

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Name: Hizb ut-Tahrir

Type of Organization:

- Political party
- transnational

Ideologies and Affiliations:

- Islamist
- jihadist
- pan-Islamist
- Salafi
- Sunni

Place of Origin:

East Jerusalem

Year of Origin:

1953

Founder(s):

Taqiuddin al-Nabhani al-Filastyni

Places of Operation:

Global

Overview

Also Known As:

- Hezb ut-Tahrir¹
- Hizb ut Tahrir²
- Hizbut Tahrir³

Executive Summary:

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), meaning “Party of Liberation,” is an international Islamist movement seeking to unite Muslims under one Islamic caliphate.⁴

Founded by Palestinian Taqiuddin al-Nabhani al-Filastyni in 1953, HT considers itself a non-violent political party.⁵ HT states that its goal is to peacefully convert Muslim nations to Islamist political systems.⁶ HT praises the concept of jihad but insists that it does not use “material power to defend itself or as a weapon....”⁷ The group publicly disavows efforts to achieve its goals of a caliphate through violent means.⁸

HT has been banned in at least 13 countries worldwide.

However, individuals affiliated with the group have been linked to violent acts in multiple countries. Some have been involved in coup attempts in the Middle East,⁹ the murder of a pro-secularist blogger in Bangladesh,¹⁰ and spreading anti-Western and Muslim-separatist propaganda in the West. HT maintains that its members are political dissidents.¹¹

Hizb ut-Tahrir

HT has been called a “conveyor belt” for terrorists by Zeyno Baran of the Hudson Institute.¹² Baran notes that HT members, once radicalized by the group’s ideology, are vulnerable to more explicit messages of militancy.¹³ One example is British citizen Omar Sharif, who attempted to blow up a Tel Aviv bar in 2003. British intelligence officers found HT literature in Sharif’s U.K. home.¹⁴ Another example is ISIS fighter “Jihadi John” (now deceased), who reportedly attended events with HT speakers while in university in Great Britain.¹⁵

HT chapters operate in more than 40 countries, but the group is banned in many Muslim-majority countries, including Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Uzbekistan. The group is also banned in China and Russia.¹⁶ The United Kingdom has not banned HT. According to Baran, HT’s British chapter in London is the “nerve center” of the international movement.¹⁷

While HT promotes the concept of a caliphate, it does not recognize the so-called caliphate created by [ISIS](#) [1]. On July 2, 2015, HT Britain published a statement denouncing ISIS’s June 2014 declaration of an Islamic state because ISIS lacked the authority to create or secure a caliphate in Syria.¹⁸ Nevertheless, British HT members have reportedly joined ISIS and other militant Islamist groups in the Middle East.¹⁹ Former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott accused HT of nurturing “extremism in our suburbs,” claiming that the group justifies terrorism and inspires young men to join jihadist activities in Syria and Iraq.²⁰

British prime ministers Tony Blair and David Cameron called for banning HT in 2009 and 2011, respectively.²¹ However, David Anderson, then the U.K. government’s independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, submitted a report to Parliament in 2011 recommending against banning HT as it had not advocated violence.²² The British Home Office has also ruled that HT does not advocate violence and that Britain cannot ban the group for having unpopular ideas.²³ The Home Office did concede, however, that HT is anti-Semitic, homophobic, and anti-Western.²⁴

Former Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott’s failure to ban HT in that country prompted his government to propose a law prohibiting speech deemed “advocacy to genocide.”²⁵ Attorney General George Brandis said the proposed law was aimed at groups like HT. In September 2015, Brandis and the Abbott government announced the “advocacy to genocide” legislation as part of a package to be introduced in parliament later that year.²⁶ However, later that month, Malcolm Turnbull defeated Abbott for the leadership of Australia’s Liberal party and consequently, for the office of prime minister. Australia’s *Daily Telegraph* reported in October 2015 that the Turnbull government would abandon its predecessor’s attempts to ban HT and to advance the “advocacy to genocide” bill.²⁷

Doctrine:

HT seeks to establish a global caliphate and presents its Islamist ideology (based on the writings of the organization’s founder, Taqiuddin Nahbani) as an alternative to both capitalism and secular democracy.²⁸ HT proposes the restoration of a caliphate as a solution to the problems in the Middle East,²⁹ with all Muslims living according to sharia (Islamic law) under the rule of an Islamic caliphate.³⁰ HT insists that it seeks to reestablish the caliphate only in the Muslim world, not “in any of the western countries including the US.”³¹ However, HT uses anti-Western propaganda to advance its Islamist objectives. For example, HT blames purported anti-Muslim discrimination in the West and violence against Muslims in Muslim-majority countries on Western domestic and foreign policies.³²

HT seeks to erect a global caliphate.

The group’s strategy to create a global caliphate is divided into three phases. The first phase is to create a core Muslim leadership to guide HT. In the second phase, this core leadership reaches out to the broader Muslim community and convinces them to follow HT’s model of Islam.³³ HT’s extensive outreach activities around the world indicate that the group

Hizb ut-Tahrir

is currently focusing on this second phase of its strategy.

The third and final stage of HT's mission is regime change. Once HT has obtained sufficient public support for its vision of a caliphate, HT expects that support to facilitate a peaceful transition to Islamist rule. HT doctrine officially eschews violence and believes "Islamic law forbids violence or armed struggle against the regime as a method to reestablish the Islamic State."³⁴ Only the caliph of the Islamic state—a position that does not yet exist—can declare jihad under HT doctrine. Further, HT believes "military struggle is not the method of reestablishing the Caliphate."³⁵

However, HT does not foreclose the possibility that a transition to Islamist rule could also transpire through a military coup if, for example, enough soldiers were converted to HT's worldview. Despite hoping for military support to overthrow current regimes, HT still positions itself as a non-violent movement, HT's doctrine considers military intervention to be outside help (*nusrah*) since the military is not a direct arm of HT.³⁶ Analysts studying the HT movement have implicated HT members in failed military coups in Jordan (1968 and 1969) and Egypt (1974).³⁷ However, HT members did not provide any military support for these coups. In the case of Jordan, HT members allegedly encouraged members of the military to overthrow the government.³⁸

Since HT presents Islam as an exclusive socio-political system superior to secularism and democracy,³⁹ the group urges Muslims to detach themselves from any secular or nationalist loyalties. To that end, HT spreads an Islamist narrative of Muslim grievance and victimhood,⁴⁰ oversimplifying the complex global socio-political environment into a single, simple narrative: the West opposes Islam.⁴¹ This narrative can result in an identity crisis for some Muslims, which opens the door for their radicalization, according to a 2007 radicalization study from Denmark's justice ministry.⁴² One possible example of HT-inspired radicalization is the case of 15-year-old Farhad Jabbar in Parramatta, Australia. Jabbar shot and killed a police accountant in October 2015 and reportedly attended an HT event the morning of the shooting.⁴³ HT Australia denied that Jabbar is a member and condemned the shooting, but it also called "western foreign and domestic policy" the "real cause of violence."⁴⁴

HT promotional materials have called for violence against Jews.

