

مَنْهَجُ حِزْبِ التَّحْرِيرِ فِي
التَّغْيِيرِ

The Methodology of
Hizb ut-Tahrir for
Change

(Approved Edition)

(Translation from Arabic)

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﴿قُلْ هَذِهِ سَبِيلِي أَدْعُو إِلَى اللَّهِ عَ عَلَىٰ بَصِيرَةٍ أَنَا وَمَنِ اتَّبَعَنِي ۖ
وَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ ۖ وَمَا أَنَا مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ﴾

“Say, “This is my way. I invite to Allah with insight, I and those who follow me. Glory be to Allah, and I am not one of the muhsrikeen (polytheists).” [TMQ Surah Yusuf 12:108]

﴿وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ ۖ وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ
عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ۖ ذَٰلِكُمْ وَصَّاكُم بِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ﴾

“Indeed, that is My Path, perfectly straight. So follow it and do not follow other ways, for they will lead you away from His Way. This is what He has commanded you, so perhaps you will be pious.”
[TMQ Surah Al-Anaam 6:153]

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله رب العالمين، والصلاة والسلام على سيد المرسلين، وإمام المتقين وعلى آله وصحبه

All-Praise be to Allah, Lord of all humanity, and prayers and peace be upon the Master of the Messengers, Muhammad ﷺ, the Imam of the pious, and upon his family and Companions (ra), and those who make Dawah for his Dawah, and adhered to his method, and follow his footsteps, and made the Islamic aqeedah the basis for his thinking, and Halal and Haram as a criterion for his actions, and the Shariah rulings as direction for his actions, and as a control of his speech. And so, to begin:

The Establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate): The Vital Issue of Muslims in the Whole World

The vital issue for Muslims in the whole world is the restoration of the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed, through the establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate), and appointing a Khaleefah for Muslims, who is given a Bayah (pledge of allegiance) over ruling by the Kitaab of Allah ﷻ and the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ. This is in order to destroy the systems of kufr, restore the Shariah rulings of Islam to its rightful place, within application and implementation, transform the Muslim lands into the Abode of Islam (Dar ul-Islam), transform the society within them into an Islamic society, and carry Islam as a Risaalah (message) to the world, through Dawah and Jihad.

Through defining the vital issue of Muslims, the goal that the carriers of the Islamic Dawah, within structures, parties and groups, must work to achieve, is determined, as is the method they must follow to reach this goal.

In order to perceive this, it is necessary to know the reality of Muslims today, the reality of Muslim countries, the reality of the abode (dar) in Muslim lands, and the reality of the society in which Muslims live these days. It is also necessary to know the Shariah rulings related to all of this, and know the Shariah ruling related to the steps that must be taken, regarding this vital issue:

1. As for the reality of Muslims, despite being Muslims, they are dominated by a mixture of Islamic, Western, socialist, nationalist, patriotic, parochial, and sectarian thoughts and feelings.

2. As for the Muslim lands, including the Arab lands, unfortunately, all of them are governed by the systems and rulings of kufr, with the exception of some Shariah rulings of Islam, such as the rulings of marriage, divorce, financial maintenance, inheritance, paternal rights and maternal rights, for which they have allocated special courts, called Shariah courts. This is in addition to some other Shariah rulings applied in courts in some countries of Muslims, such as Saudi Arabia and Iran.

3. As for the reality of the abode in which Muslims live today in all lands of the world, it is the reality of the Abode of Kufr (Dar ul-Kufr), not the reality of the Abode of Islam (Dar ul-Islam).

In order to perceive this reality, it is necessary to know the reality of Dar ul-Islam, and the reality of the Dar ul-Kufr, in the conception of Shariah.

Dar ul-Islam in the Shariah terminology is the abode within which there is ruling by the Shariah rulings of Islam, and its security (amaan) is the security of Islam, that is, the authority (sultan) and amaan of Muslims, both domestically and externally. This is even if most of its people are non-Muslims. As for Dar ul-Kufr in the Shariah terminology, it is the abode within which there is ruling by the rulings of kufr, and its security (amaan) is by other than the security of Islam, that is, by other than the sultan and amaan of Muslims, even if most of its people are Muslims.

The crucial matter regarding the abode, in terms of it being the Dar ul-Islam or Dar ul-Kufr, is not related to the country or the population. The crucial matter is related to the Shariah rulings and security (amaan). If its rulings are the Shariah rulings of Islam, and its amaan is the amaan of Muslims, it is Dar ul-Islam. If its rulings are the rulings of kufr and its amaan is not the amaan of Muslims, it is Dar ul-Kufr or Dar ul-Harb.

This is taken from the hadith of Sulayman ibn Buraidah where it is stated that, **أَدْعُهُمْ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ، فَإِنْ أَجَابُوكَ فَأَقْبَلْ مِنْهُمْ وَكُفَّ عَنْهُمْ، ثُمَّ أَدْعُهُمْ إِلَى التَّحْوِيلِ مِنْ دَارِهِمْ إِلَى دَارِ الْمُهَاجِرِينَ، وَأَخْبِرْهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ إِنْ فَعَلُوا ذَلِكَ فَلَهُمْ مَا لِلْمُهَاجِرِينَ وَعَلَيْهِمْ مَا عَلَى الْمُهَاجِرِينَ** "Make the Dawah to them for Islam. If they agree, accept from them and refrain from fighting against them. Then call them to move from their abode to the Abode of the Muhajireen. Inform them that if they

do so, then they have the same rights and duties as the Muhajireen.”

This hadith has clarified the difference in Shariah rulings between those who move to Dar ul-Muhajireen, and those who do not. Dar ul-Muhajireen was Dar ul-Islam in the days of the Prophet ﷺ, and everything else was Dar ul-Kufr.

Thus, from this hadith, the terms of Dar al-Islam, the Dar ul-Kufr and Dar ul-Harb are derived by istinbaat (juristic derivation). So, the determination of Dar ul-Islam, Dar ul-Kufr and Dar ul-Harb is related to ruling (hukm) and authority (sultan).

From this, it is clear that the consideration of the abode is determined by the authority (sultan) within it. This sultan cannot be determined except by two issues. Firstly, looking after the interests according to certain rulings. Secondly, the power which protects the citizens and implements the rulings, i.e. the amaan (security). This is why the conditioning is stipulated by the two mentioned conditions.

Furthermore, regarding the implementation of the Shariah rulings also has the evidence of the Saying of Allah ﷻ Who said, ﴿وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ﴾ “Whosoever does not rule by all that Allah has revealed are disbelievers (kafiroon).” [TMQ Surah al-Maidah 5:44], and what is mentioned the hadith of Auf ibn Malik regarding the evil amongst the rulers, in which it was mentioned, قِيلَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ: أَفَلَا نُنَابِذُهُمْ بِالسَّيْفِ؟ فَقَالَ: لَا، مَا أَقَامُوا، فِيكُمْ الصَّلَاةَ “It was asked: “Shouldn’t we dispute with them, by the sword?” The Messenger ﷺ said, “No, as long as they

establish the Salah among you.” [Muslim]. And also, from the Hadith narrated by Ubadah As Samit regarding the Bai’a (pledge), which stated, وَأَنْ لَا نُنَازِعَ الْأَمْرَ أَهْلَهُ إِلَّا أَنْ تَرَوْا كُفْرًا بَوَاحًا عِنْدَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِيهِ بُرْهَانٌ “And we have not to dispute the matter with its people unless we see clear Kufr upon which you have clear evidence (burhan) from Allah.” And it was also narrated by Tabarani. He said, « كَفْرًا صُرْحًا » “Unless you see explicit Kufr.” So, these texts evidence that ruling by other than the Shariah rulings of Islam make it obligatory upon Muslims to raise the sword in the face of the ruler. These are the evidences that implementing Islam is a condition for Dar ul-Islam, otherwise raising the sword and fighting is obligated in Shariah.

