

## CHAPTER III

### HIZB UT-TAHRIR IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Based on the messages conveyed by its founder, Hizb ut-Tahrir still makes Jordan as the center of a political party and makes it as a place cadre of members. By implementing a strategy initiated by Nabhani, Hizb ut-Tahrir can be regarded as a political party or organization which has to invite people of the world to create a country that has a system of *Khilafah Islamiyah*. This is evidenced by the spread of this movement in the 40 countries in the world (Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceania).

In this chapter will explain about the development of Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK, the strategy of Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK, and the implementation of Hizb ut-Tahrir's strategy.

#### A. The Development of Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK

English is considered as a strategic place to achieve their goals, the Hizb ut-Tahrir. Based on the data obtained, approximately 4.8% of British Muslims. UK does not state that its population is more in Europe. Germany and France became the country's largest population in Europe. Approximately 5.8% of the population in Germany is Muslim and 7.5% in the UK population is Muslim. Then, Britain became the third country to

the growth of Muslims is increasing every one decade. With the increasing population of Muslims in the UK, can automatically simple for Hizb ut-Tahrir looking for followers. The increasing number of followers of Hizb ut-Tahrir will facilitate this organization to form a community within a large scope for the sake of establishing the Khilafah Islamiyah. Based on the Pew research's survey, showed that Germany, France and the UK have a view that can be favorable to Muslims.<sup>37</sup>

**Table 3: The Estimate of the Muslim Population in United Kingdom from 1950 to 2020<sup>38</sup>**

Year	Population	Muslims %	Muslim
1950	50,615,999	0.20	101,232
1960	52,371,995	0.20	104,744
1970	55,663,200	1.20	667,958
1980	56,314,221	2.20	1,238,913
1990	57,237,499	2.60	1,448,175
2000	58,907,407	2.71	1,596,391
2010	61,899,272	4.00	2,475,971
2020	65,043,092	4.00	2,601,724

Because of Hizb ut-Tahrir has met with resistance from Germany and France, Britain became a strategic place in order to achieve their goals, Hizb ut-Tahrir. The state of the UK population continues to increase and the view of British society which provides benefits to Muslims, the main reason for Hizb ut-Tahrir be and implementing its strategy in this country.

For the sake of establishing the *Khilafah Islamiyah*, Hizb ut-Tahrir

<sup>37</sup> Hackrett., C.(2015). *5 Facts about the Muslim Population in Europe*, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/15/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/>. Accessed on April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2015.

<sup>38</sup> Kettani., H.(2010). *Muslim Population in Europe 1950-2020*. International Journal of Environmental Science and Development. Vol. 1. No. 2. Accessed on May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Page 157.

requires a community that would become the people in the dream state. Muslims are promising developments in the UK can help Hizb ut-Tahrir gather followers so that later they can form communities can finally establish the state of the system of *Khilafah Islamiyah*.

In 2011 Census show that Muslim form 4,8% of the population of UK. The Muslim population in UK increased from 1,546,626 in 2001 to 2,706,066 people in 2011 (1,159,440 or 75% increase). The Muslim population is larger than all other non-Christian faith groups put together.<sup>39</sup>

The development of Hizb ut-Tahrir, In the 1980s, Hizb ut-Tahrir has not been seen in the UK. Hizb ut-Tahrir in Britain presented after the Gulf war. 1986 confirmed as the emergence of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Britain. The presence of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Britain believed to be sponsored by people who are in the Gulf. There are people who are willing Gulf of giving money to organizations and communities that have a radical movement. This is done by the people of Gulf because they hate and want to overthrow the regime. They are willing to donate money to organizations or communities to subvert the regime, because the people of Gulf cannot do it openly so that they are willing to get sponsored.

Until 1996, the Hizb led by Omar Bakri Muhammad. He is a leader who claims as "A Field Leader". By the time he led, he did *da'wah* journey by traveling around to all the mosques that starts from Barking to

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<sup>39</sup> Ali., S. (2015). *British Muslim in Numbers: A Demographic, Socio-Economic and Health Profile of Muslim in Britain Drawing on the 2011 Census*. London: The Muslim Council of Britain. Page 22.