Despite its official non-violent stance, HT has called for violence against Jews. In 2002, HT leaflets found in Denmark urged Muslims to kill Jews "wherever you find them, and turn them out from where they have been [sic] turned you out." A BBC report quoted the HT leaflet further: "The Jews are a people of slander...a treacherous people... they fabricate lies and twist words from their right context."⁴⁵ In 2003, similar anti-Semitic rhetoric resulted in the group being banned from many university campuses in Britain and a complete ban of the group in Germany.⁴⁶

HT supports not only violence against Jews in general but offensive jihad against Israel in particular.⁴⁷ HT believes Israel has "occupied Islamic lands"—lands once ruled by Islamic law. Accordingly, HT believes those lands should return to governance by Islamic law and supports jihad as a means to that end.⁴⁸

Accordingly, HT views violent acts against Israel as legitimate political protest against Israel's existence as a state. The organization's literature has supported Islamist suicide bombings in Israel, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank.⁴⁹ In 1994, HT's global leader, Ata Abu Rashta, reiterated this point when he declared that Jews who came to Palestine after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire have no right to live there. He called for all Jews of fighting age in Israel to be "killed until none survive."⁵⁰

At least one HT-related person is believed to have attempted a suicide bombing in Israel. British citizen Omar Khan Sharif was reportedly affiliated with an HT splinter group.⁵¹ He began attending HT meetings while at King's College in London.⁵² Sharif reportedly followed former HT leader [Omar Bakri Mohammed](#) [2] to his new group, al-Muhajiroun.⁵³ On April 30, 2003, Sharif and fellow British citizen Asif Muhammad Hanif attempted a suicide bombing at a Tel Aviv bar.⁵⁴ Sharif's

Hizb ut-Tahrir

explosives failed, but Hanif killed three and wounded 50.⁵⁵ HT denied responsibility for radicalizing Sharif.⁵⁶

On social issues, HT's ideology is reactionary. HT dictates subservient roles for women, who are required to obtain their husbands' permission to leave the house and cannot go outside wearing perfume.⁵⁷ HT's doctrine also forbids homosexual acts and prohibits participation in other faiths' celebrations, such as Christmas.⁵⁸

Organizational Structure:

HT is a hierarchical organization with as many as 1 million members throughout the world.⁵⁹ HT boasts of a presence in at least 33 countries and maintains a central media office in Beirut, Lebanon.⁶⁰ Each country has a local chapter led by an emir, who answers to HT's overall emir, Ata Abu Rashta.⁶¹ While Abu Rashta's exact location is unknown, he continues to lecture at Islamist conferences worldwide and new rhetoric from him regularly appears on HT websites.

In each of these chapters, men and women are encouraged to be active members of the movement but work separately in order to keep the genders apart. HT's vision of a future Islamic state reserves the highest positions—including caliph, provincial governors, and defense minister—for men alone.⁶² Once an Islamic state is established, the caliph would select a defense minister,⁶³ who would then enforce conscription to the caliphate's army of all Muslim men over the age of 15. While women are encouraged to join and participate in HT, they are forbidden from filling leadership roles like defense minister.⁶⁴

Some of the most active HT chapters are listed and described below:

United Kingdom:

HT Britain is the nerve center of the organization.

HT's British chapter (HT Britain) is considered the nerve center of the global movement.⁶⁵ HT's operations in the United Kingdom are led by HT Britain's chief executive, Dr. [Abdul Wahid](#) [3].⁶⁶ HT's spokesperson, Taji Mustafa, engages the media on behalf of the movement, and has spoken at HT conferences in other countries like Australia.⁶⁷ Because HT is allowed to operate freely in Britain, HT Britain recruits members by hosting public conferences and panels, and by engaging with the British media on a regular basis. HT Britain also maintains a website, where its positions on foreign and domestic policy are made available through articles and video.

On both Twitter and Facebook, HT Britain has amassed over 11,000 followers.⁶⁸ Local HT Britain chapters organize their own fundraising to support outreach efforts, such as printing and handing out leaflets in public spaces.⁶⁹ HT Britain has also benefited from government funding, including grants to run early education programs.⁷⁰ The British government ended this funding program after media reports confirmed that HT members were using the funding to indoctrinate students with controversial HT ideology, including the belief that tolerance and integration are un-Islamic.⁷¹

Individuals known to have been in contact with HT Britain have gone on to join more violent Islamist groups. For example, notorious ISIS executioner [Mohammed Emwazi](#) [4] (a.k.a. Jihadi John) was in contact with the group while studying at British universities before he joined ISIS.⁷²

United States:

HT operates freely in the United States, although the group keeps its leadership and membership numbers private. HT America recruits members by hosting periodic conferences and panels, as well as maintaining a website and social media accounts. The HT America website includes articles advocating its policy positions and information on upcoming events around the country.

Hizb ut-Tahrir

HT America has more than 28,000 followers on Facebook.

HT America has amassed more than 1,000 followers on Twitter, up from more than 300 followers in 2016.⁷³ Meanwhile, the group's Facebook page has more than 28,000 followers as of May 2017, up from more than 20,000 in early 2016.⁷⁴ HT America has held multiple conferences across the United States over the years at such prominent venues as the Hilton hotel in Oak Lawn, Illinois.⁷⁵ Other venues in Illinois, like the Chicago Marriott Oak Brook and the Meadows Club in Rolling Meadows, have canceled HT America events after receiving concerned calls from the public.⁷⁶

Australia:

HT Australia is led by Islamist cleric [Ismail al-Wahwah](#) [5].⁷⁷ Since HT is free to operate in Australia, HT has recruited members by hosting public conferences and panels, and by engaging regularly with Australian media. HT Australia also maintains a website, where the group posts content highlighting the movement's philosophy, positions on political issues, and planned events in the country.⁷⁸

The group also maintains a strong public profile on social media. Al-Wahwah has more than 4,000 followers on Facebook,⁷⁹ and the group's Facebook page has more than 26,000 likes as of May 2017, up from 9,000 likes in January 2016.⁸⁰ HT Australia's media spokesperson, Uthman Badar, tweets regularly to more than 7,000 people.⁸¹

In October 2015, a 15-year-old who shot and killed a police accountant in Parramatta, Australia, had reportedly attended an HT discussion at his local mosque on the morning of the incident.⁸² In December 2014, Iranian-born Man Haron Monis took more than a dozen people hostage at Sydney's Lindt Chocolat Café. Monis and two hostages were killed after a 16-hour standoff with police. Monis had attended a June 2014 HT lecture on the failings of the West.⁸³

In March 2017, international media circulated video footage of Badar stating that apostates—those who leave Islam—should be put to death.⁸⁴ In response, anti-HT activists in Australia launched an online petition to have the group banned.⁸⁵

Denmark:

HT Denmark was founded in 2000 by former HT member Maajid Nawaz, and others.⁸⁶ Today, the group is popularized by its spokesperson Junes Kock.

The Copenhagen-based branch of HT considers itself a regional office as indicated by its name HT Scandinavia.⁸⁷ Outside of Denmark, HT Scandinavia has hosted events and distributed leaflets in Stockholm, Sweden.⁸⁸ HT Scandinavia has a website that highlights the group's work, policy positions, and planned events in the region.⁸⁹ On Facebook, the group has amassed more than 6,000 likes as of May 2017, up from 4,000 in February 2016.⁹⁰

Since its founding, HT's operations in Denmark have been steeped in controversy. In 2003, former HT spokesperson in Denmark Fadi Abdelatif served a 60-day suspended sentence for distributing anti-Semitic propaganda.⁹¹ Moreover, while HT Scandinavia is not proscribed in Denmark, Danish MPs have discussed banning HT in Denmark in 2008 and 2015 because of the group's inflammatory speeches.⁹²

HT's Danish leadership frequently focuses its attention on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.⁹³ On February 14, 2015, Imam Hajj Saeed spoke at an HT Scandinavia event, wherein he denounced interfaith dialogue. He also implied that since Islam's prophet Muhammad waged war with the Jews in Medina, it was permissible to do the same today.⁹⁴ Saeed's sermon was delivered the day before a terrorist attack in Copenhagen, wherein 22-year-old gunman Omar El-Hussein killed two and

Hizb ut-Tahrir

injured five while attempting to enter a cultural center that was hosting a free-speech event.⁹⁵

Netherlands:

Not much is publicly known about HT leadership in the Netherlands, though it is known to include media representative Okay Pala. On Twitter, Pala has accrued more than 3,000 followers.⁹⁶ The HT Netherlands Facebook page has more than 13,000 likes, as of May 2017, representing a growth of almost 200 percent since February 2016, when the page had little more than 5,000 likes.⁹⁷ HT Netherlands also maintains a website highlighting its policy positions, activities, and planned events in the country.⁹⁸

While the organization is allowed to operate in the Netherlands, some private venues in the country have been unwilling to host HT events, including the Rotterdam-Zuid community center De Put, which rejected hosting an HT panel in September 2015.⁹⁹ HT has persisted in its recruitment and publicity strategy by handing out HT literature in Dutch in Rotterdam.¹⁰⁰

Australia, the U.K., and Netherlands have each sought to ban HT.