With respect to the entity of security (aman) being obligatorily by the security of Islam, which means by the authority of Muslims, this is also taken from the Saying of Allah ﷻ Who said, ﴿وَلَنْ يَجْعَلَ اللَّهُ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَبِيلًا﴾ “Allah will not allow the disbelievers to have a way of authority over the believers.” [TMQ Surah An- Nisaa’ 4: 141]. This means it is not allowed for the kafireen to have authority (sultan) over the believers. This is because granting the sultan to them, makes the amaan of the Muslims by the amaan of kufr, and not by the amaan of Islam.

It is also because the Prophet (saw) used to order the raid of every land which did not submit to the sultan of Muslims. He used to engage in war against them, whether the inhabitants were Muslims or non-Muslims. This is with the evidence that the Prophet ﷺ forbade the killing of the inhabitants if they were

Muslims. Anas narrated that, **كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ إِذَا غَزَا قَوْمًا لَمْ يُغْزِ حَتَّىٰ** "When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ raided a people, he did not raid until the morning. If he heard the adhan, he would refrain from killing. If he did not hear the adhan, he raided after dawn." [Bukhari]. It was narrated by ibn Essam Almusny from his father who said, "When the Prophet ﷺ appointed a military expedition (sariyyah), he would say, **إِذَا رَأَيْتُمْ مَسْجِدًا، أَوْ سَمِعْتُمْ مُنَادِيًا، فَلَا تَقْتُلُوا** 'If you see a masjid, or hear the call for Salah, then do not kill anybody.'" [Ahmad]. The adhan and the masjid are considered ritual manifestations (shaa'ir) of Islam. The evidence that the nature of the abode is one inhabited by Muslims does not prevent the raiding and fighting over it, in the manner of war. This means that it is considered Dar ul-Harb or Dar ul-Kufr because, although the symbols or rituals of Islam are present within it, it is not protected by the authority of the Prophet ﷺ, which means the sultan and aaman of Islam. So, it is considered Dar ul-Harb, and like any land considered Dar ul-Harb, it is raided, in order to bring it into Dar ul-Islam.

From all of this, it is evident that all the Muslim lands today do not fulfil the condition of the ruling of Islam, even though the aaman of most of these lands is by the aaman and sultan of the Muslims. Accordingly, they are not, unfortunately, considered to be Dar ul-Islam, despite them being Muslim lands, and their inhabitants being Muslims. What matters in determining an abode, are the ruling and the aaman, not the land and the inhabitants.

4. As for the reality of society in Islamic countries today, it is a non-Islamic reality.

This is so, as the society is composed of individuals, thoughts, emotions and systems, and not individuals alone, such that it could be called Islamic, by virtue of its inhabitants being Muslims.

So, society, in its reality, is a collective (majmoo'ah) of people, amongst whom there are permanent relationships. If there are not permanent relationships between them, they are a group (jamaa'ah), and not a society (mujtam'ah), such as travel companionship in a ship or a plane or train.

In order for a permanent relationship between people to exist, there must be unification between them in the thoughts, the emotions and the system. So, if there is no unification in these three elements between the people, there is no permanent relationship. Consequently, they do not constitute a single society.

So, society is composed of individuals, thoughts, emotions and systems, and according to these, societies are constituted. Due to these elements, societies amongst people differ because of the difference of the thoughts, emotions and systems amongst the peoples.

The society in the Muslim lands is dominated by a mixture of thoughts, emotions and systems, despite the fact that most of its inhabitants are Muslims. So, it is not strange to find clear

contradictions in the thoughts and emotions amongst Muslims. So, whilst they look to Islam as their Deen, we find that they accept their ruler to be a kafir, just as we find them remaining silent about the implementation of the systems of kufr upon them.

At the time that we see them long for the return of Islam, we see them also clinging to the ways of nationalism, regionalism and sectarianism.

At the time that they consider America, Britain and Russia as their enemies, we find them seeking the help of, and making alliances with, these states, and turning to them to solve their issues and problems for them.

At the time they believe that the believers are a brotherhood, we find them partisan to their races and lands. So, the Arab is partisan to Arabism, and the Turk to Turkish nationalism, and the Persian to Persian nationalism, the Iraqi to Iraq, the Syrian to his Syria, and the Egyptian to his Egypt and so on, even though all these partisanships contradict the Shariah rulings of Islam.

At the time they believe in Islam, we see them calling for democracy, freedoms, sovereignty of the people, socialism and other thoughts of kufr, that entirely contradict the Shariah rulings of Islam.

This is in addition to the fact that the systems of ruling, economy, education and foreign policy, as well as the civil laws,

that are implemented upon them in all the lands of Islam, are entirely systems and laws of kufr.

All this makes the society in all the Muslim lands a non-Islamic society.

5. As for the Shariah rulings related to the vital issue of the Muslims, they are the Shariah rulings that oblige Muslims to work in accordance to all the rulings of Islam. They also oblige that they raise the Shariah rulings to the status of application and implementation within life, the state and society.

Allah ﷻ said, ﴿وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا ۚ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ﴾ "All that the Messenger gives you take it, and all that he forbids you abstain from it." [TMQ Surah Al-Hashr 59:7]. The word ﴿مَا﴾ "all that" in the ayah is from amongst the forms of generality ('umoom). So, it includes the obligation to take everything that the Prophet ﷺ brought. It also includes the Shariah obligation to abstain from every forbidden matter that the Prophet ﷺ forbade.

Allah ﷻ also said, ﴿وَأَنْ أَحْكَمَ بَيْنَهُمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ ۖ وَاحْذَرْهُمْ أَنْ يَفْتِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْكَ﴾ "Rule between them by all that Allah has revealed. Do not follow their desires. Beware of them lest they tempt you away from even part of all that Allah has revealed to you." [TMQ Surah al-Maa'ida 5: 49]. So, this is a command from Allah ﷻ for His Messenger ﷺ and the Muslims, obliging them to rule by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed. This is because the word ﴿مَا﴾ "all that" in the ayah is from

amongst the forms of generality ('umoom), and so includes all the Shariah rulings that Allah ﷻ has revealed.

Allah ﷻ also said, ﴿وَمَنْ لَمْ يَحْكَمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْكَافِرُونَ﴾ "Whosoever does not rule by all that Allah has revealed are disbelievers (kafiroon)." [TMQ Surah al-Maa'ida 5:44]. This means that whoever does not rule by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed, are kafiroon (disbelievers). This is because word ﴿مَا﴾ "all that" in the ayah is from amongst the form of generality ('umoom) and so it includes all that Allah ﷻ has revealed.

Thus, from these ayaat it is clear that it is a Shariah obligation to rule by all Allah ﷻ has revealed. Since this does not exist today in any of the lands of Muslims, restoring Islam to existence in life, the state and society is the vital issue for Muslims.

6. As for the stance that Islam commanded Muslims to take towards this vital issue, it is a stance of life and death. Muslim narrated a hadith from Umm Salamah (ra) that the Messenger of Allah ﷺ said, ﴿سَتَكُونُ أُمَرَاءُ فَتَعْرِفُونَ وَتُنْكِرُونَ فَمَنْ عَرَفَ بَرِيٍّ وَمَنْ أَنْكَرَ سَلِمَ وَلَكِنْ مَنْ رَضِيَ وَتَابَعَ قَالُوا أَفَلَا نُقَاتِلُهُمْ قَالَ لَا مَا صَلَّوْا﴾ "There will be rulers and you will approve of their good and reject their bad. He who sees their bad, to prevent, is absolved. He who denies their bad is safe. However, he who approves their bad and follows is ruined." The Companions asked, 'Should we not fight them?' He ﷺ replied, "No, as long as they establish Salah."

Bukhari narrated from Ubadah as-Samit who said, دَعَانَا النَّبِيُّ فَبَايَعَنَا، فَقَالَ فِيمَا أَحَدٌ عَلَيْنَا أَنْ بَايَعَنَا عَلَى السَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ فِي مَنْشَطِنَا

وَمَكَرْهِنَا وَعُسْرِنَا وَيُسْرِنَا، وَأَثَرَةً عَلَيْنَا، وَأَنْ لَا نُنَازِعَ الْأَمْرَ أَهْلَهُ إِلَّا أَنْ تَرَوْا كُفْرًا بَوَاحًا
عِنْدَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِيهِ بُرْهَانٌ “The Prophet ﷺ made Dawah to us and we
pledged the Bayah to him. So, he spoke about what he bound upon us. We were to listen and obey, both in our willingness
and reluctance, both in our hardship and ease, effective upon us, and we have not to dispute the matter with its people unless
we see open kufr (kufr bawaah) upon which we have clear evidence (burhan) from Allah.” Tabarani narrated this as كُفْرًا
صُرَاحًا “explicit kufr (kufr suraah).” So, establishing the Salah according to the hadith of Auf bin Malik manifests as establishing
the Deen, through the metaphorical linguistic style of إطلاق الجزء “the mention of the part to signify of the whole.” So it is a
kinayah (metaphor) for ruling by Islam.

