.
 - i. First: The stage of study and learning in order to generate the party culture.
 - ii. Second: The stage of interaction with society in which it lives, so that the ideology becomes a common tradition resulting from awareness, and the whole society considers it to be its ideology, so that it defends it collectively. In this stage, the struggle would commence between the Ummah and those who stand as an obstacle against the implementation of the ideology, such as colonialism and those it places at the forefront, ranging from the ruling classes, those who love living in the dark and those seduced by the Western culture; this is so because the Ummah would consider the ideology as being her own and the party as being her leader.
 - iii. Third: The stage of seizing the reins of power totally through the Ummah, in order to use the power as a method to implement the ideology upon the Ummah. At this stage, the practical side in the party starts in the course of life. The aspect of calling to the ideology would remain as the main work of the state and the party, for the ideology would be the Message which the Ummah and the state carry.
10. As for the first stage, it would be the foundational stage, which means considering all the individuals of the Ummah equal in terms of being devoid of any culture, starting to culture those who wish to become members of the party with its culture, and considering the whole of society as being a school for the party, in order for the party to graduate in the shortest period of time, the group which would be able to contact society in order to interact with it. However, it should be recognised that this culturing would not be teaching and that it would be completely different from the school. Hence, it would be necessary for the culture of the circle to proceed with the consideration that the ideology is the teacher and that the knowledge and the culture acquired are restricted to the ideology and to that which is necessary to strive in the course of life and that they are acquired to be immediately acted upon in the course of life.

Therefore, the culture should be practical, i.e. it should be acquired in order to be acted upon in life; also, a thick screen must be placed between the mind and the scientific aspect, lest the party culture drifted towards the scientific and academic culture.

11. The party is a structure based on a idea and a method, in other words, on an ideology which the its members have believed in. The party supervises the thought and the sensation of society in order to steer them in progressive moves, and stands between society and the degeneration in the thought and the sensation. The party is the school of the Ummah which cultures her, graduates her and drives her towards the universal course of life. It is the true school which other schools could not compensate for, no matter how different, numerous and comprehensive they are. However, there is a difference between the party and the school which must be perceived; this difference manifests itself in several points, some of which are:

- a) The school irrespective of how correct its curriculum were, it could not guarantee the revival of the Ummah without the presence of a party established in society to act as its school, for the school, by its nature, and no matter how liberal it were, it could not be but monotonous; for it is based on a specific pattern and it adopts a special character, hence it loses the ability to shape itself according to the shaping of events. Even if one wanted to shape it, its shaping would require a complicated process and a specific period of time before the adjustment occurs. Besides, the schools preparation would be on a fixed basis that cannot be shaped.
- b) If the party were based on a sound programme, it would include the following:
 - i. Vitality, hence it grows.
 - ii. Progress, hence it moves from one condition to another.
 - iii. Motion, hence it moves throughout every aspect of society and every part of the country.
 - iv. Sense, hence it senses and feels all that happens in society and affects it.

The preparation of the party would be on the basis on how life and the emotions are shaped. Hence, it would have constant development and constant change. It would not proceed in a monotonous manner, for it would proceed with life and its various shapes, in order to shape it with its atmosphere of, and changes reality and conditions it according to the ideology.

- c) The school attends to the culturing, refinement and education of the individual, in his quality as a specific individual. Although it is a small group, it remains however personal from an academic point of view. Hence its results are personal rather than collective. If we assumed that a town with ten thousand inhabitants has a number of schools accommodating one thousand students, these schools would not be able to cause any collective revival in this town.
- d) The party attends to the education and the culturing of society in its quality as one single society, regardless of its individuals. The party does not look upon those individuals as being specific individuals, it rather looks upon them as being parts of society; hence it cultures them collectively so that they become suitable constituents of society, rather than suitable for their individuality. Hence the party's results would be collective rather than personal. If we assumed that a society living in a country of one million inhabitants, and with a party of hundred members operating there, this party would achieve a revival in this country which the school would be unable to achieve, no matter how much effort this school exhausted, no matter how much time it spent and no matter how many students it graduated.
- e) The school attends to the preparation of the individual so that he influences society in which he lives, however, his influence could only be partial, for he controls a partial sensation that has a weak effect in rousing the thought.
- f) The party attends to preparing society to influence the individual. Society can influence collectively, for its sensation is strong, rousing and able to rouse the thought. Hence its effect upon individuals would be strong, and would evoke the revival in them in the shortest of times and the least of efforts; because it is the sensation that rouses the thought and through their interaction, the activity of revival occurs.
- g) The difference between the party and the school is summarised in three points:
 - i. The school is usually monotonous, unable to shape itself; whilst the party is usually progressing, not monotonous, and is able to shape itself in life; hence it shapes life with its atmosphere of Iman.
 - ii. The school cultures the individual to influence society, hence its results would be personal; whilst the party cultures society to influence the individual, and hence its results would be collective.