Consequently, Netherlands has unsuccessfully attempted to ban HT.¹⁰¹

Pakistan:

HT is not allowed to operate in Pakistan. Nevertheless, the organization remains active on social media and through outreach efforts that primarily target members of the military and educated classes.¹⁰² HT Pakistan engages the public regularly through its website and social media activity. HT Pakistan's Twitter account has more than 6,000 followers,¹⁰³ and its Facebook page has more than 19,000 likes as of May 2017, up from more than 5,500 in March 2016.¹⁰⁴ The group's illegal status in Pakistan notwithstanding, the number of HT Pakistan's Facebook followers increased more than 300 percent over the previous year.¹⁰⁵

Pakistani authorities periodically arrest HT members despite the group's ban in 2003.¹⁰⁶ For example, the group maintains that the Pakistani government abducted its leader, Naveed Butt, in 2012, and has since been advocating for his release.¹⁰⁷ In November 2015, Pakistani authorities arrested HT Pakistan leader Siham Qamar and seven others during a series of raids.¹⁰⁸

The *New York Times* noted in 2012 that "special concern arose in Pakistan" after an army brigadier named Ali Khan was charged in 2011 with "having ties to HT, and of conspiring to overthrow the [Pakistani] government."¹⁰⁹ Khan and four others were convicted in 2012.¹¹⁰ The incident highlights HT's efforts to recruit Pakistan's military leadership in hopes of replacing the government with a caliphate.

Bangladesh:

HT was banned in Bangladesh in 2009.¹¹¹ Since then, HT has continued its activities in the country, despite sporadic arrests of alleged members.¹¹² HT Bangladesh recruits members by hosting conferences and passing out HT literature in public.¹¹³ HT Bangladesh also maintains a website. The group's Facebook account has more than 1,300 likes.¹¹⁴

In March 2015, Bangladeshi authorities arrested HT member Farabi Shafiur Rahman in connection with the murder of secular blogger Avijit Roy.¹¹⁵ Rahman joined HT in approximately 2010. He had previously been arrested in 2010 and again in 2013 for threatening a cleric performing funeral rites for another atheist blogger who had been murdered.¹¹⁶

Bangladeshi authorities have arrested more than 600 HT supporters since the group was banned. In June 2016, HT Bangladesh was reportedly distributing leaflets calling for rebellion against the "tyrannical rule" of Bangladeshi Prime

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed.¹¹⁷

Malaysia:

HT Malaysia's leadership includes spokesman Abdul Hakim Othman and vice president Sopian Jahir.¹¹⁸ HT operates freely in Malaysia, except in the province of Selangor, where HT was proscribed in September 2015.¹¹⁹ Outside of Selangor, HT recruits members by hosting periodic conferences and seminars.¹²⁰

HT Malaysia also maintains a website and official Twitter and Facebook accounts. The group's Twitter account had more than 2,000 followers as of January 2016, but has since been discontinued.¹²¹ Its Facebook page has more than 26,000 followers as of May 2017, up from 13,000 followers in March 2016.¹²²

In November 2015, Malaysian authorities briefly arrested HT Malaysia's former spokesperson, Abdul Hakim Othman, in connection to anti-American protests during President Obama's visit to Malaysia that month.¹²³ On September 17, 2015, the Islamic Religious Department of the Malaysian state of Selangor issued a fatwa outlawing HT Malaysia within its jurisdiction.¹²⁴ Othman attempted to respond to the edict banning the group by holding a press conference in Selangor on December 4, 2015, but was arrested during the event.¹²⁵ Othman was released later the same day.¹²⁶

Indonesia:

HT Indonesia's spokesperson, Muhammad Ismail Yusanto had more than 31,000 followers on Twitter as of May 2017, representing an increase of 7,000 followers since January 2016, when he had more than 24,000 followers.¹²⁷ Yusanto regularly engages Indonesian media to advocate HT positions in the country.¹²⁸ While membership numbers are unknown, HT events have included more than 100,000 attendees at some conferences.¹²⁹ HT Indonesia's website is regularly updated with articles and videos addressing domestic and foreign politics and social issues from an HT perspective.¹³⁰

In 2011, HT Indonesia's chairman, Rochmat Labib, told the Associated Press that HT's 10-year plan in Indonesia is to "reinforce the people's lack of trust and hope in the regime."¹³¹ Further, he said, HT is "converting people from democracy, secularism and capitalism to Islamic ideology."¹³² In 2016, HT organized protests accusing Jakarta's Christian governor, Basuki "Ahok" Tjahaja Purnama, of blasphemy.¹³³ In May 2017, Purnama was found guilty of blasphemy and sentenced to two years in prison.¹³⁴

On May 8, 2017, Indonesian President Joko "Jokowi" Widodo ordered a ban of HT activities. Security Minister Wiranto told media that HT has "clearly caused conflict in society" and worked against Indonesia's pluralistic society.¹³⁵

Central Asia:

In Central Asia—including Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan—HT membership is estimated at between 20,000 and 100,000, with members typically including college students, teachers, the unemployed, and factory workers.¹³⁶ New members are also drawn through prison recruitment in Central Asia.¹³⁷ Uzbekistan is believed to have as many as 8,000 HT members.¹³⁸ In the late 1970s, HT outreach spread from Uzbekistan to neighboring Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. There, HT's membership has expanded to include non-ethnic Uzbeks, ethnic Russians, and Koreans.¹³⁹

HT financing in Central Asia is believed to come from private donations and dues paid by members, with dues estimated at anywhere from 5 percent to 20 percent of a member's monthly income.¹⁴⁰

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Financing:

HT appears to be funded through several means, including private donations and government subsidies, but few details about the group's finances are public. Local chapters organize their own fundraising to support outreach efforts, such as printing and handing out leaflets in public spaces.¹⁴¹ Operational costs appear low because many members do volunteer work. Donations are primarily raised in Europe, the Middle East, and Pakistan.¹⁴² Pakistan recalled diplomatic envoy Mohammad Mazhar Khan from Bangladesh in March 2015 after receiving allegations that he had laundered money to HT and other Islamist militant groups in Bangladesh.¹⁴³

HT has also benefited from government funding. For example, a British foundation run by HT members received government grants to run early education programs.¹⁴⁴ The British government ended the funding after media reports confirmed that HT members were teaching students HT ideology, including the belief that tolerance and integration are un-Islamic.¹⁴⁵

Recruitment:

Recruitment is crucial to HT's overarching strategy. As a self-purported peaceful movement for regime change, HT must gain sufficient public support to realize that change. In countries where the group is not banned, HT's outreach efforts include passing out literature in public spaces, organizing seminars,¹⁴⁶ and releasing pro-Islamist publications, such as *The Institutions of State in the Khilafah* [caliphate], online.¹⁴⁷ HT also operates websites in multiple languages that provide access to HT literature, such as political commentary and religious justifications for the movement's worldview.