The “open kufr” which is mentioned in the Hadith of Ubadah ibn as-Samit is the manifest kufr (kufr zaahir) in the actions which the ruler performs, which is his ruling by the rulings of kufr. The mafhoom (understanding) of the two Hadiths are that we dissent against the rulers by the sword, if they do not establish the ruling of Islam, and do not manifest its ritual manifestations (sha’aair). The mafhoom is that we fight them if they establish the ruling of kufr, and we dispute with the people of authority if they manifest open kufr. Dissent (munaabadhah) against them means fighting to remove them from the ruling, and to restore the ruling by the Shariah rulings of Islam.

It is clear from all of these evidences that the issue and obligation of ruling with Islam, and preventing the ruling with

the rulings of kufr, is a vital issue for Muslims which obliges Muslims to undertake life and death stances to ensure it.

The Establishment of Non-Political Structures does not Achieve the Establishment of the Khilafah (Caliphate)

The meaning of the resumption of the Islamic way of life is the return of Muslims to acting according to all the Shariah rulings of Islam, including beliefs ('aqaa'id), ritual worships ('ibaadaat), morals (akhlaaq), transactions (mu'aamalaat), systems of ruling, economy, social relations, education and foreign policy with other peoples, nations and states, and transforming the lands of Muslims into Dar ul-Islam (Abode of Islam), and transforming society within them into an Islamic society.

The resumption of the Islamic way of life cannot be achieved except by establishing the Khilafah, and appointing a Khaleefah for the Muslims, who is pledged a Bayah upon listening and obedience, and ruling by the Book of Allah ﷻ and the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ.

The work for the resumption of the Islamic way of life, so that it produces fruits, must be undertaken as a group. It is not allowed to be an individualistic work, because it is not possible for individualistic work to arrive at achieving the aim. This is because the individual, no matter how capable his intellect and thinking is, it is not possible for him to achieve this aim as an individual. Instead, he must work within a group (jamaa'ah). Accordingly, the work for restoring the Khilafah and restoring the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed must be undertaken

as a collective group, within a structure (kutlah), party (hizb) or group.

This work in a group must be political work. It is not allowed for the work to be other than political. This is because establishing the Khilafah, and appointing a Khaleefah, is a political action. This is also because ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed is a political action as well. They cannot come to existence, except through political work.

The structures which were established for apolitical actions have no relationship with the vital issue of the Muslims. It is not possible that they can achieve the goal which Muslims are obliged to work to achieve, and that is the establishment of the Khilafah, and restoring the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed. These are such as the following structures:

a. The structures which are established for “charitable works.”

These are the structures that are established for acts of charitable welfare, such as building schools and hospitals, as well as helping the poor, the orphans and the needy. Although the actions of charity are from those that Islam encourages Muslims to undertake, these actions do not have any relationship with the vital issue for Muslims. It is not possible that they achieve the goal that Muslims are obliged to work to achieve. At the same time, limiting these structures to these actions means that they are turning away from carrying out the Shariah obligation of working to restore ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed.

In addition, the structure's permanent "charitable" work is considered an act of looking after the permanent affairs. Looking after the permanent affairs is one of the obligations of the state. It is not one of the obligations of individuals and groups.

As for non-permanent "charitable" actions, they are not considered to be looking after the permanent affairs, and they are legal in Shariah. The Shariah has made them mandoob (recommended), but they have no relation to the vital issue of Muslims.

b. The structures that are established for making Dawah about 'ibaadaat (ritual individual worships) and abiding to the recommended Sunnahs:

Indeed, the Dawah to 'ibaadaat and undertaking the Sunnahs is mandub (rewarded) in Islam. This is because they are part of Islam and part of the goodness (al-khair) which Allah ﷻ made an obligation upon Muslims to make Dawah towards. Allah ﷻ said, ﴿وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ﴾ "Let there arise from amongst you a group that call for goodness (al-khair)." [TMQ Surah Aali Imran 3:104]. Making Dawah to ibaadaat and the Sunnahs is part of Islam, whilst the Dawah must be to work for Islam as a whole, including its aqaa'id, ibaadaat, akhlaaq (morals), mu'aamalaat (transactions), institutions of ruling, economy, social system, education, and foreign policy, as well as other Shariah rulings. Limiting the Dawah to Dawah to the ibaadaat and the Sunnahs has no

relationship with the vital issue of Muslims. It would not achieve the goal that the Muslims are obliged to work to achieve.

This is in addition that exclusive preoccupation in these actions, and similar ones, turns the established group away from the obligatory work which Allah ﷻ has made a Shariah obligation upon the Muslims to establish, which is the removal of the rulings of kufr and restoring the application of the Shariah rulings of Islam in life, the state and society.

c. The organizations that are established for the works of writing Islamic books and spreading Islamic culture, or involved in the actions of preaching and sermonizing people.

Indeed, writing and publishing books within the Islamic culture, and preaching and sermonizing are noble deeds. However, they are not the way to solve the vital issue of the Muslims, nor are they the way to establish the Khilafah and restore Islam to the reality of life, state and society.

So, if the thoughts are not conveyed politically for acting in accordance with them, and to establish them in the reality of life, they would remain as mere mental information and academic thoughts, remaining in the bowels of books, and in the back of the minds of the people. Islamic libraries are full of tens of thousands of valuable and precious books on Islamic culture. However, they are stagnant, stuck within the shelves. So if the thoughts are not conveyed politically, for acting in accordance with them, and establishing them in the reality of life, then they would remain stagnant.

So, such are the universities specialized in teaching Islam and its culture, such as Al-Azhar, Az- Zaytoonah, An-Najaf and others. They teach Islam and its culture as a theoretical and academic study, not as a practical study for implementation. Every year thousands of ulema graduate from these universities. However, they are not more than moving books, because they have studied Islam theoretically. They have not studied Islam for acting upon, conveying, and establishing Islam in the reality of life, the state and society.

Consequently, it is not surprising to find that their graduates do not make the Shariah ruling, and the criterion of Islam, which is the Halal and Haram, as the basis for their viewpoint towards life, and as the basis for conducting their actions, and as the basis for the judgement about the incidents and events in life.

As for such structures that are based on scholarly authorship, in terms of judging them, they are structures whose work is limited to caring about the noble Prophetic hadiths and their narration. So even though they are noble deeds, they are not actions to establish the Khilafah, the vital issue of the Muslims.

d. The associations and organisations which work to command the ma'rouf (right) and forbid the munkar (evil)

Commanding the ma'rouf (right) and forbidding the munkar (evil) are within what Allah ﷻ obliged upon the Muslims such that Allah ﷻ says, ﴿وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ

﴿بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ﴾ "Let there be from amongst you a group which calls for good, enjoining ma'rouf (right) and forbidding munkar (evil)" [Al- Imran: 104]" [TMQ Surah Aali Imran 3:104].

Enjoining ma'rouf and denying munkar is a Shariah obligation upon Muslims in every situation, whether there is a Khilafah state or not, and whether the Shariah rulings of Islam are implemented in ruling or not. Enjoining Ma'rouf and forbidding Munkar existed at the time of the Prophet ﷺ and at the time of the Khulafaa' Rashidoon after him, and the other Khulafaa' who followed, and it will continue to be a Shariah obligation upon Muslims until the end of time.

However, enjoining the ma'rouf and forbidding the munkar is not the complete way to establish the Khilafah, and to restore Islam to life, state and society, although it is part of the work to resume the Islamic way of life, because it includes accounting (muhaasabah) of the rulers and commanding them with ma'rouf and forbidding them from munkar. However, the work to resume the Islamic way of life is other than from the action of enjoining ma'rouf and forbidding munkar.