Bradford. Hizb managed to become a place to answer questions from young Muslim in UK regarding political issues and questions of personal identity that often makes individuals isolated in the community or the environment, lured to enter into organizations such as Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Hizb ut-Tahrir started showing its existence after the September 11 attacks. They took advantage of this tragedy to propagandize western society that is one of the weaknesses of capitalist West. At that time they started to take action by spreading rumors that Islamism is the only way to goodness. The results of all that is done by Hizb ut-Tahrir seen with the success they held a conference in London in 2002 and in Birmingham in 2003.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, Hizb ut-Tahrir can grow well in several major cities in the United Kingdom such as London, Birmingham, Bradford and Sheffield. Hizb ut-Tahrir successfully spread their ideas well and managed to attract the attention of the Muslim community in the United Kingdom to become a member or part of the Hizb ut-Tahrir who fight for the establishment of the Khilafah Islamiyah system. The United Kingdom became the state monitoring of the activities of Hizb ut-Tahrir in 40 countries.<sup>41</sup>

Since its founding in 1986, Hizb ut-Tahrir in United Kingdom only focuses on its members. Hizb ut-Tahrir focuses to educate its member loyalty and gives a firm understanding of ideology of the party. So, the

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<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Radical Islam in Central Asia: Responding to Hizb ut-Tahrir.* (2003). Brussels: International Crisis Group., page 11.

members can bring a strong message. Initially, Hizb ut-Tahrir in United Kingdom only focused on Muslims who live temporarily, international students and those who travel or stay in United Kingdom temporarily. The purpose of Hizb ut-Tahrir activists in targeting them is when they finished and returned to their respective countries they can spread the ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the country of origin. They become an extension of the Hizb ut-Tahrir to spread the ideology the party. Hizb ut-Tahrir at that time actively held seminars, but Hizb ut-Tahrir has not developed a coherent strategy in United Kingdom and this movement was almost unknown outside the Muslim community.<sup>42</sup>

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Hizb ut-Tahrir activist worked in several campuses chosen to control the university's Islamic societies. This moment Hizb ut-Tahrir used to enter into the ideological agenda. But in 2004, Hizb ut-Tahrir United Kingdom was banned by the National Union of Students (NUS). After receiving the ban, the Hizb ut-Tahrir changed tactics. The tactics used by Hizb ut-Tahrir United Kingdom is to modify the outstanding issues and a discussion or debate on the issue. We held a debate Hizb ut-Tahrir trying to smuggle understanding and party ideas. The issues thrown by Hizb ut-Tahrir to be debate about the system are usually made by the West.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ahmed, H., & Stuart, H. (2009). *Hizb ut-Tahrir Ideology and Strategy*. London: The Centre for Social Cohesion., page 65-68.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

Between late 1993 and early 1996, however, the party developed an increasingly public and negative profile as Hizb ut-Tahrir in United Kingdom aggressive activism was reported in the mainstream British press. After the signing of the Israel-Palestine Liberation Organization Accord in September 1993, Hizb ut-Tahrir began to approach young people who are in college in United Kingdom and British mosques.<sup>44</sup>

In 1994 many of the mosque officials felt disturbed by the activities carried out by Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain in British mosques. Hizb ut-Tahrir has published leaflets condemning the local priest who advocate of tolerance and integration. This year also, the Board of Jewish Deputies, Jewish student leaders and some members of parliament petitioned the Minister of the Interior of the propaganda that has been carried out by Hizb ut-Tahrir. In March of that year John Marshall, PM for Hendon South, told the House of Commons that HTB were 'homophobic, anti-Semitic and anti-Hindu' and called on the party to be prosecuted 'by the forces of law and order.' The party was not banned, but did go on to publicly self-censure.<sup>45</sup>

In the post WTC attack in 2001, Hizb ut-Tahrir was very intense to approach the Muslim community in Britain. Western societies declare to combat terrorism and they regard Islam as a religion of terror. This moment is used by Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain to attract public attention. They expose the alleged weakness of the capitalist West and they also provide

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

an answer to counter it by making Islamism as an alternative to Western capitalist democracy.<sup>46</sup>