Conferences are another critical method for HT to spread its message. HT has held multiple conferences in the United States, including at least three "Khilafa [caliphate] conferences" in 2015. The conferences focused on answering questions surrounding a future Islamic caliphate. These questions include, "What is Khilafah," "Why Khilafah," "Who is Hizb ut-Tahrir," and "How we work for Khilafah."¹⁴⁸ HT America held multiple rallies and conferences through 2016 as well, including its annual Khilafa Conference at the Ramada Inn in Glendale, Illinois, that May. HT returned to the hotel in April 2017 for its annual conference, which the group dubbed as "a global call to Muslims worldwide to stand up and fulfill the obligation to resume the Islamic way of life, as decreed by Allah (SWT), by reestablishing the Khilafah on the path of our Prophet (SAW)." In 2012, then-presidential candidate Michelle Bachmann questioned whether an HT event in Rolling Meadows, Illinois, was "subversive speech." In 2009, protests were held in front of an HT event in Oak Lawn, Illinois.¹⁴⁹

In the United Kingdom, HT operates freely and publicly, holding conferences and conducting outreach programs at numerous U.K. universities. In 2003, the British Home Office concluded that it could not ban an HT conference in Birmingham that year since HT professed to be non-violent. Approximately 10,000 people attended.¹⁵⁰

HT outreach to students relies on access to campus events at universities. In the United Kingdom, HT recruits and maintains an active presence on university campuses. British media have reported that HT radicalized future ISIS fighter Mohammed Emwazi, a.k.a. "Jihadi John" (now deceased), and other future prominent jihadists before they traveled to fight in the Middle East.¹⁵¹ Emwazi attended Britain's University of Westminster, where he was exposed to HT ideology through the university's Islamic Society.¹⁵² During Emwazi's years as a student at the University of Westminster, the Islamic Society organized on-campus panels that included HT members as speakers.¹⁵³ The university has been the subject of several accusations that HT has infiltrated its campus.¹⁵⁴

British counter-extremism activist Maajid Nawaz is a former HT member who was drawn to the group as a teenager.¹⁵⁵ As a student at London's Newham College, Nawaz continued to spread HT's message until he was expelled when his self-appointed bodyguard stabbed and killed a non-Muslim student.¹⁵⁶ According to Nawaz, HT seeks to recruit members of student groups, such as the University of Westminster's Islamic Society, and exploits freedom of speech to showcase

Hizb ut-Tahrir

speakers who “peddle a highly politicized, often violent strain” of Islam.¹⁵⁷

Nawaz warns it “is easier than one might think for bright, capable people like Mr. Emwazi to fall for the myopic worldview of the preachers of hate. Young people from relatively prosperous, educated backgrounds have long been overrepresented in jihadist causes.”¹⁵⁸ In April 2011, for example, Westminster students elected Tarik Mahri and Jamal Achchi, both tied to HT, as president and vice president, respectively, of the student union.¹⁵⁹ As president of Westminster’s Global Ideas Society, Mahri had been instrumental in bringing HT speaker Jamal Harwood to campus.¹⁶⁰

Dr. Alexandra Stein is a social psychologist specializing in extremist groups. While teaching at Westminster between 2007 and 2012, Stein noticed a “tremendous amount of recruiting” at the school.¹⁶¹ Stein recalled female Muslim students telling her they had been pressured to wear veils and sit in the back of classrooms at university-sanctioned HT lectures.¹⁶² Because of the university’s tolerance of HT campus activities, “students were being led like lambs to the slaughter,” according to Stein.¹⁶³

HT also enjoys a strong presence in the Middle East and Asia. In Central Asia, the group operates through underground channels, where 2003 membership ranged from 20,000 to 100,000.¹⁶⁴ Recruits include college students and teachers, the unemployed, and factory workers. Central Asian authorities believe HT also recruits heavily in prisons.¹⁶⁵

HT is particularly active in Indonesia and Malaysia. On August 12, 2007, HT hosted a Khilafa (caliphate) conference in Indonesia to discuss the need for a global Islamic state. Although several speakers canceled due to travel restrictions by Indonesia and other countries, the conference attracted approximately 100,000 participants. Organizers called it the largest gathering of Muslim activists in the world.¹⁶⁶

Since the beginning of the Arab Spring, HT has intensified its recruitment efforts in the Middle East, seemingly to take advantage of political voids left by toppled dictatorships and ongoing civil wars.¹⁶⁷ HT outreach includes efforts to highlight the humanitarian crisis created by the current conflicts. In March 2012, for example, HT hosted a women-only conference in Tunisia. The group organized a protest in Aleppo, Syria, on November 9, 2012, and a press conference in Amman, Jordan, in April 2013 to highlight the Syrian civil war’s impact on women and children.¹⁶⁸

¹ Tom Heneghan, “Ambiguous religion policy backfires on Tunisia’s ruling Islamists,” Reuters, September 3, 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/09/03/us-tunisia-crisis-religion-idUSBRE9820C920130903#SZpLDAWqimytR36B.97> [6].

² Elaine Sciolino and Don Van Natta Jr., “For a Decade, London Thrived as a Busy Crossroads of Terror,” *New York Times*, July 10, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/10/world/europe/for-a-decade-london-thrived-as-a-busy-crossroads-of-terror.html> [7].

³ “Hizbut Tahrir meets ‘The Post,’” *Jakarta Post*, July 12, 2014, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/07/12/hizbut-tahrir-meets-the-post.html> [8].

⁴ Zeyno Baran, “The Challenge of Hizb ut-Tahrir: Deciphering and Combating Radical Islamist Ideology,” Center for the National Interest, September 2004, xiii, accessed June 1, 2015, <http://www.cftni.org/Program%20Briefs/PB%202004/confrephiztahrir.pdf> [9] (page discontinued).

⁵ Houriya Ahmed and Hannah Stuart, “Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy,” Center for Social Cohesion, November 2009, 4, <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf> [10].

⁶ “Definition: Hizb ut-Tahrir,” Hizb ut-Tahrir homepage, accessed June 3, 2015, <http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.org/index.php/en/def> [11].

⁷ “Definition: Hizb ut-Tahrir,” Hizb ut-Tahrir homepage, accessed June 3, 2015, <http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.org/index.php/en/def> [11].

⁸ “Press Release 20150531: Conference in Chicago,” Hizb ut-Tahrir America, May 31, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/press-release-20150531-conference-in-chicago/> [12].

⁹ Zeyno Baran, “The Challenge of Hizb ut-Tahrir: Deciphering and Combating Radical Islamist Ideology,” Center for the National Interest, September 2004, xiii, accessed June 1, 2015, <http://www.cftni.org/Program%20Briefs/PB%202004/confrephiztahrir.pdf> [9] (page discontinued).

¹⁰ Saad Hamadi and Mark Tran, “Bangladesh Authorities Arrest Man Over Atheist Blogger’s Murder,” *Guardian* (London), March 2, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/02/bangladesh-authorities-arrest-man-atheist-bloggers-murder-avijit-roy> [13].

¹¹ David Leigh, “Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir,” *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

¹² Zeyno Baran, “The Road from Tashkent to the Taliban,” Hudson Institute, April 2, 2004,

Hizb ut-Tahrir

<https://hudson.org/research/3976-the-road-from-tashkent-to-the-taliban> [15].

¹³ Zeyno Baran, "The Road from Tashkent to the Taliban," Hudson Institute, April 2, 2004, <https://hudson.org/research/3976-the-road-from-tashkent-to-the-taliban> [15].

¹⁴ Christian Caryl, "The Party's Not Over," *Foreign Policy*, December 22, 2009, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/12/22/the-partys-not-over/> [16].

¹⁵ Sara Malm, "100 Members of Controversial Islamic Group Linked to Radicalised British Students Including Jihadi John Have 'Joined Forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-islamic-group-linked-radicalised-british-students-including-jihadi-john-joined-forces-al-qaeda-syria.html> [17].

¹⁶ Uthman Badar, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Is It Now An Offence to Oppose Government Policy? If So, Let It Be Said Plainly," *Guardian* (London), February 23, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/23/hizb-ut-tahrir-is-it-now-an-offence-to-oppose-government-policy-if-so-let-it-be-said-plainly> [18].

¹⁷ Zeyno Baran, "Hizb Ut-Tahrir Islam's Political Insurgency," Nixon Center, December 2004, 130, https://hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/448/eurasian_tahririslamspoliticalinsurgency.pdf [19].

¹⁸ "Media Statement Regarding ISIS's Declaration in Iraq," Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, July 2, 2014, <http://www.hizb.org.uk/current-affairs/media-statement-regarding-isiss-declaration-in-iraq> [20].