It is noteworthy that there is a difference between the actions of enjoining the ma'rouf and forbidding the munkar, and the actions of removal (izaalah) of the munkar. The actions of enjoining ma'rouf and forbidding munkar are limited to the speech alone. However, the action of removal of the munkar are not verbal only. It requires a state that implements the Shariah

open kufr, that is, if he ruled with the rulings of kufr, or if he remained silent about the tyranny of kufr in the country, such as if the Khaleefah (Caliph) abolished the Hud punishment for adultery, the Hud punishment for theft, the Hud punishment for drinking alcohol, or any Shariah ruling that is معلوم من الدين بالضرورة "known from the Deen by necessity." Instead, the Shariah made the accountability of the Khaleefah (Caliph) in this case an accountability by the sword. So the Khaleefah must be fought, with weapons drawn in his face, and the ruling must be disputed with him to refrain from ruling with the rulings of kufr. If he does not refrain from ruling with the rulings of kufr, then the weapons must be drawn and he must be fought, in order to remove him from ruling, in order to re-establish the Shariah rulings in the place of application and implementation. In the hadith narrated by Umm Salamah, "They said 'O Prophet of Allah ﷺ should not we then fight against them?'" He ﷺ said, "لا، ما صلّوا" "No, as long as they prayed." In another narration, they said, "ألا نقاتلهم؟" "Don't we fight against them?" He ﷺ said, "لا، ما صلّوا" "No as long as they established Salah." And in the Hadith of Auf ibn Malik, "يا رسول الله، أفلا .. قيل: يا رسول الله، أفلا نقاتلهم بالسيف؟" they said, "O Prophet of Allah, don't we raise the arms against them?" He ﷺ said, "لا، ما أقاموا فيكم الصلاة" "No, as long as they established the Salah amongst you." Establishing Salah means establishing all the Shariah rulings of Islam. This is from إطلاق الجزء وإرادة الكل "the mention of the part to signify the whole." In the Hadith of Ubadah ibn As-Samet, he said, "وَأَنْ لَا تُنَازِعَ الْأَمْرَ أَهْلَهُ إِلَّا أَنْ تَرَوْا كُفْرًا بَوَاحًا عِنْدَكُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِيهِ بُرْهَانٌ" "And we must not dispute the authority of its people unless one sees clear Kufr

upon which one has certain evidence (burhan) from Allah.” And Tabarani mentioned, كُفْرًا صُرَّاحًا “Open Kufr.” And in the narration by Ahmed, it said, مَا لَمْ يَأْمُرْكَ بِإِثْمٍ بَوَاحًا “Unless you see he commanded you with clear Ithm (sin).” So all of these Hadiths indicate the Shariah obligation to raise arms against the ruler, and to fight against him, if he showed clear Kufr from which we have evidence from Allah ﷻ, that is if he governed with rulings of Kufr.

Now, this is if the domain is an Abode of Islam (Dar ul-Islam) and the Shariah rulings of Islam are implemented, and then the ruler issues a Shariah ruling of open kufr. This is because of what the Hadith of Ubada Ibn As-Samet, إِلَّا أَنْ تَرَوْا كُفْرًا بَوَاحًا “Unless you see clear Kufr,” whilst At-Tabarani narrated, إِلَّا أَنْ تَرَوْا كُفْرًا صُرَّاحًا “Unless you see open Kufr.” That is, you saw open kufr and explicit kufr after you had not seen them previously, that is, Islam was implemented, but then the ruler declared the ruling with the rulings of open kufr and explicit kufr.

However, if the domain is not an Abode of Islam, and the Shariah rulings of Islam are not being implemented, then the removal of the ruler who rules the Muslims within it, is done through Nussrah (material support), in emulation (ittibaa’) of the Messenger ﷺ in his path to establish the Islamic state and implement the Shariah rulings of Islam.

E. The groups and structures which are established on the basis of Dawah for virtuous morals in order to reform the society

The Dawah for virtuous morals relates to the Dawah for goodness which Allah ﷻ has commanded the Muslims to make Dawah for. However, this Dawah for virtuous morals is only a Dawah to act with a part of the Shariah rulings of Islam, while the Dawah must be to act upon all of the Shariah rulings of Islam, and to establish the rulings of Islam in the reality of life, state and society.

This Dawah for virtuous morals is also confined to the individualistic Shariah rulings that are related to the individual. It is not a Dawah for the public, collective Shariah rulings which are related to the community (jamaa'ah) in the state, life and society.

This Dawah for virtuous morals leads neither to reformation (islaah) of society, nor to reviving (inhaad) of the Ummah. This is because reforming the society means reforming the thoughts and emotions which dominate it, and also reforming the system which is implemented upon it. Thus, it is reforming the public tradition (al-'urf al-'aam) prevailing in the society. This is because society is composed of individuals, emotions and systems, and its reform can only be achieved by reforming its elements. Society's reform is achieved by reforming its components, which is by reforming its individuals, by reforming their thoughts and feelings, and by reforming the system which is applied within society.

Also, this Dawah for virtuous morals does not lead to the reviving (inhaad) of the Ummah, because what leads to the revival (nahdah) is the intellectual elevation (al-irtifaa' al-fikri).

When we look at Europe and America we will see that they are revived. However, their revival is incorrect, because the correct revival is the intellectual elevation which has a spiritual basis. So although Europe and America are revived, from the moral point of view they are in decay, and their revival is devoid of the ethical values. They live in a society similar to the society inhabited by cattle and beasts.

The Dawah to these noble morals is not a Dawah that will solve the vital issue of Muslims, nor is it a method to achieve the goal (ghaayah) that Allah ﷻ made a Shariah obligation for the Muslims to work for, which is establishing the Khilafah and re-applying Islam in life, state and society, and carrying it as a Risaalah (message) to the world by Dawah and Jihad.

However, the Dawah to virtuous morals is part of the Dawah to al-khair (goodness) that Allah ﷻ has commanded Muslims to do, but as we said, it is a Dawah to only part of the Shariah rulings of Islam, and unless the Dawah is to implement all the Shariah rulings of Islam, it will not solve the vital issue of Muslims.

So solving the vital issue for the Muslims, and arriving at the objective (hadaf) which they must seek, and the goal (ghaayah) which they must work to achieve, is to establish the Khilafah, in order to restore the Shariah rulings of Islam into application and implementation in life, state and society, and to carry Islam as a Risaalah (message) to the world by Da'wah and Jihad. This makes it a Shariah obligation upon the Muslims to

establish political structures based on the Islamic thought, and act politically to establish the Khilafah, and to restore the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed.

Therefore, Hizb ut Tahrir was established after realizing this vital issue of the Muslims, and realizing the goal that Muslims must work to achieve.

Hizb ut-Tahrir

1- The emergence of Hizb ut-Tahrir: The occurrence of violent shocks in society naturally brings vitality to the Ummah, which results in a shared collective feeling (ihsaas jamaa'ee mushtarak) among the individuals of the Ummah. This leads to an intellectual process to investigate the causes and reasons for this shock, in order to reach a solution for salvation (inqaadh).

This intellectual process includes the Ummah's past, present and future, the history of peoples and nations, and the means of their revival, with comparisons and preferences, until the mind is guided from this study to the treatment and solution.

As for Muslims, they were exposed in the early Twentieth Century to the most violent shock that shook their entity, tore their lands apart, divided their people, and destroyed their state, the Khilafah (Caliphate). It extinguished their resolve, and removed Islam from implementation in life, state, and society. What resulted from that was the tearing of the state into states and entities that were subject to the rule of the kafir states, directly at first, then to the rule of their agents from the sons of Muslims later, and the installation of the systems of kufr and its rulings, in place of application and implementation in all Muslim countries.

Then, this earthquake was followed by another earthquake, in which the kafir states and their conspiring agents among the rulers of the Arab countries, in which Palestine was usurped, and the Jewish state "Israel" was established there.