- iii. The school prepares the partial sensation within the individual influence it and fails to rouse its thought. While the party prepares the collective sensation of society in order to influence the sensations of individuals, hence it can influence them and it is capable of comprehensively rousing their thoughts.
12. At this stage, it would be essential to constantly perceive that the whole society is the main school of the party, while constantly perceiving that there exists a huge difference between the school and the party, as far as its cultural circles are concerned.

As for the perception that the entire society is the school of the party, this is because the function of the party in this period would be to awaken the true Aqa'id (doctrines) and generate the sound concepts. This could only be achieved through a teaching process, in which the ideology of the party would be the teacher and its culture would be the subject being taught. This ideology and this culture would be manifested in those in whom the ideology had been embodied. Hence they would be the direct teacher in society, and the local committees with its circles would be society's classrooms, and the whole society would be the school. This teaching process requires from those who are members in the party, and who adopt its concepts, a profound study, a sound understanding, a constant revision of its party culture at all times and a memorisation of its constitution, the important rules and the general principles which it had adopted. This requires an academic study. Therefore, it would be imperative to adhere to this aspect with every person who joins the party, regardless of whether he were intellectual to a university or an elementary level, or whether he had an aptitude for culturing or not. Any leniency in this culture with any individual would keep this individual outside the scope of the party, even if he had joined it, and this may lead to harming the general body.

It would be important at this stage to place a thick screen between the activity and the party, prior to having the persons who would have acquired the party culture. Hence this stage would merely be a cultural stage.

As for the perception that there is a difference between the school and the party in terms of culture, this would be to prevent the party culture from turning into an academic culture, hence losing its effectiveness. Therefore, it would be important to place a thick screen between the party members and the scientific aspect in the party culture, and to recognise that the party culture is designed to change the concepts, to work in the realm of life and to carry the intellectual leadership in the Ummah; its carrier must not engage in the scientific aspect, and if he were in need of scientific knowledge, then the appropriate place would be the school and not the party. It would be

dangerous to rush forward with the culture towards the scientific aspect, because this would spoil the quality of work, and would delay the transfer to the second stage of the party.

13. The second stage of the party is the stage of interaction, which is accompanied by the struggle. This stage is considered delicate. Its success would serve as evidence about the soundness in the structure of the party, and its failure would serve as evidence about the existence of a defect within the structure that should be redressed. This stage is built upon the preceding one. Therefore, success in the first stage would be a prime condition for success in the second stage. However, the mere success in the first stage culturally, would not be sufficient on its own to bring success in this stage; rather the cultural success should be made known to people; in other words people should know that there is a Da'awah and also know about the member that he carries a Da'awah. Also, the collective spirit should have been formed during the cultural structure in the circles; also, the contact of the members with society in which they live and their attempt at influencing it, so that when they move into the second stage, the collective readiness would have existed, hence the interaction with the Ummah would be easy for them.
14. The party member would not move from the cultural stage into the interactive stage until he would have matured culturally, a maturity that would make of him an Islamic personality by the harmony struck between his disposition and his mentality. The Messenger of Allah (saw) said: *"None of you will have real belief until his desires are subordinate to what I came with."* People should also know about him that he carries an Islamic Da'awah; the collective inclinations should have been strengthened in him and manifested themselves in him through his presence in the circles and his contact with society, so that isolation would have been uprooted from him; because isolation would be a blend of cowardice and despair, which must be uprooted from individuals and society.
15. The party would move from the cultural stage into the interactive stage naturally, such that if it wanted to move prematurely, it would not be able to. This would be so because during the cultural stage, the starting point would be completed, for the culture would make the ideology embodied within individuals, and would make society sense the Da'awah and the ideology in a clear way. Once this embodiment of the ideology within the individuals has taken place, i.e. once it has become implanted in them, together with society's sensation of the ideology, the Da'awah will have by then surpassed the starting point, and it would be necessary to move towards the "Departure Point". In order for the party to proceed in the "Departure Point", it should

start addressing the Ummah; and in order to address the Ummah, it should first start attempting to address her, so that if its attempt succeeded, it moved to addressing the Ummah directly. The attempt of addressing the Ummah would be by way of the concentrated culturing in the circles, the collective culturing of people wherever possible, exposing the plans of colonialism and adopting the interests of the Ummah. If the party achieved success in these four matters together, it would move towards addressing the Ummah, and it would move towards the “Departure Point” naturally. This move towards the “Departure Point” would transfer it naturally from the first stage, which is the cultural stage, to the second stage, which is the interactive stage; it would make it begin the interaction with the Ummah at the right time naturally.