¹⁹ Mary Anne Weaver, "Her Majesty's Jihadists," *New York Times Magazine*, April 14, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/19/magazine/her-majestys-jihadists.html> [21].

²⁰ Michael Safi, "Hizb ut-Tahrir insists it rejects violence following Abbott's 'desperate' accusation," *Guardian* (London), February 19, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/20/hizb-ut-tahrir-insists-it-rejects-violence-following-abbotts-desperate-accusation> [22].

²¹ Blair resigned the British premiership in 2007, before he called for banning HT. Cameron was the incumbent prime minister when he called for banning the group.

²² Shiv Malik, "Watchdog Recommends Tory U-turn on Banning Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 18, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/jul/18/watchdog-tory-uturn-hizb-ut-tahrir-ban> [23].

²³ "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Should Britain Ban Radical Islamist Group?," *Week* (London), March 19, 2015, <http://www.theweek.co.uk/63010/hizb-ut-tahrir-should-britain-ban-radical-islamist-group#ixzz3aV8GYz15> [24]; Shiv Malik, "Watchdog recommends Tory U-turn on banning Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 18, 2011, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/jul/18/watchdog-tory-uturn-hizb-ut-tahrir-ban> [23].

²⁴ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

²⁵ Daniel Meers, "Turnbull won't be kicking Hizb-ut-Tahrir from Australia," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), October 5, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/turnbull-wont-be-kicking-hizb-ut-tahrir-from-australia/story-fni0cx12-1227558101202> [25]; Michael Safi, "'Advocating genocide' to be crime under proposed new national security laws," *Guardian* (London), September 3, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/04/advocating-genocide-to-be-new-under-new-national-security-laws> [26].

²⁶ Michael Safi, "'Advocating genocide' to be crime under proposed new national security laws," *Guardian* (London), September 3, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/04/advocating-genocide-to-be-new-under-new-national-security-laws> [26]; Shalailah Medhora, "New national security laws to include offence of inciting genocide," *Guardian* (London), October 13, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/oct/13/new-national-security-laws-to-include-offence-of-inciting-genocide> [27].

²⁷ Daniel Meers, "Turnbull won't be kicking Hizb-ut-Tahrir from Australia," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), October 5, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/turnbull-wont-be-kicking-hizb-ut-tahrir-from-australia/story-fni0cx12-1227558101202> [25].

²⁸ "Press Release 20150531: Conference in Chicago," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, May 31, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/press-release-20150531-conference-in-chicago/> [12].

²⁹ Jane Perlez, "London Gathering Defends Vision of Radical Islam," *New York Times*, August 6, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/06/world/europe/06hizb.html> [28].

³⁰ "About Us," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, accessed November 24, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/about-us/> [29].

³¹ "Press Release 20150531: Conference in Chicago," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, May 31, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/press-release-20150531-conference-in-chicago/> [12].

³² Uthman Badar, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: is it now an offence to oppose government policy? If so, let it be said plainly," *Guardian* (London), February 23, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/23/hizb-ut-tahrir-is-it-now-an-offence-to-oppose-government-policy-if-so-let-it-be-said-plainly> [18];

Jane Perlez, "London Gathering Defends Vision of Radical Islam," *New York Times*, August 6, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/06/world/europe/06hizb.html> [28].

³³ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council's World Almanac of Islamism, last modified October 7, 2013, <http://almanac.afpc.org/hizb-ut-tahrir#> [30].

³⁴ Houriya Ahmed and Hannah Stuart, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy," Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009, 18, <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf> [10].

³⁵ Emmanuel Karagianni and Clark McCauley, "Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami: Evaluating the Threat Posed by a Radical Islamic Group That Remains Nonviolent," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 2 (2006): 325,

Hizb ut-Tahrir

https://www.academia.edu/2002039/Hizb_ut-Tahrir_al-Islami_Evaluating_the_threat_posed_by_a_radical_Islamic_group_that_remains_nonviolent [31].

³⁶ Emmanuel Karagianni and Clark McCauley, "Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami: Evaluating the Threat Posed by a Radical Islamic Group That Remains Nonviolent," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 2 (2006): 326, https://www.academia.edu/2002039/Hizb_ut-Tahrir_al-Islami_Evaluating_the_threat_posed_by_a_radical_Islamic_group_that_remains_nonviolent [31].

³⁷ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council's World Almanac of Islamism, last modified October 7, 2013, <http://almanac.afpc.org/hizb-ut-tahrir#> [30].

³⁸ Emmanuel Karagianni and Clark McCauley, "Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami: Evaluating the Threat Posed by a Radical Islamic Group That Remains Nonviolent," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18, no. 2 (2006): 326, https://www.academia.edu/2002039/Hizb_ut-Tahrir_al-Islami_Evaluating_the_threat_posed_by_a_radical_Islamic_group_that_remains_nonviolent [31].

³⁹ Houriya Ahmed and Hannah Stuart, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy," Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009, 28, <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf> [10].

⁴⁰ Husain Haqqani, "Muslims Must Shed Their Narrative of Grievance," *Telegraph* (London), January 12, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/11340445/Muslims-must-shed-their-narrative-of-grievance.html> [32].

⁴¹ Martha Crenshaw, "The Debate Over 'Old' vs. 'New' Terrorism," in *Jihadi Terrorism and the Radicalisation Challenge: European and American Experiences*, ed. Rick Coolsaet (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2011), 64.

⁴² Tomas Precht, "Home grown terrorism and Islamist radicalization in Europe," Danish Ministry of Justice (December 2007), 52, 66, http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/sites/default/files/media/Arbejdsomraader/Forskning/Forskningspuljen/2011/2007/Home_grown_terrorism_and_Islamist_radicalisation_in_Europe_-_an_assessment_of_influencing_factors_2_.pdf [33].

⁴³ Patrick Begley, "Parramatta shooting: Hizb ut-Tahrir denies link, blames government for violence," *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 5, 2015, <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/parramatta-shooting-hizb-uttahrir-denies-link-blames-government-for-violence-20151005-gk1kll.html#ixzz3rCKUp7XF> [34].

⁴⁴ Patrick Begley, "Parramatta shooting: Hizb ut-Tahrir denies link, blames government for violence," *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 5, 2015, <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/parramatta-shooting-hizb-uttahrir-denies-link-blames-government-for-violence-20151005-gk1kll.html#ixzz3rCKUp7XF> [34].

⁴⁵ Imran Khan, "Hizb ut-Tahrir," BBC News, August 27, 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/newsnight/3182271.stm> [35].

⁴⁶ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

⁴⁷ Houriya Ahmed and Hannah Stuart, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy," Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009, 28, <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf> [10].

⁴⁸ Houriya Ahmed and Hannah Stuart, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy," Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009, 28, <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf> [10].

⁴⁹ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

⁵⁰ Houriya Ahmed and Hannah Stuart, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy," Centre for Social Cohesion, November 2009, 28, <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf> [10].

⁵¹ Shiv Malik, "NS Profile - Omar Sharif," *New Statesman*, April 24, 2006, <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/164197> [36]; Jonathan Spyer, "A 'Rising Force,'" *Haaretz* (Tel Aviv), December 6, 2007, <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/a-rising-force-1.234723> [37].

⁵² Shiv Malik, "NS Profile - Omar Sharif," *New Statesman*, April 24, 2006, <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/164197> [36].

⁵³ Shiv Malik, "NS Profile - Omar Sharif," *New Statesman*, April 24, 2006, <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/164197> [36].

⁵⁴ "Details of April 30- 2003 Tel Aviv suicide bombing-3-Jun-2003," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 3, 2003, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2003/Pages/Details%20of%20April%2030-%202003%20Tel%20Aviv%20suicide%20bombing.aspx> [38].