These two earthquakes had a severe impact on the souls of Muslims, so they began to work to save themselves. Several Islamic and non-Islamic movements attempted to save them, but they were unable to rid Muslims of the effects of these two terrible earthquakes.

After the second earthquake, Hizb ut-Tahrir was established, after some Muslims were affected by the situation of Muslims. They studied the reality of the Islamic Ummah, past and present, and studied what it had gone through, what it had been exposed to, and what it had become. They also studied the reality of Muslims, the reality of society in the lands of Muslims, the relationship of the Ummah with the rulers, and the relationship of these rulers with the Ummah, and the systems and laws they apply upon the Ummah. They also studied the thoughts and feelings that dominated Muslims in their society.

Then they referred all of that to the Shariah rulings of Islam, after they had studied them carefully and understood their reality. Then they studied the movements that arose to save the Muslims, whether they were based on Islam or on something other than Islam.

They emerged from all this intensive study with a specific, clear and crystallized thought, and they established Hizb ut Tahrir on its basis.

After this study, Hizb ut Tahrir has concluded that the vital issue of the Islamic Ummah is the reimplementation of Islam in

life, state and society, and to carry Islam's Risaalah (message) to the world through Dawah and Jihad.

Accordingly, the Hizb defined its goal (ghaayaah) as resuming the Islamic way of life and carrying the Islamic Dawah, and began working within the Ummah to achieve this goal.

When Hizb ut Tahrir arrived at, through its study, the definition of the vital issue of Muslims, and thus the objective (hadaf) it seeks, and the goal (ghaayah) it works to achieve, it also arrived at the method (tareeqah) that must be followed to achieve this goal, which is manifested in the method of the Messenger ﷺ in his advance, since Allah ﷻ sent him ﷺ as a Messenger, until he ﷺ achieved the establishment of the Islamic state in Madinah.

2. Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political party and its ideology is Islam. Politics is its work and Islam is its ideology, and the Hizb works amongst and with the Ummah in order that the Ummah takes the re-establishment of Islam in life, state, and society as its vital issue, thereby leading the Ummah to establishing the Khilafah and restoring the hukm (ruling) by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed.

Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political structure which is established on the Islamic thought, it is not a spiritual or a priestly structure, nor is it a scientific or educational structure, nor is it a structure for welfare activities. The Islamic thought upon which it is established is embodied in the collective of its individuals. The Hizb carries Dawah to the Ummah for this thought, in order to

act according to Islam, and in order to carry Islam together with the Hizb so as to establish Islam in the reality of life, state and society. This Islamic thought is the soul to the body of the party, it is its nucleus, the secret of its life and it is the bond between its individuals.

3. The work of Hizb ut Tahrir is to carry the Islamic Dawah to change the reality of this corrupt society in Muslim lands today and transform it into an Islamic society. This is done by changing the non-Islamic thoughts present in it into Islamic thoughts, so that they become a public opinion among the people, and generate concepts that motivate them to apply them, and act upon them. It is also done by changing the non-Islamic emotions in the society so that they become Islamic emotions that are pleased with what pleases Allah ﷻ and His Messenger ﷺ, and are angered and resentful by what angers Allah ﷻ and His Messenger ﷺ. It is also done by changing the non-Islamic relationships present in society, so that they become Islamic relationships that proceed according to the Shariah rulings and treatments of Islam.

These actions carried out by the Hizb are political actions, as the Hizb takes care of people's affairs in accordance with Islamic Shariah rulings and treatments. This is because politics is taking care of people's affairs according to Islamic Shariah rulings and treatments.

The political work carried out by the Hizb highlights the culturing of the Ummah with Islamic culture to fuse it with Islam,

and to rid it of corrupt beliefs, false thoughts, and misconceptions, and from being influenced by the thoughts and opinions of kufr.

Within these political actions undertaken by the Hizb there also appears the intellectual conflict (as-siraa' al-fikri). It is manifested in the conflict with the thoughts and systems of kufr, as well as in the conflict with false thoughts, corrupt beliefs and misconceptions, by demonstrating their corruption and showing their error, and clarifying the Shariah ruling of Islam about them.

What also appears in these political actions is the political struggle (al-kifaah as-siyaasi). It is manifested in the struggle against the kafir states that have an impact on, or influence over, the lands of Muslims. It is in order to rid the Islamic Ummah of their dominance and ensure the liberation (tahrir) of the Ummah from their influence. It is to uproot their intellectual, cultural, political and military roots, and to uproot their systems from the lands of Muslims.

Political struggle appears also in the struggle against the rulers in the Muslim lands, including the Arab world, to expose and reveal their betrayals and conspiracies against the Ummah, during accountability (muhaasabah) of them. It is working to change them because of their neglect in performing their Shariah obligations towards the Ummah, and their neglect in guardianship of the affairs of the Ummah, in their contradiction with the Shariah rulings of Islam, and because of their implementation of the rulings of Kufr.

The Hizb's entire work is political work, not educational work. It is not a school, and its work is not preaching and sermonizing. Instead, it is political work in which the thoughts, rulings, and treatments of Islam are given to be implemented and to be generated in the reality of life, in the state, and in society.

The Hizb carries Islam to become implemented, and for the Islamic aqeedah to become the basis of the state, the basis of the constitution and all other laws.

4. The goal of Hizb ut Tahrir: The goal of Hizb ut Tahrir is to resume the Islamic way of life and carry the Islamic Dawah, which is to achieve a solution to the vital issue of Muslims. Resuming the Islamic way of life means returning Muslims to living an Islamic way of life, in the Abode of Islam (Dar ul Islam), and in an Islamic society dominated by Islamic thoughts and Islamic emotions, and in which the systems and rulings of Islam are implemented, such that all aspects of life proceed according to the Islamic Shariah rulings, and the viewpoint is the Halal and the Haram, under the shadow of an Islamic state, which is the Khilafah state, in which Muslims appoint a Khaleefah to whom they pledge a Bayah of allegiance to hear and obey, so that the Khaleefah rules over them according to the Book of Allah ﷻ and the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ, and so that he carries the Risaalah (message) of Islam to the world through Dawah and Jihad.

The Hizb aims to revive the Islamic Ummah with the correct revival (nahdah) through enlightened thought based on

Islamic aqeedah, and seeks to restore it to its former glory (izzah) and majesty (majd), so that it takes the initiative from countries, nations and peoples, and returns to being the leading state in the world, as it was in the past, governing it and looking after its affairs according to the Shariah rulings of Islam.

The Hizb also aims to carry the Risaalah (message) of Islam to the world and lead the Ummah to struggle against kufr, its systems and thoughts, until Islam spreads throughout the earth.

5. The culture of Hizb ut Tahrir: Hizb ut Tahrir was not satisfied with being based on the Islamic thought in a general way. The Hizb undertook studying, researching and thinking about the reality of the Ummah and what it has reached, and the reality of society in the lands of Muslims, and the reality of the Seerah of the Messenger (saw), and the biographies of the Khulafaa' Rashidoon (Rightly-Guided Caliphs) and the biographies of the taabioon after them, and by referring to his ﷺ conduct and how he ﷺ carried the Dawah from the beginning of the Risaalah (message), until he ﷺ achieved the establishment of the state in Madinah, then studying how he ﷺ conducted himself in Madinah. The Hizb undertook referring to the Book of Allah ﷻ and the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ and to what they both guided to, from the Unanimous Consensus (Ijmaa) of the Companions and Qiyas (Shariah Analogy), and by being enlightened by the sayings of the Companions (ra) and taabioon and the opinions of the mujtahid imams. After all of that Hizb ut Tahrir adopted detailed thoughts, opinions and rulings related to

the Islamic thought, and the method of implementing it. They are Islamic thoughts, opinions and rulings only. There is nothing within them that is not Islamic, and they are not affected by anything that is not Islamic. Instead, they are Islamic only. They depend only on the Shariah usool (foundations) and Shariah texts of Islam. The Hizb adopted them based on the strength of the evidence, according to its ijtihaad and understanding. Therefore, it considers them correct, though with the possibility of error.