16. This interaction with the Ummah is indispensable for the party to succeed in its mission, because no matter how numerous the party members were among the Ummah, if they did not interact with her, they would not be able to perform any activity on their own, no matter how powerful they were, unless the Ummah proceeded with them. They would not be able to goad the Ummah to work with them, and she would not proceed with them unless they interacted with her and they succeeded in this interaction. Their interaction with the Ummah would not mean that they manage to gather people around them, what would rather be required of the interaction is to make the Ummah understand the ideology of the party, so that it becomes her own, because the origin of the ideology, which is Islam, exists in the Ummah, in her cultural and historical heritage and in her real sensation; this is because the sensations of the Ummah had turned into a thought, which had become crystallised in the select group, from which the party is formed. The basis of these sensations, which is the thought and action for an objective, represent the true expression of the ideology. Therefore, the ideology, i.e. Islam, would be the inner sensation of the Ummah, and the party would be expressive of this sensation. Hence, if the party were eloquent in its expression, clear in its language and honest in its manner of speaking, the Ummah would quickly understand the ideology and would interact with the party; hence the whole Ummah would be considered as the party and the select group would carry the leadership of the movement through the party structure. This movement in which the Ummah proceeds, led by the party, towards the third stage, which is the radical implementation of the ideology by seizing power, which this party bloc would assume considering that it is the only way to execute the idea, i.e. considering that it is part of the ideology.

However, there are several difficulties which would stand in the way if this interaction and it would be necessary to familiarise with them and to know

their nature in order to work towards overcoming them. These difficulties are many, the most important of which are as follows:

- a) The contradiction between the ideology and the system implemented in society:

The ideology of the party is a new system of life in relation to the present society. It contradicts the system implemented upon this society and by which the ruling faction governs people. Hence, this faction would regard this ideology as a threat to it and to its entity. Therefore, it would inevitably confront it and fight it by various means: Propaganda against it, pursuance of the Da'awah carriers and the use of physical means. Therefore, it would be vital for the carriers of the ideology, while working for the interaction with the Ummah by calling for their ideology, to shield themselves against persecution by all possible means, and to confront the misleading propaganda by explaining their Da'awah and endure all kind of hardship to achieve this.

- b) Another difficulty would be the difference in the culture:

There exists various cultures in society, and there exists disparate thoughts in the Ummah, she nevertheless has one sensation. The various cultures, especially the colonialist cultures would be an adverse expression of these sensations, while the ideology's culture, i.e. the Islamic culture would be the true expression of the Ummah's sensations. However, the cultural public opinion in society, together with the cultural curriculum in schools and colleges and all the cultural centres, would be in line with the Western culture, and so would all the political and cultural movements. Therefore, the party should with its culture, enter into a phase of struggle with the other cultures, and the other thoughts so that the true expression of the Ummah's sensations and sentiment becomes visible to her, hence she would proceed with the party. Therefore, it would be inevitable for the party with its culture and it's thought to enter into a conflict with other cultures and thoughts. This conflict would be with the sons of the Ummah; hence it would not take the form of futile argument, the party group would rather proceed according to the method of drawing the straight line alongside the crooked line, and they would not engage at all in futile arguments, lest it led to the egoism which would blind and deafen one away from the truth. Instead, the thoughts of the party would be explained and the error found in the other thoughts, the falsehood of the other cultures and the dangers of their consequences would be demonstrated. Then the Ummah would turn away from them and towards the culture and the thought of the party. Even the people of this culture and these thoughts would turn away from

them, once their error appears to them, if they were faithful, aware and sincere. However, this activity would be one of the most difficult for the party. Therefore, to initiate interaction with the Ummah in the places where the Western culture is copious would be more difficult than in the places where such culture is rare. Also, the susceptibility of revival in the places where the rate of those intellectual with the Western culture is low, would be greater than in the places where the rate is high. Therefore, the party should be aware of the society that it aims at interacting with, so that it could proceed in the course that is suitable for that society.

- c) One of the difficulties would also be the presence of the pragmatists within the Ummah.

Due to the Western culture, the Western poisoning and ignorance, there are two groups which represent pragmatism in the Ummah.

The first group are the pragmatic group who call for pragmatism and the acceptance of the accomplished fact as an inevitable matter. This is because they adopt reality as the source of thinking and take from it solutions to their problems. The way to overcome this difficulty would be by attempting to go deeper with them in the discussion, so that they could discern and perceive that reality should rather be taken as the subject of thinking in order to change it, hence it would be possible that they abandon their thought.