⁵⁵ "Details of April 30- 2003 Tel Aviv suicide bombing-3-Jun-2003," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 3, 2003, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2003/Pages/Details%20of%20April%2030-%202003%20Tel%20Aviv%20suicide%20bombing.aspx> [38].

⁵⁶ Shiv Malik, "NS Profile - Omar Sharif," *New Statesman*, April 24, 2006, <http://www.newstatesman.com/node/164197> [36].

⁵⁷ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

⁵⁸ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

⁵⁹ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

⁶⁰ "Media Offices," Hizb ut-Tahrir Central Media Office, accessed May 11, 2017, <http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.info/en/index.php/press-releases/central-media-office.html> [40].

⁶¹ "Profile: Ameer of Hizb ut-Tahrir," Hizb ut-Tahrir Central Media Office, accessed May 10, 2017,

Hizb ut-Tahrir

<http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.info/en/index.php/site-sections/articles/8807.html> [41].

⁶² American Foreign Policy Council, *The World Almanac of Islamism: 2014* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 982.

⁶³ American Foreign Policy Council, *The World Almanac of Islamism: 2014* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014), 982.

⁶⁴ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

⁶⁵ Zeyno Baran, "The Challenge of Hizb ut-Tahrir: Deciphering and Combating Radical Islamist Ideology," Center For The National Interest, September 2004, xiv, accessed June 3, 2015, <http://www.cftni.org/Program%20Briefs/PB%202004/confrephiztahrir.pdf> [9] (site discontinued).

⁶⁶ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," Hope Not Hate, accessed on May 18, 2015, <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-groups/ht/> [42].

⁶⁷ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," Hope Not Hate, accessed on May 18, 2015, <http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/hate-groups/ht/> [42].

⁶⁸ HT Britain Facebook page, accessed January 21, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/htbritain/> [43].; HT Britain Twitter, accessed January 21, 2016, https://twitter.com/hizbuttahrir?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor [44].

⁶⁹ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

⁷⁰ Islamists who want to destroy the state get £100,000 funding," *Telegraph* (London), October 25, 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/6427369/Islamists-who-want-to-destroy-the-state-get-100000-funding.html> [45].

⁷¹ Andrew Gilligan, "Council suspends funding to schools linked to Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Telegraph* (London), October 10, 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/6475214/Council-suspends-funding-to-schools-linked-to-Hizb-ut-Tahrir.html> [46].

⁷² Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html> [17].

⁷³ Hizb ut-Tahrir America Twitter account, accessed January 27, 2016, <https://twitter.com/hizbamerica> [47]; Hizb ut-Tahrir America Twitter account, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://twitter.com/hizbamerica> [47].

⁷⁴ Hizb ut-Tahrir America Facebook account, accessed January 27, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-America-1417722101865364/?nr> [48];

Hizb ut-Tahrir America Facebook account, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-America-1417722101865364/?nr> [48].

⁷⁵ Hizb ut-Tahrir America website, accessed January 14, 2016, <https://hizb-america.org/events/> [49]; Diane Macedo, "Islamic Supremacist Group Holds First U.S. Conference," *Fox News*, July 17, 2009, <http://www.foxnews.com/story/2009/07/17/islamic-supremacist-group-holds-first-us-conference.html> [50].

⁷⁶ John Keilman, Jonathan Bullington, "Islamic conference loses area venue for 3rd time in 4 years," June 14, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-06-14/news/ct-met-islamic-conference-canceled-20120614_1_islamic-conference-islamic-law-hizb-ut-tahrir [51].; "Oak Brook Hotel Says No to Muslim Conference," *NBC Chicago News*, July 12, 2010, <http://www.nbcchicago.com/news/local/Oakbrook-Hotel-Says-No-To-Muslim-Conference-98229839.html> [52].

⁷⁷ Taylor Auerbach, "Hizb ut-Tahrir leader Ismail Alwahwah calls for jihad against Jews in inflammatory video," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 9, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/hizb-uttahrir-leader-ismail-alwahwah-calls-for-jihad-against-jews-in-inflammatory-video/news-story/ede1315c654f9b2420b507516b3d1e7f> [53].

⁷⁸ Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia website, accessed January 29, 2016, <http://www2.hizb-australia.org/> [54].

⁷⁹ Ismail Alwahwah Facebook page, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/ismail.alwahwah?ref=ts> [55].

⁸⁰ Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia Facebook page, accessed January 21, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/hizbaust> [56];

Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia Facebook page, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/hizbaust> [56].

⁸¹ Uthman Badar Twitter Account, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://twitter.com/uthmanb> [57].

⁸² Patrick Begley, "Parramatta shooting: Hizb ut-Tahrir denies link, blames government for violence," *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 5, 2015, <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/parramatta-shooting-hizb-uttahrir-denies-link-blames-government-for-violence-20151005-gk1kil.html> [58].

⁸³ Dan Kedmey and David Stout, "3 Dead After Police Storm Sydney Café to End Hostage Crisis," *Time*, December 15, 2014, <http://time.com/3633134/sydney-hostage-martin-place-lindt-cafe-terrorism/> [59];

Taylor Auerbach, "Lindt cafe gunman Man Haron Monis was honoured guest at Hizb ut-Tahrir's Lakemba hate-fest," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 17, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/lindt-cafe-gunman-man-haron-monis-was-honoured-guest-at-hizb-ut-tahrirs-lakemba-hate-fest/story-fnpn118l-1227265393578> [60].

⁸⁴ Stephen Johnson, "EXCLUSIVE: Days after the carnage in London, this is the moment we catch a firebrand Islamist leader on camera saying all former Muslims should be put to DEATH... in Sydney on Saturday night," *Daily Mail* (London), March 27, 2017, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4350328/Hizb-Ut-Tahrir-leader-Ex-Muslims-death.html#ixzz4go6zTJEg> [61].

⁸⁵ Stephen Johnson, "'Ex-Muslims should be free from death threats': Malcolm Turnbull urged to ban Islamic extremist group Hizb ut-Tahrir after its leader called for people who had left the faith to be killed," *Daily Mail* (London), March 30, 2017, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4363704/Petition-ban-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-gets-2-700-signatures.html> [62].

⁸⁶ Houriya Ahmed, Hannah Stuart, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: Ideology and Strategy," Henry Jackson Society, accessed February 4, 2016, 71, <http://henryjacksonsociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/HIZB.pdf> [10].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