The Hizb has adopted from these thoughts, opinions and rulings what is necessary for it as a Hizb. This is because in order for a political party to be a party, it is necessary for it to adopt in the details of the thought and method. The adoption is to the extent necessary for its work to resume the Islamic way life, and to carry the Islamic Dawah by establishing the Khilafah (Caliphate) State and appointing a Khaleefah (Caliph). This is so that these thoughts, rulings and opinions highlight that Islam is an ideology (mabda') of life, that contains the aqeedah and system that addresses all of man's problems in this life. The adoption is what makes the Hizb a specific party. The adoption is so that these thoughts, opinions and rulings are the bond that binds its members. The adoption preserves the integrity of the entity of the Hizb, and the unification of thoughts within it. The adoption is so that the Hizb unifies the Ummah upon these thoughts, opinions and rulings. This is because the Hizb considers them correct. This is so that the Ummah adopts them as thoughts, opinions and rulings for itself, works with them and

makes Dawah to them with the Hizb to establish them in the reality of life, the state and society.

This is the matter that enabled these thoughts, opinions and rulings to be known as the thoughts of the Hizb throughout the Islamic world, including the Arab world, and even in all the countries of the world.

The Hizb includes everything it adopted of thoughts, opinions and rulings in the many books and publications that it issued and distributed to the people.

6. As for the methodology (manhaj) of Hizb ut-Tahrir for change, and the method the Hizb adopted in its advance, and the manner in which it carried the Dawah to establish the Khilafah (Caliphate), and to restore the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ revealed, as well as to carry Islam as a Risaalah (message) to the world:

In all of this, the Hizb has confined itself to the Shariah rulings, following the example of the Messenger ﷺ in his advance to establishing the state. It also does this in the manner it determines the Shariah rulings related to the state and society, for application and implementation, and in the manner it carries out the Dawah.

This is because Allah ﷻ has obliged the Muslims to abide by the Shariah rulings, just as He ﷻ has obliged them to emulate the Prophet ﷺ and to take everything he ﷺ has brought that is inspired from his Lord ﷻ. Allah ﷻ said, ﴿لَقَدْ كَانَ لَكُمْ فِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ أُسْوَةٌ حَسَنَةٌ لِّمَن كَانَ يَرْجُوا اللَّهَ وَالْيَوْمَ الْآخِرَ وَذَكَرَ اللَّهَ كَثِيرًا﴾ "Verily in the

Messenger of Allah you have a good example for everyone who looks for Allah and looks for the last day and who mentions Allah much" [TMQ Surah Al- Ahzab: 21]. And Allah ﷻ also says, ﴿قُلْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُحِبُّونَ اللَّهَ فَاتَّبِعُونِي يُحْبِبْكُمُ اللَّهُ وَيَغْفِرْ لَكُمْ ذُنُوبَكُمْ وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾ "Say to them if you love Allah then follow me, Allah will love you and will forgive your sins. And Allah is forgiving and merciful." [TMQ Surah Al- Imran: 31]. And Allah ﷻ said, ﴿وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا﴾ "All that the Messenger gives you, take it, and all that he forbids you, abstain from it." [TMQ Surah al-Hashr 59:7]. There are also many other ayaat that indicate that it is a Shariah obligation to emulate the Prophet ﷺ and to take from him ﷺ.

Although the Hizb realizes that the Prophet ﷺ made Dawah to the kuffar, whilst we today carry the Dawah to Muslims in order that they abide to the Shariah rulings, and to work with us to restore the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed, we are also aware that, unfortunately, the lands of Muslims are not considered to be Dar ul-Islam (Abode of Islam), and the society in which Muslims live is not an Islamic society.

As a consequence of all of this, the Hizb focused its activity on transforming the lands of Muslims to Dar ul-Islam, and transforming the society in the lands of Muslims to an Islamic society. This is how the Prophet ﷺ worked to transform Makkah and other places into Dar ul-Islam, and to transform the pre-Islamic Jahiliyah society within these place into an Islamic society.

Consequent to all of the above, the Hizb has adopted, both in the method of its advance, and the manner in which it carries the Dawah, the following broad guidelines:

1. The Hizb carries the Dawah in response to Allah ﷻ saying, ﴿وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ﴾ "Let there be from amongst you a group calling to good, enjoining Ma'rouf (what is right) and forbidding Munkar (evil)." [Al- Imran: 104], in implementation of the Shariah ruling that obligates Muslims to act according to the Shariah rulings and carry them, so that they are restored to application and implementation in life, the state and society.

The Hizb carries the Dawah not just to carry out the obligation of Dawah in itself, but also to establish the Khilafah (Caliphate) and restore the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed.

2. The Hizb is committed to taking Shariah rulings as a basis for all undertakings and actions, and as a basis (qaa'idah) for issuing rulings on ideologies, thoughts, realities and events. The Hizb takes the Halal and the Haram as a criterion for all undertakings and actions. It believes that sovereignty (as-siyaadah) belongs to Islam alone and nothing else.

Therefore, the Hizb is committed to frankness, boldness, clarity, and challenging all ideologies, religions, beliefs, thoughts, concepts, systems, customs, and traditions that contradict Islam, even if it exposes the Hizb to the wrath of their followers, and even if they confront the struggle of the Hizb. The Hizb does not flatter anyone at the expense of Islam, and does not say to the followers of religions, beliefs, ideologies, thoughts, and calls

other than Islam: 'Stay as you are.' Instead, the Hizb demands that they abandon what they are on because it is kufr and misguidance. The Hizb demands that they adopt Islam because it alone is the Truth. For this reason, the Hizb considers that all religions other than Islam, such as Judaism and Christianity, and all ideologies, such as communism, socialism, and capitalism, are religions of kufr and ideologies of kufr, and that Jews and Christians are kuffar, and that whoever believes in capitalism, communism, or socialism is a kafir.

The Hizb considers that the calls for nationalism, patriotism, regionalism or sectarianism are all prohibited by Islam.

It also considers that it is Haram (prohibited) for Muslims to establish parties which call for Capitalism, Socialism, secularism, Communism, freemasonry, nationalism, patriotism or sectarianism, or any religion other than Islam, or to participate in or join any of these parties.

The Hizb does not flatter or compliment the rulers, nor does it grant loyalty (walaah) to them, or their constitutions and laws, under the pretext that this helps in carrying the Dawah, since it is not permissible according to Shariah to reach what is obligatory (waajib) through what is forbidden (Haram). Instead, the Hizb holds them accountable and criticizes them with harsh words. The Hizb considers that the systems they implement are systems of kufr. The Hizb considers that it is a Shariah obligation upon them to remove the systems and put the Shariah rulings of Islam in their place. The Hizb also considers them to be oppressors and evil-doers because they rule with the rulings of kufr. The Hizb considers anyone among them who denies the

validity of Islam, or the validity of any of its definite Shariah rulings, to be a kafir.

The Hizb also does not accept to share in ruling with them, because this is participation in a rule of kufr, and that is forbidden (Haram) for Muslims. The Hizb also does not accept to help them to bring about economic, educational, social, or moral reform, because this assistance is aiding the oppressors, strengthening them, and prolonging the life of their corrupt and kufr systems. Instead, the Hizb works to uproot the rulers and uproot the kufr systems that they implement upon Muslims, so that the Shariah rulings of Islam are restored to application and implementation.

3. The Hizb works for the complete implementation of Islam: whether it is in worships, transactions, morals, or systems. This is in accordance with the Saying of Allah ﷻ Who said, ﴿وَأَنْ أَحْكَمَ بَيْنَهُمْ بِمَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ وَلَا تَتَّبِعْ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ وَاحْذَرْهُمْ أَنْ يَفْتِنُوكَ عَنْ بَعْضِ مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكَ﴾ "And govern between them with all that Allah has revealed and don't follow their desires and beware that they might seduce you from some of what Allah has revealed upon you." [TMQ Surah Al -Mai'dah: 49]. And also, ﴿وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا﴾ "All that the Messenger brought you take it, and all that he forbids you abstain from it." [TMQ Surah Al- Hashr: 7]. The word ﴿وَمَا﴾ "all that" which came in both ayahs is within the form of generality ('umoom), which includes all that Allah ﷻ has revealed, and all that the Prophet ﷺ has brought. So the implementation of all that Allah ﷻ has revealed and all that the Prophet ﷺ has brought is a Shariah obligation. There is no distinction between one Shariah ruling and another Shariah ruling, or between one Shariah obligation and another Shariah obligation, because implementing and applying all of

them is a Shariah obligation. It is not allowed to implement some of them whilst ignoring others. It is also not allowed to implement or apply them gradually (tadarruj), because we are obliged to abide by them all. Moreover, the implementation of all of the Shariah rulings, all at once, is a Shariah obligation.