This strategy successfully captured two groups of people at once, Muslims and non-Muslims. Evidence of their success is that Hizb ut-Tahrir successfully conference held in London in 2002 and attracted 6,500 new members. Then in 2003 they held a conference in Birmingham again and successfully attracted 7,000 new members.<sup>47</sup>

Since the Western world declared war against Islam and the Western world experiencing Islam phobia, Hizb ut-Tahrir takes great opportunities for political parties. Hizb ut-Tahrir thinks the war in Afghanistan and Iraq and the Israeli military action in Gaza as a form of American war against Muslims. In response the phenomenon, Hizb ut-Tahrir make itself as movement to save the existence of Islam in the West. Hizb ut-Tahrir again and again affects the person that establishing the Islamic state is the only answer to end oppression committed by the West against Muslims throughout the world.<sup>48</sup>

In the post-attack London Bombings on July 7, 2005, Tony Blair promised to investigate the mastermind behind these events and public attention drawn to the Hizb ut-Tahrir. If there are things that can prove that Hizb ut-Tahrir was the mastermind in the incident, the British government

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

will prohibit that political party in the UK. However this is not proven and Hizb ut-Tahrir can still thrive in the UK.<sup>49</sup>

In 2007, the highest member of Hizb ut-Tahrir killed. This event is used by Hizb ut-Tahrir to attract sympathetic public that they are one of the victims of repression by the West and they began to highlight the perceived hypocrisy in the Western ideology, especially in regard of public freedom. Hizb ut-Tahrir increasingly focuses on the thought of public and presents them as anti-violence organization that should be acceptable in a multi-cultural paradigm.<sup>50</sup>

## **B. Strategy of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the UK**

Hizb ut-Tahrir successfully makes one of the countries in Europe, the United Kingdom, as place to oversee the activities of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Muslim countries. Hizb ut-Tahrir progressed significantly over the 29 years in the United Kingdom. Activities of Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain can be categorized into four sections: Foundation (1986-1996), Retreat (1996-2001), Post 9/11 (2001-2005) and Post 7/7 (2005-2009).

Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani advised Muslims abroad to change their territory which is now far from the teachings of Islam to the Islamic region and turn it into a region that always applies the teachings and laws of Islam in his life, from the *Dar al-Kufr* becomes *Dar al-Islami*. He argues that

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*



Islam must reclaim the former authority areas in the ancient times. The duty of Muslims is build to a larger Islamic country and conveys the message with the aim to continue the Islamic way of life in Muslim countries.

Furthermore, Hizb ut-Tahrir was convey the message of Islam to non-Muslims that exist outside the Islamic world. To establish a state that kept living the teachings and laws of Islam in daily life, Nabhani had posited a strategy of three stages. In the first, the party recruits its cadres while engaging in intellectual and political dialogue. In the second, it launches itself against centers of power with the aim of consolidating its support. In the third, it implements Islam via the creation of the Caliphate.<sup>51</sup>

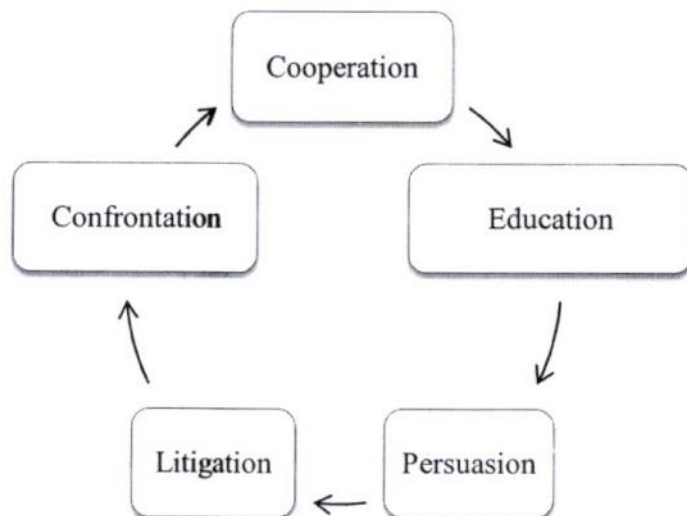
Advocacy strategy that is one of the strategies of social movement theory has several stages. Based on the opinion of Valerie Miller and Jane Covey, the stages it is<sup>52</sup>:

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<sup>51</sup> Is Hizb ut-Tahrir Changing Strategy or Tactics? Michael Whine.  
[https://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/EurasianPaper\\_Aug42006.pdf](https://www.thecst.org.uk/docs/EurasianPaper_Aug42006.pdf), Accessed on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 2015

<sup>52</sup> Kholek, A. *Anatomi dan Strategi Gerakan Sosial*.  
<http://www.scribd.com/doc/84807748/Pertemuan-Ke-5-Anatomi-Dan-Strategi-Gerakan-Sosial#scribd>, Accessed on March 6<sup>th</sup>, 2015.

**Figure 2: Strategy of Social Movements**



*Source:* <http://www.scribd.com/doc/84807748/Pertemuan-Ke-5-Anatomi-Dan-Strategi-Gerakan-Sosial#scribd>

Cooperation is the connection made to the other party or the opponent. Education is educational efforts, raising awareness and provides a critical understanding of society. Similar to what is done by Hizb ut-Tahrir when they recruit members, they are trying to interact with the Muslim and non-Muslims community. Then after they gain the trust of the Muslim and non-Muslims community, they try to provide the knowledge or understanding to the public about Islam and about what is fought by political parties.

Then there is the stage of persuasion. This stage is the stage of mobilization to influence policy. At this stage, Hizb ut-Tahrir tries to consolidate support. Hizb ut-Tahrir in United Kingdom tries to mobilize

the Muslim community in the UK and Western that their freedom of religious practice is threatened. After that, when Hizb ut-Tahrir managed to attract the masses to follow in his footsteps establish the *Khilafah Islamiyah* state with the system, they are trying to legalize the organization in accordance with the stages litigation.

Confrontation is the last stage, the strong protests. Hizb ut-Tahrir is an organization that is sticking with the basic purpose or the establishment of this movement. They strongly disagree with the system created by the Western society. They reject liberal values such as secularism and pluralism. They think it is far from Islamic values. They also reject the Western understanding of secularism and capitalism, because they believe that if they believe in the ideology created by the people of *kufir* is one form of apostasy from Islam. Protests against this thinking are done peacefully by Hizb ut-Tahrir in the Western world. They are trying to do by peaceful means in order not to get a ban from the local government so that their efforts to spread the Islamic Caliphate understand can still walk.

In 2005, Hizb ut-Tahrir tried to change their strategy to be more specific. The full strategy contained in the 2005 communique develops this approach, providing tactics for each of the two primary aims. It states<sup>53</sup>:

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<sup>5353</sup> *Ibid.*, page 68-71.

**a. Caring the message to Muslims in the UK**

**Regarding the Muslim community in UK**

First, Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK try to interact with them (Muslim in UK), and then after they attempted to gain the trust of Muslim in the UK, and they continue to provide a true knowledge of Islam to Muslims in the UK. Second, Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain try to attract the attention and concern of Muslim in the UK, that they are part of the *Muslim Ummah* and unifying the whole world and create a single political bloc. Third, Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK trying to attract their attention by saying that Western society with the system they created provide limits to perform religious activities, such as the use of the veil. Fourth, Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK gives importance to the '*Ulama*,' i.e. scholars, as aides to the *Khilafah* in reviews their knowledge and professional experience. Fifth, after they managed to carry out the above activities, they then prepare a community or group to establish a state with Islamic Caliphate system.

**Regarding Muslims in the UK for temporary reasons**

Hizb ut-Tahrir has a different strategy to the Muslim community who came to the area for a while as, students, tourists, businessmen, etc. They tried to provide information and knowledge about the ideas, goals and ideology of the party (Hizb ut-Tahrir). After the activists of Hizb ut-

Tahrir did that hoping that visitors can be a tool to spread the understanding in the country of origin of visitors.