- ⁸⁷ Kirstine Sinclair, "The Caliphate as Homeland: Hizb ut-Tahrir in Denmark and Britain," Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies Institute for History and Civilization University of Southern Denmark, accessed February 4, 2016, 12, <http://static.sdu.dk/mediafiles/0/D/1/7B0D1B4B59-9755-44EB-887E-90595D8D461D%7DKirstine%20Sinclair%20ph%20d%20afhandling.pdf> [63].
- ⁸⁸ "Delegation fra Hizb ut-Tahrir Skandinavien til den bengalske ambassade i Stockholm," Hizb ut-Tahrir Scandinavia website, accessed February 11, 2016, <http://hizb-ut-tahrir.dk/video/index.php#menuid=0&materialid=195&videoid=537&counter=0>; "Muslims urged to reject "western democracy," Sveriges Radio, September 12, 2014, <http://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=2054&artikel=5963422> [64].
- ⁸⁹ HT Denmark website, accessed February 4, 2016, <http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.dk/> [65].
- ⁹⁰ Hizb ut-Tahrir Scandinavia Facebook page, accessed February 4, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/hizbskandinavien2> [66]; Hizb ut-Tahrir Scandinavia Facebook page, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/hizbskandinavien2> [66].
- ⁹¹ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," BBC News, August 27, 2003, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/newsnight/3182271.stm> [35].
- ⁹² "Denmark looks to ban Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Local* (Stockholm), February 26, 2015, <http://www.thelocal.dk/20150226/denmark-looks-to-ban-islamic-group-hizb-ut-tahrir> [67].
- ⁹³ Kirstine Sinclair, "Globale dromme, nationale virkeligheder. Hizb ut-Tahrir i Danmark og Storbritannien anno 2008'," *Den Ny Verden – Tidsskrift for internationale studier*, Vol. 41, No. 1 Kobenhavn, 7; Kirstine Sinclair, "The Caliphate as Homeland: Hizb ut-Tahrir in Denmark and Britain," accessed February 9, 2016, 7, <http://static.sdu.dk/mediafiles/0/D/1/7B0D1B4B59-9755-44EB-887E-90595D8D461D%7DKirstine%20Sinclair%20ph%20d%20afhandling.pdf> [63].
- ⁹⁴ "Copenhagen Imam on Eve of Terror Attack: The Prophet Engaged in War, Not Dialogue, with the Jews," MEMRI TV Videos Youtube, posted February 18, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5VsDOI1p-8w&feature=youtu.be> [68].
- ⁹⁵ "Copenhagen gunman's identity confirmed: police," *Local* (Stockholm), February 18, 2015, <http://www.thelocal.dk/20150218/police-confirm-copenhagen-gunmans-identity> [69].
- ⁹⁶ Okay Pala Twitter account, accessed May 10, 2017, https://twitter.com/Okay_Pala [70].
- ⁹⁷ Hizb ut-Tahrir Netherlands Facebook page, accessed February 5, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/hizbnl/?fref=ts> [71]; Hizb ut-Tahrir Netherlands Facebook page, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/hizbnl/?fref=ts> [71].
- ⁹⁸ Hizb ut-Tahrir Netherlands website, accessed February 4, 2016, <http://hizb-ut-tahrir.nl/> [72].
- ⁹⁹ Janene Pieters, "ROTTERDAM BLOCKS "RADICAL" ISLAMIST LECTURE, DISCUSSION," *NL Times* (Amsterdam), September 15, 2015, <http://www.nltimes.nl/2015/09/15/rotterdam-blocks-radical-islamist-lecture-discussion/> [73].
- ¹⁰⁰ Janene Pieters, "ROTTERDAM BLOCKS "RADICAL" ISLAMIST LECTURE, DISCUSSION," *NL Times* (Amsterdam), September 15, 2015, <http://www.nltimes.nl/2015/09/15/rotterdam-blocks-radical-islamist-lecture-discussion/> [73].
- ¹⁰¹ "Annual Report 2004," General Intelligence and Security Service, 26, accessed February 10, 2016, <https://fas.org/irp/world/netherlands/aivd2004-eng.pdf> [74]; "Report of the Khilafah Conference 2017," Hizb ut-Tahrir Netherlands, May 1, 2017, https://translate.google.com/translate?sl=nl&tl=en&js=y&prev=_t&hl=en&ie=UTF-8&u=http%3A%2F%2Fhizb-ut-tahrir.nl%2F&edit-text [75]=.
- ¹⁰² Michael Kugelman, "Another Threat in Pakistan, in Sheep's Clothing," *New York Times*, August 3, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/04/opinion/hizb-ut-tahrir-threatens-pakistan-from-within.html?_r=1 [76].
- ¹⁰³ Hizb ut-Tahrir Pakistan Media Office Twitter account, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://twitter.com/htmediapak> [77].
- ¹⁰⁴ Hizb ut-Tahrir Pakistan Media Office Facebook page, accessed March 17, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/HTmediaPAK4/?fref=photo> [78]; Hizb ut-Tahrir Pakistan Media Office Facebook page, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/HTmediaPAK4/?fref=photo> [78].
- ¹⁰⁵ Hizb ut-Tahrir Pakistan Media Office Facebook page, accessed March 17, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/HTmediaPAK4/?fref=photo> [78].
- ¹⁰⁶ Imran Ayub, "Engineer belonging to Hizbut Tahrir arrested for distributing pamphlets," *Dawn*, October 7, 2015, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1211330/engineer-belonging-to-hizbut-tahrir-arrested-for-distributing-pamphlets> [79].
- ¹⁰⁷ "HuT Spokesman Abducted," *Express Tribune* (Karachi), May 12, 2012, <http://tribune.com.pk/story/377573/hut-spokesman-abducted/> [80].
- ¹⁰⁸ "Hizb-ut-Tahrir chief, 7 members arrested in separate raids," *Dunya News*, November 28, 2015, <http://dunyanews.tv/en/Pakistan/310475-HizbutTahrir-chief-7-members-arrested-in-separa> [81].
- ¹⁰⁹ Michael Kugelman, "Another Threat in Pakistan, in Sheep's Clothing," *New York Times*, August 3, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/04/opinion/hizb-ut-tahrir-threatens-pakistan-from-within.html?_r=1 [76].
- ¹¹⁰ "Brig Ali Khan, four army officers convicted over Hizbut Tahrir links," *Dawn*, August 3, 2012, <http://www.dawn.com/news/739474/brig-ali-khan-four-other-officers-convicted-in-mutiny-case> [82].
- ¹¹¹ Bangladesh Islamist Group Banned," BBC News, October 23, 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8321329.stm> [83].
- ¹¹² "69 militants get deaths, 163 life terms, 244 jails," *Dhaka Tribune*, January 1, 2016, <http://www.dhakatribune.com/crime/2016/jan/01/69-militants-get-deaths-163-life-terms-244-jails> [84].
- ¹¹³ Kamrul Hasan, "Banned group holds conference as police remain witness," *Dhaka Tribune*, September 4, 2015, <http://www.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2015/sep/04/banned-group-holds-conference-police-remain-witness#sthash.Phcm5tFa.dpuf> [85]; "Dhaka University expels seven members of Hizb ut-Tahrir," *bdnews24.com*, January 24, 2016, <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2016/01/24/dhaka-university-expels-seven-members-of-hizb-ut-tahrir> [86].
- ¹¹⁴ Hizb ut-Tahrir Bangladesh Facebook page, accessed January 22, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/Hizb-Ut-Tahrir-Bangladesh-288939457964716/> [87].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