When a reality contradicts Islam, it is not permissible to interpret Islam so that it agrees with that reality, because that is a distortion of Islam. Instead, the reality must be changed so that it becomes in accordance with Islam, and in accordance with the Shariah rulings.

4. Based on the Seerah of the Messenger ﷺ in his advance, within the mission to establish the state, to transform the Dar ul-Kufr into the Dar ul-Islam, and to transform the pre-Islamic Jahiliyyah society into an Islamic society, the Hizb has defined its method of advance in three stages:

First Stage: The stage of culturing (tathqeef) to generate people who believe in the thought of the Hizb and its method, to form the party structure.

Second Stage: The stage of interaction (tufaa'ul) with the Ummah, to convey Islam to the Ummah, so that it adopts Islam as its cause, and so that it works to establish Islam in the reality of life.

Third Stage: The stage of achieving authority in ruling, applying Islam in a general and comprehensive manner, and carrying it as a Risaalah (message) to the world.

The first stage is the foundational stage, in which the nucleus was found, and the first halqah (circle) was formed, after being guided to the thought and method. Then, this first halqah began to contact the individuals of the Ummah, presenting the thought and method to them individually.

Whoever responds to the Dawah, the Hizb organizes him for concentrated study in halqaat (circles) until he is immersed in the thoughts of Islam and the Shariah rulings that the Hizb has adopted, and becomes an Islamic personality. Then, he possesses an Islamic mentality (aqliyyah) that makes him look upon thoughts, facts and events from the perspective (manaazir) of Islam, and issues his judgment upon them according to the Islamic criterion of Halal (permitted) and Haram (prohibited). He also enjoys an Islamic disposition (nafseeyah) that makes him revolve with Islam wherever it revolves, is pleased with all that pleases Allah ﷻ and His Messenger ﷺ, and gets angry and revolted by all that angers Allah ﷻ and His Messenger ﷺ, and sets out to carry the Dawah to the people after he has interacted with Islam. This is because the study that he received in the halqaat is an effective practical study, that is, it is a study to act according to Islam in life, whilst carrying Islam to the people.

If a person reaches this level, he has imposed himself and becomes part of the structure (kutlah) of the Hizb. This is as the Messenger of Allah ﷺ used to do in his first stage of calling people to Islam, which lasted three years. He called people individually, presenting to them what Allah ﷻ had sent him with. Whoever believed, he ﷺ would structure (yukattiluhu) them on the basis of the Deen, secretly. He would be keen to teach them Islam, and to recite to them what was revealed to him ﷺ, and

what was revealed to him ﷺ of the Qur'an, until he had fused them with Islam. He ﷺ would meet with them in secret. He would teach them secretly in concealed places, where they would perform their worship, hidden away. Then the mentioning of Islam spread within Makkah, and people talked about it, and entered Islam in droves.

In this foundational stage, the Hizb's work was limited to the cultural aspect only, and its attention was focused on building its body, increasing its members, and culturing the individuals, in its halqaat with the culture that it adopted, in a concentrated manner, where it was able to form a party structure of shebaab who were fused with Islam, adopted the thoughts of the Hizb, interacted with them, and carried them to the people.

At this stage, the Hizb focused on building its body, increasing its numbers, and culturing the individuals in its halqaat with the concentrated culture of the Hizb, until it was able to form a party structure of shebaab who had fused with Islam, adopted the thoughts of the Hizb, interacted with them, and carried them to the people.

After the Hizb was able to form this party structure, and society sensed the Hizb and knew of the Hizb, its thoughts and its Dawah to Islam, the Hizb moved onto the second stage.

As for the second stage, it is the stage of interaction (tafaa'ul) with the Ummah. This stage is to make the Ummah take on the burden of responsibility for Islam, and to create the general awareness (al-waie al-aam) and public opinion (ar-ra'ee al-aam) within the Ummah, regarding the thoughts of Islam and

its rulings, which the Hizb has adopted. This is so that the Ummah adopts them as its own thoughts, and works to restore them to the reality of life. This is so the Ummah advances with the Hizb in working to establish the state of the Khilafah, and in appointing the Khaleefah, so as to resume the Islamic way of life, and carry the Islamic Dawah to the world.

At this stage, the Hizb moved to address the masses in a collective address. At this stage, it carried out the following actions:

1. Concentrated culturing (thaqaafah murakazah) in the halqaat for individuals to mature the body of the Hizb, increase its numbers, and form Islamic personalities capable of carrying the Dawah, and rushing forward into intellectual conflict and political struggle.

2. Collective culturing (thaqaafah jamaa'iyah) of the masses of the Ummah with the thoughts and rulings of Islam that the Hizb has adopted, in daroos in the masjid, seminars, lectures, places of public gathering, and in newspapers, books, and pamphlets, to generate the general awareness (al-waie al-'aam) amongst the Ummah, and to generate interaction with it.

3. Intellectual conflict (siraaf' fikri) against the beliefs, systems and thoughts of kufr, and against corrupt beliefs, incorrect thoughts and misconceptions, by exposing their falsehood, error and contradiction with Islam, in order to rid the Ummah of them and their effects.

4. Political struggle (kifaah siyasi), which is represented by the following:

a. Struggling (mukaafaha) against the kafir colonialist states that have dominance and influence over Muslim countries. It is struggling against colonialism in all its intellectual, political, economic and military forms. It is exposing the plans and conspiracies to rid the Ummah of the dominance of colonialism, in order for its liberation (tahrir) from any trace of the influence of colonialism.

b. Confronting (muqaara'ah) the rulers in the Arab and Muslim countries, exposing them, accounting them, challenging them, if they denied the rights of the Ummah, or fail to perform their obligations towards the Ummah, or neglected any matter in its affairs, or violated the Shariah rulings of Islam.

This is the work to end their rule, in order to establish the ruling by Islam in its place.

5. Adopting the interests of the Ummah, and taking care of its affairs, in accordance with the rulings of Islamic Shariah.

The Hizb did all of this in accordance with what the Messenger ﷺ did after the Saying of Allah ﷻ was revealed to him, ﴿فَاصْدَعْ بِمَا تُؤْمَرُ وَأَعْرِضْ عَنِ الْمُشْرِكِينَ﴾ "Proclaim what you are ordered to say, and turn away from the mushrikeen." [TMQ Surah al-Hijr 15:94].

The Messenger ﷺ declared his Risaalah (message), called the Quraysh to Mount Safa, and informed them that he ﷺ was a

Prophet sent by Allah ﷻ, and asked them to believe in him. He ﷺ began to present his Dawah to groups, just as he presented it to individuals. He ﷺ confronted the Quraysh, their gods, beliefs, and thoughts. He ﷺ clarified their falsehood, corruption, and errors. He ﷺ criticized and attacked them as he attacked all existing beliefs and thoughts. The ayaat were revealed one after the other, attacking what they were doing of consuming riba, burying infant girls alive, cheating on weighed measures, and committing adultery and fornication. Ayaat were also revealed attacking the leaders and masters of the Quraysh, belittling them, belittling their fathers and their aspirations, and exposing what they were doing of conspiring against the Messenger ﷺ, his Dawah, and his Companions (ra).

The Hizb, in its carrying of its thoughts, in its confrontation with other thoughts and political structures, in its confrontation with the kafir states, and in its confrontation with the rulers, was frank, open and defiant. It was neither given to flattering, sycophancy, appeasing, and courting, nor concerned over safety. It challenged everyone who opposed Islam and its Shariah rulings, which exposed it to severe harm from the rulers, to the wrath of the political structures and the proponents of the incorrect calls, and even to the wrath of the masses at times.