As for the second pragmatic group, these are the murky (“Al-Thalamiyeen”) group who refuse to live in the light, because they have become used to living in darkness, triviality and shallow mindedness, they had caught the disease of physical and mental laziness and they still hold on to the old ways which they found their forefathers adhering to, merely because they are old; hence they are really pragmatic, because they are of the same type of reality and their thought is stagnant. Therefore, this group requires more perseverance; and the way to overcome this difficulty is by attempting to culture them and to strive to rectify their concepts.

- d) One of the difficulties which stand’s in the face of the Da’awah is the attachment of people to their interests; this is so because man is attached to his personal interests and his daily business and at the same time he is attached to the ideology. It would seem that these interests would clash with the Da’awah to the ideology. Hence he would attempt to accommodate both of them. In order to overcome this difficulty, every person who embraces the ideology must consider the Da’awah and the party as the pivot of the circle around which his personal interests

revolve; hence he would not be allowed to engage in any activity which contradicts the Da'awah, nor would he be allowed to engage in any activity which would make him forget the Da'awah or hinders him from it. By doing so, he would transfer the Da'awah from revolving around his interests to making his interests revolve around the pivot of the Da'awah.

- e) Another difficulty that stands in the way of the Da'awah would be the sacrificing of the worldly life's matters such as wealth, trade and the like for the sake of Islam and the carrying of its Da'awah. To overcome this difficulty, the believer would be reminded that Allah (swt) has bought from the believers their souls and their wealth in return for paradise. This reminder should be sufficient, then the choice would be left to the individual to sacrifice these matters, and he would not be coerced into anything. The Messenger of Allah (saw) wrote a letter to Abdullah Ibn Jahsh when he sent him at the head of an expedition to watch Quraysh at Nakhlah, between Makkah and Ta'if; to quote from the letter: "Do not coerce anyone of your companions to proceed with you and go forth to my order with those who followed you."
 - f) It may come to mind that one of the difficulties would be the civil differences within societies; this would be so because the environments in the cities would be different to those in the villages and to the environments of the Bedouins. Civil trends in the city would be different to those in the village, and in the village, they would be different than those in the Bedouins' sites and tents. Therefore, this difference in the civil patterns could inspire to the party the notion of a difference in the culturing or in the ideological orientation. This would be most dangerous, because the Ummah, no matter how different the civil patterns were, is still one Ummah, her sensation is one and her ideology is one. Hence the Da'awah in the Ummah would be one, with no difference between a city and a village, and the work towards interacting with her would be one.
17. The party would face during this stage two dangers: An ideological danger i.e. a danger to the ideology, and a class danger.

As for the ideological danger, this would originate from the tendency within society and from the desire to respond to its persistent current requirements, and also from the predominance of the residual opinions of a group over the party idea.

This would be so because when the party embarks into the throng of life amidst society, it would contact the masses to interact with them and to lead them. At a time when the party would be equipped with its ideology, the masses would have gathered a host of contradictions from old reactionary

thoughts, legacies from the past generation, and from dangerous Western thoughts and imitations of the disbelieving colonialists. Hence, when the party interacts with the masses, it would supply them with the opinions and thoughts of the party, and it would strive to correct their concepts, to awaken the Islamic Aqeedah within them and to generate the true atmospheres and the righteous common traditions through the concepts of the party. This requires the Da'awah and propagation so that the party could gather the Ummah around it on the basis of the ideology, in a way that would consolidate within the Ummah the belief in the ideology, evoke the Ummah's confidence in the party's concepts, and her respect and appreciation for it, and also to motivate her towards being ready to obey and act. At that time, the duty of the party would be to increase the number of its Shabab, the believers and the trustworthy among the Ummah, so that they maintain their control over her, just like the army officers. Hence, if the party succeeded in this phase of interaction, it would lead the Ummah towards the objective it aimed for, within the limits of the ideology, and it would fell secure against the train going off the tracks.

However, if the party were to lead the masses before the interaction with them is completed, and before the general awareness among the Ummah is generated, its leadership would not be then by the rules and the thoughts of the ideology, but rather by diagnosing what is simmering in the Ummah's heart, by rousing her emotions and by portraying her needs as being close and within her grasp. Therefore, by rousing the emotions of the masses and by portraying their needs as being close to them, it would be as if the party is giving the masses a vintage wine to drink, which has an instant effect. The party would repeat this process until the masses surrender to it, hence it would lead them collectively, then the masses would be proceeding with the party with their emotions, rather than with their reasoning and their awareness, and the party members would be the leaders of these masses of the Ummah.