**b. Carry the message to non-Muslims**

**Promote the doctrinal call**

First, Hizb ut-Tahrir seeks to show the non-Muslims of UK that Islam is a religion of intuition and intelligence. Because of it, Islam was the religion that can provide comfort when we have run the teachings of Islam correctly. Comfort and peace, that is in the world and the Hereafter obtained. Secondly, after they are interested and believe that Islam is the only religion that can provide comfort for their lives, Hizb ut-Tahrir seeks to educate them in order to transform into Islamic beliefs. Third, encourage those who convert so that they can carry the strong message.

**Interact with the thinkers and politicians of UK**

First, shake up the capitalist system and start debates about it. Second, show the inability of the capitalist system to solve social problems. Third, expose the collapse of the UK tenets of democracy and freedom, especially after 9/11. Fourth, show the inequality of UK society. Fifth, present Islam through its history and civilisation. Sixth, provide examples from UK society and its discrimination against Muslims. Seventh, provide examples from Muslim society and its equal treatment of

everyone. Eighth, monitor what is published by institutes, think-thanks, etc about Muslims and relay the information to those in power.

## C. Implementation of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the UK

### 1. Recruitments, Study Circles, and Membership

Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK is established in 1986, they followed the procedure of centralized recruitments about local *halaqah*. In the early 1990s, HTB formed a small group, each group consisting of five persons. Women's groups are separated with a group of men, within each group consists of various levels of membership or position within the party. These activities takes place at home of Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK members and do every single week. Small groups or *halaqah* is designed to perform the Muslim tradition, namely reading al-Quran in several small groups.<sup>54</sup>

Before they became a new member of HTB, they mentored one to two years to study the ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir and the books written by its founder, Nabhani. Textbooks are often used as a reference is the book entitled '*Nidham al-Islam*' or the Islamic system. This book presents the knowledge of vision Nabhani establish the Islamic state and the book is at once a representation of the ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir. *Nidham al-Islam* also contains a refutation of the Arab political ideology. The new members mentored by a local *mushrifs* or instructor. After they guided and

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<sup>54</sup> Ahmed, H., & Stuart, H. (2009). *Hizb ut-Tahrir Ideology and Strategy*. London: The Centre for Social Cohesion. Page 72-73.

committed to serve on the party, the new members must internalize the ideology of the party before they were invited to take the oath of allegiance to the party.<sup>55</sup>

## **2. The War on Terror or War on Islamic Paradigm**

In the post 9/11 and declared war on terror, Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK tried to co-opt the complaint within the British Muslim community and the wider British society. Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK regards the war in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Israeli military action in Gaza is a form of American war against Muslims. Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK says that it is a cover. It is actually happening are a war against Islam. They continue to assure that Western governments have done a vicious campaign against Islam and its followers under the disguise of the war against terrorism. The killing of Muslims in Afghanistan, a boycott of Muslims in Iraq, the massacre of Muslims in Palestine, torture against *da'wah* operator in Uzbekistan and the attack on the Indian Muslims. They kept reassuring by saying that the massacres were carried out turned out to have been approved by the United States believed was the leader of the state of *kufir* and supported by Britain and other Western governments. HTB believes that the massacre was intended to strengthen Western hegemony and weaken the Global *Ummah*. Then HTB found the real motive is fatherly

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid*

build and strengthen the US hegemony and their influence on the Islamic state.<sup>56</sup>

Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK makes the war on terror as an issue to make them look as heroes of Islam. They present themselves as the party that can keep Islam and make HTB activists as their defense. They stand firm on Islam and continue to maintain a strong Islamic identity. They made themselves as soldiers on the front line in order to keep the people of the *Kufr* conspiracy plan that seeks to contaminate *aqeedah* of the Muslims.<sup>57</sup>

HTB deliberately manipulate local grievances, such as reprinting cartoons of the Prophet Mohammed conducted in Denmark, reprint of anti-terrorism and the government's counter-radicalization programs. Then with the issues they create, in April 2007, Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK made a campaign with the theme 'Stand for Islam'. The campaign proved successful in making them as a party that promotes Islam according to their nickname as Revolutionary Islamic Party and with this campaign Hizb ut-Tahrir in UK has gained in public platforms.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* Page 73-81.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*