The Hizb did so because it followed the Messenger ﷺ. The Messenger ﷺ brought the Risaalah of Islam to the entire world, openly challenging, and believing in the Truth he called for, challenging the entire world, and declaring war on both the white and colored amongst the people, without regard for any customs and traditions, religions, beliefs, rulers or common people. He ﷺ

did not pay regard to anything but the Risaalah (message) of Islam. He ﷺ began with the Quraysh by mentioning their gods and criticizing them. He ﷺ challenged them in their beliefs and belittled them. This was while he ﷺ was an unarmed individual with no equipment or support, and he had no weapon except his deep Iman in the Risaalah of Islam with which he ﷺ was sent.

Although the Hizb commits itself in its conduct to be forthright, open and defiant, it limited itself to political actions when doing so. It did not go beyond political actions to material actions against the rulers, or against those who stood in the way of its Dawah. In this, it follows the example of the Messenger of Allah ﷺ who limited himself in Makkah to the Dawah, and did not undertake any material actions, until he ﷺ made Hijrah. When the people of the Second Pledge of Aqabah asked him ﷺ for permission to fight the people of Mina with swords, he ﷺ answered them by saying, «لَمْ نُؤْمَرْ بِذَلِكَ» "We have not been ordered to do that yet." [At-Tabaqaat al-Kubrah] Also, Allah ﷻ ordered him ﷺ to be patient about the persecution, just as the Messengers (as) of Allah ﷻ before him ﷺ had been patient, when Allah ﷻ said of them, ﴿وَلَقَدْ كُذِّبَتْ رُسُلٌ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ فَصَبَرُوا عَلَىٰ مَا كُذِّبُوا وَأُوذُوا حَتَّىٰ أَتَاهُمْ نَصْرُنَا﴾ "Messengers indeed have been denied before you. Yet they remained patient after the rejection of their message. They were patient against the persecution till our victory reached them." [TMQ Surah al-Anaam 6:34]

Seeking Nussrah (Talab un-Nussrah)

When the society and the Ummah became rigid or indifferent towards the Hizb, the Hizb reviewed its study of the Seerah of the Prophet ﷺ, in order to seek guidance from it. From this study the Hizb came to the following conclusions:

1. When Abu Talib died, the society in Makkah was rigid and closed to the Prophet ﷺ. With the death of Abu Talib the persecution against the Messenger ﷺ by Quraysh was much more severe than would have occurred during Abu Talib's lifetime. So the protection of the Messenger ﷺ was weaker than at the time of Abu Talib. Allah ﷻ therefore revealed to him that he presents himself to the Arab tribes seeking their protection and Nussrah (material support), so that he could convey all that Allah ﷻ had sent him with, in safety and protection. Ibn Kathir writing about the Seerah, narrated about Ali bin Abi Talib (ra), that he said, *لما أمر الله رسوله أن يعرض نفسه على قبائل العرب خرج وأنا معه وأبوبكر إلى منى حتى دفعنا إلى مجلس من مجالس العرب* "When Allah commanded His Messenger ﷺ to present himself to the Arab tribes, he went out to Mina accompanied by myself and Abu Bakr (ra) where we came to a gathering of Arab tribes." And Ibn Kathir narrated also from Ibn Abbas about Al Abbas (his father), that he said, the Prophet ﷺ told me, *لا أرى لي عندك ولا عند أخيك مَنَعَةً، فهل أنت مخرجي إلى السوق غداً حتى نقرّ في منازل قبائل الناس -وكانت* "I don't find any protection from you or your brother. So can you take me out to the market tomorrow, so that I can visit the camp where the Arab tribes gather?" So Abbas said, *فقلت هذه كِنْدَةٌ وَلَقُفْهَا، وهي أفضل من يَحُجُّ من اليمن، وهذه* "I said, *منازل بكر بن وائل، وهذه منازل بني عامر بن صعصعة، فاختر لنفسك،* 'This is Kinda and its ilk, this is the best of those who come to

pilgrimage from Yemen. These are the camps of Bani (tribe of) Amir bin Sa'sa'ah. So choose for yourself.' Then Abbas said, **فبدأ** **بكندة فأتاهم** 'the Prophet ﷺ began with the tribe of Kinda and went to them.'"

2. What the Prophet ﷺ was seeking the tribes to whom he was presenting himself, after asking them to believe in him ﷺ and affirm him, was that they protect him, so that he conveys what Allah ﷻ had sent him with. All the Shariah texts that were mentioned about presenting himself to the tribes mention that the Prophet ﷺ was asking them to protect both himself and his Dawah.

3. What Kinda and Banu Amir bin Sa'sa'a asked of him, ﷺ that they should have authority or ruling after him, evidences that they understood from his ﷺ request that they are to protect him ﷺ and grant him Nussrah. It evidences that he ﷺ wanted to establish an entity and ruling among them, so they asked him ﷺ to have authority and ruling after him, if they granted him Nussrah.

4. The Nussrah of the people of Madinah for the Messenger ﷺ, his contracting of the Second Bayah of Aqabah with them, and his ﷺ establishment of the state upon his arrival in Madinah evidences, with a clear evidencing (dalaalah), that his ﷺ goal in seeking protection and Nussrah was to establish an Islamic entity in which to implement the Shariah rulings of Islam.

5. The Hizb concluded from this study that the work of seeking Nussrah differs from the work of culturing in the first stage, and the work of interaction in the second stage, although it occurred in the second stage, which is the stage of interaction.

The Hizb concluded that it is part of the method that must be followed when society freezes in front of the carriers of the Dawah, and the harm they suffer intensifies.

Therefore, the Hizb added the seeking of Nussrah to the actions it was carrying out. It began to seek Nussrah from those who were able to grant Nussrah. It sought Nussrah for two purposes:

Firstly; for the purpose of seeking protection (himayyah) so that the Hizb can carry the Dawah in safety.

Secondly; to reach authority to establish the Khilafah (Caliphate) and restore the ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed in life, state and society.

Although the Hizb was engaged in the actions of seeking the Nussrah, it continued with all its other actions that it had been undertaking: the concentrated study in the halqaat (circles), the collective culturing and focusing on the Ummah in order that it takes up the responsibility of carrying Islam, and to generate a public opinion within the Ummah, whilst struggling (mukaafaha) against the kafir colonialist states, exposing their plans and revealing their conspiracies, and confronting (muqaara'ah) the rulers and adopting the interests of the Ummah and caring for its affairs. The Hizb will continue to do so hoping that Allah ﷻ will give the Islamic Ummah the success, victory and triumph. It is at then that the believers will be joyous with the victory of Allah ﷻ.

As for the third stage: It is the stage of reaching authority through the Ummah and the actions of seeking Nussrah, where Islam is applied completely and not partially. Then the party begins the practical role, which is the role for which it was

founded, so the Khilafah (Caliphate) state is established and is the guardian of the thought and sensation of society, and implements Islam in the lives of Muslims in a radical implementation that does not accept gradualism (tadarruj) no matter what the circumstances, and carries the Islamic Dawah to the world through the method of Jihad.

It is by the grace of Allah ﷻ upon us and upon the people that public opinion is for Islam, Islam has become the hope of the Ummah for salvation, the word Khikafah (Caliphate) has become oft-mentioned after it had not been, and its establishment, and the restoration of ruling by all that Allah ﷻ has revealed, have become the aspiration of all Muslims.

We ask Allah ﷻ to guide our steps and provide us with resolve from Him ﷻ, and support us with angels, and with the sincere believers, and to honor us with a mighty, strong victory from Him ﷻ, and enable us to establish the Khilafah, and appoint a Khaleefah (Caliph) for the Muslims to whom we give Bayah upon listening and obedience, whilst he rules over us by the Book of Allah ﷻ and the Sunnah of His Messenger ﷺ, and to eradicate all the Kufr regimes from the lands of the Muslims, gathering all the Muslims under the Rayah banner of Khilafah and unifying all the lands of Muslims under a single Khilafah State. Surely Allah ﷻ is All-Able to do anything He ﷻ wants.

وآخر دعوانا أن الحمد لله رب العالمين

Our last Dua is, 'All-Praise to the Lord of all Humanity'