However, in this case, the masses would not have lost their initial sensations, such as patriotism, nationalism and the priestly spiritualism, and the public gatherings would act as a stimulus to such sensations, hence the trivial ties would emerge among them, such as sectarianism and mazhabism, and the old thoughts such as independence and freedom, and the corrupt chauvinism such as racism and tribalism. Then the contradictions between the masses and the party would begin, for the masses would assume for themselves demands which would not conform with the ideology, they would call for current aims harmful to the Ummah, enthuse over these demands and their raging would increase in order to achieve these demands, and several types of chauvinism would emerge. In this case the party would be between the hammer and the nail: i.e. facing the wrath of the Ummah and her resentment and destroying

all that it had build in terms of dominating society, or facing a deviation from its ideology and being lenient with it. In both cases that party would be exposed to danger. Therefore, it would be imperative for the party members to adhere to the ideology if the masses and the ideology came into conflict, even if they were subjected to the wrath of the Ummah, for this would only be temporary. Their adherence to the ideology would soon win them back the trust of the Ummah. Hence, they should beware of contradicting the ideology and deviating from its essence even by a hairline, for the ideology would be the life of the party and the guarantor of its existence. In order to prevent such critical situations and in order to repel such a danger, the party should endeavour to give its ideology to the Ummah to drink, to maintain the clarity of its thoughts and concepts, and to work towards maintaining their atmospheres predominant over the Ummah. This would be facilitated if the party were to give great care to the phase of culturing, to pay attention to the collective culturing, to aspire to expose the plans of colonialism in a meticulous way, to be constantly vigilant over the Ummah and her interests, to completely melt within the ideology and the party, to constantly examine the thoughts and the concepts of the party so that they remain clear and to expend every possible effort in all of this, no matter how much effort and suffering this may cost.

As for the class danger, this would creep into the members of the party, not into the Ummah; because when the party represents the Ummah or her majority, he would enjoy a distinguished position, a respected place and total admiration from the Ummah and the prominent figures. This may arouse arrogance in the soul. Hence the party members may consider themselves to be superior to the Ummah and that their role is to be leaders and the Ummah to be led. At that time they would look down on the individuals of the Ummah or on some of them, without taking this into account. If this were repeated the Ummah would begin to feel that the party is a different class to her; the party would also begin to feel the class tendency. This feeling would mark the beginning of the road towards the collapse of the party, because it would weaken the party's concern with the ordinary individuals of the masses and it would undermine the confidence of the masses in the party. Then the Ummah would turn away from the party, and once the Ummah has turned away from the party, it would collapse; then it would require exhausting a multiplied effort in order to restore this confidence. Therefore the party members should be just like the ordinary individuals of the Ummah and should not feel of themselves as anything but servants of the Ummah, they should realise that their party role would be to be of service to the Ummah, because this would give them immunity and would benefit them not only in maintaining the confidence of the Ummah, but also in the third stage, once

they will have seized power to implement the ideology. Hence they would remain -as rulers- of service to the Ummah, so that they could implement the ideology

18. The third stage is the stage of seizing power.

The party would seize power through the Ummah, and it would implement the ideology all at once, and this is known as the radical method; this method does not allow the partial participation in government, it rather seizes the whole power and uses it as a method to implement the ideology not as an aim. It implements the Islamic ideology in a radical manner and would not accept the gradual method whatever the circumstances.

Once it has implemented the ideology completely and comprehensively, it should then proceed to carry the Islamic Da'awah, hence it should assign in the state's budget a special fund for Da'awah and publicity; it would supervise this Da'awah from a state aspect or from a party aspect, according to the circumstances' requirements. Despite the party's arrival to the rule, it would continue operating as a party and its apparatus would remain intact, whether its members were in government or not. The rule would be considered as the first practical step towards the implementation of the party's ideology in the state and towards the endeavour to implement it in every part of the world.

These are the steps in which the party proceeds in the realm of life, in order to transfer the idea into the practical stage; in other words, to transfer the ideology into the realm of life by resuming the Islamic way of life and to revive society and carry the Da'awah to the world. At that time, the party will begin the practical stage, the stage for which it was founded. Hence, the party will be the real guarantee of establishing the Islamic state, maintaining it, implementing Islam, perfecting its implementation, continuing this implementation and carrying the Islamic Da'awah to the world. This is so because once it has established the state, it will act as a supervisor of the state, it will account it and it will lead the Ummah in debating with it; at the same time, it will carry the Islamic Da'awah in the Islamic countries and in other parts of the world.