- ¹¹⁵ Saad Hammadi, Mark Tran, "Bangladesh authorities arrest man over atheist blogger's murder," *Guardian* (London), March 2, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/02/bangladesh-authorities-arrest-man-atheist-bloggers-murder-avijit-roy> [13].
- ¹¹⁶ Saad Hammadi and Mark Tran, "Bangladeshi authorities arrest man over atheist blogger's murder," *Guardian* (London), March 2, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/02/bangladesh-authorities-arrest-man-atheist-bloggers-murder-avijit-roy> [88].
- ¹¹⁷ Arifur Rahman Rabbi and Mohammad Jamil Khan, "Hizb ut-Tahrir coming out of woodwork again," *Dhaka Tribune*, June 14, 2016, <http://archive.dhakatribune.com/bangladesh/2016/jun/14/hizb-ut-tahrir-coming-out-woodwork-again> [89].
- ¹¹⁸ Ikwhan Hazwan, "Hizbut Tahrir leaders puzzled over detention by police," *Rakyat Post* (Kuala Lumpur), November 21, 2015, <http://www.therakyatpost.com/news/2015/11/21/hizbut-tahrir-leaders-puzzled-over-detention-by-police/> [90].
- ¹¹⁹ Abdul Hakim Othman, "Shameful Arrest by the Selangor Islamic Religious Department of the Spokesperson and Three Other Members of Hizb ut Tahrir Malaysia," *Khilafah.com*, December 13, 2015, <http://www.khilafah.com/shameful-arrest-by-the-selangor-islamic-religious-department-of-the-spokesperson-and-three-other-members-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-malaysia/> [91].
- ¹²⁰ Abdul Hakim Othman, "Malaysia Khilafah Conference 2015," *Khilafah.com*, October 7, 2015, <http://www.khilafah.com/malaysia-khilafah-conference-2015/> [92]; Dr. Nazreen Nawaz, "Hundreds of Women will Gather at a Critical Seminar in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, organised by Hizb ut Tahrir: 'One Year On - Who will save the Rohingya Muslim women and children?'" *Khilafah.com*, July 6, 2013, <http://www.khilafah.com/hundreds-of-women-will-gather-at-a-critical-seminar-in-kuala-lumpur-malaysia-organised-by-hizb-ut-tahrir-gone-year-on-who-will-save-the-rohingya-muslim-women-and-children/> [93].
- ¹²¹ HT Malaysia Twitter account, accessed January 17, 2016, https://twitter.com/ht_msia [94].
- ¹²² HT Malaysia Facebook page, accessed May 10, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/HTM1435/> [95]; HT Malaysia Facebook page, accessed March 17, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/HTM1435/> [95].
- ¹²³ Ikwhan Hazwan, "Hizbut Tahrir leaders puzzled over detention by police," *Rakyat Post* (Kuala Lumpur), November 21, 2015, <http://www.therakyatpost.com/news/2015/11/21/hizbut-tahrir-leaders-puzzled-over-detention-by-police/> [90].
- ¹²⁴ Abdul Hakim Othman, "Shameful Arrest by the Selangor Islamic Religious Department of the Spokesperson and Three Other Members of Hizb ut Tahrir Malaysia," *Khilafah.com*, December 13, 2015, <http://www.khilafah.com/shameful-arrest-by-the-selangor-islamic-religious-department-of-the-spokesperson-and-three-other-members-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-malaysia/> [91].
- ¹²⁵ Abdul Hakim Othman, "Shameful Arrest by the Selangor Islamic Religious Department of the Spokesperson and Three Other Members of Hizb ut Tahrir Malaysia," *Khilafah.com*, December 13, 2015, <http://www.khilafah.com/shameful-arrest-by-the-selangor-islamic-religious-department-of-the-spokesperson-and-three-other-members-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-malaysia/> [91].
- ¹²⁶ Abdul Hakim Othman, "Shameful Arrest by the Selangor Islamic Religious Department of the Spokesperson and Three Other Members of Hizb ut Tahrir Malaysia," *Khilafah.com*, December 13, 2015, <http://www.khilafah.com/shameful-arrest-by-the-selangor-islamic-religious-department-of-the-spokesperson-and-three-other-members-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-malaysia/> [91].
- ¹²⁷ M. Ismail Yusanto Twitter account, accessed May 11, 2017, <https://twitter.com/ismailyusanto> [96]; M. Ismail Yusanto Twitter account, accessed January 22, 2016, <https://twitter.com/ismailyusanto> [96].
- ¹²⁸ Agence France-Presse, "Indonesian Muslim hardliners vow to stop miss world," *Al Arabiya*, June 6, 2013, <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/life-style/fashion-and-beauty/2013/06/06/Indonesian-Muslim-hardliners-vow-to-stop-miss-world.html> [97].
- ¹²⁹ "Islamists Urge Caliphate Revival," *BBC News*, August 13, 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6942688.stm> [98].
- ¹³⁰ Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia website, accessed January 22, 2016, <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/> [99].
- ¹³¹ Associated Press, "Global Movement Seeks to Convert People From 'Democracy...and Capitalism to Islamic Ideology,'" *The Blaze*, October 1, 2011, <http://www.theblaze.com/news/2011/10/01/global-movement-seeks-to-convert-people-from-democracy-and-capitalism-to-islamic-ideology/> [100]; "Indonesia cracks down on pro-caliphate Islamic hardliners Hizbut Tahrir," *Deutsche Welle*, May 8, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/indonesia-cracks-down-on-pro-caliphate-islamic-hardliners-hizbut-tahrir/a-38750562> [101].
- ¹³² Associated Press, "Global Movement Seeks to Convert People From 'Democracy...and Capitalism to Islamic Ideology,'" *The Blaze*, October 1, 2011, <http://www.theblaze.com/news/2011/10/01/global-movement-seeks-to-convert-people-from-democracy-and-capitalism-to-islamic-ideology/> [100]; "Indonesia cracks down on pro-caliphate Islamic hardliners Hizbut Tahrir," *Deutsche Welle*, May 8, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/indonesia-cracks-down-on-pro-caliphate-islamic-hardliners-hizbut-tahrir/a-38750562> [101].
- ¹³³ Niniek Karmini and Ali Kotarumalos, "Indonesia to disband hard-line Islamic group Hizbut," *Associated Press*, May 8, 2017, <https://apnews.com/611914b501af4dbd9d928535d4584ca6/Indonesia-to-disband-hard-line-Islamic-group-Hizbut> [102].
- ¹³⁴ Ben Westcott, "Jakarta governor Ahok found guilty in landmark Indonesian blasphemy trial," *CNN*, May 9, 2017, <http://www.cnn.com/2017/05/09/asia/ahok-trial-verdict/> [103].
- ¹³⁵ "Indonesia cracks down on pro-caliphate Islamic hardliners Hizbut Tahrir," *Deutsche Welle*, May 8, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/en/indonesia-cracks-down-on-pro-caliphate-islamic-hardliners-hizbut-tahrir/a-38750562> [101]; Niniek Karmini and Ali Kotarumalos, "Indonesia to disband hard-line Islamic group Hizbut," *Associated Press*, May 8, 2017, <https://apnews.com/611914b501af4dbd9d928535d4584ca6/Indonesia-to-disband-hard-line-Islamic-group-Hizbut> [102].
- ¹³⁶ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," *American Foreign Policy Council*, accessed June 2, 2015, 6,

Hizb ut-Tahrir

http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹³⁷ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015, 6, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹³⁸ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹³⁹ Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia," Hudson Institute, accessed January 22, 2016, 46, http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1366/baran_vol2.pdf [104].

¹⁴⁰ Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia," Hudson Institute, accessed January 22, 2016, 43, http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1366/baran_vol2.pdf [104].

¹⁴¹ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹⁴² "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹⁴³ "Pakistani Diplomat Withdrawn," *Daily Star* (Dhaka), last updated March 8, 2015, <http://www.thedailystar.net/pakistani-diplomat-withdrawn-63000> [105].

¹⁴⁴ "Islamists who want to destroy the state get £100,000 funding," *Telegraph* (London), October 25, 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/6427369/Islamists-who-want-to-destroy-the-state-get-100000-funding.html> [45].

¹⁴⁵ Andrew Gilligan, "Council suspends funding to schools linked to Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Telegraph* (London), October 10, 2009, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/law-and-order/6475214/Council-suspends-funding-to-schools-linked-to-Hizb-ut-Tahrir.html> [46].

¹⁴⁶ Ivan Hare and James Weinstein, *Extreme Speech and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 479; Houriya Ahmed and Hannah Stuart, "Profile: Hizb ut-Tahrir," Hudson Institute, August 17, 2010, <http://www.hudson.org/research/9827-profile-hizb-ut-tahrir-in-the-uk> [106].

¹⁴⁷ Hizb ut-Tahrir, *Institutions of State in the Khilafah*, accessed September 17, 2015, <http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.org/index.php/EN/books/> [107].

¹⁴⁸ "2015 Washington DC Conference," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, accessed June 18, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/2015-washington-dc-conference/> [108].

¹⁴⁹ John Keilman and Jonathan Bullington, "Islamic conference loses area venue for 3rd time in 4 years," *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 2012, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2012-06-14/news/ct-met-islamic-conference-canceled-20120614_1_islamic-conference-islamic-law-hizb-ut-tahrir [51].

¹⁵⁰ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

¹⁵¹ Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html> [17].

¹⁵² Maajid Nawaz, "The Education of 'Jihadi John,'" *New York Times*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/opinion/the-education-of-jihadi-john.html> [109].

¹⁵³ Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html> [17].

¹⁵⁴ Edward Malnick, "Mohammed Emwazi timeline: from school years with Tulisa Contostavlos to becoming Jihadi John," *Telegraph* (London), February 26, 2015, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/islamic-state/11438747/Mohammed-Emwazi-timeline-from-school-years-with-Tulisa-Contostavlos-to-be-coming-Jihadi-John.html> [110].

¹⁵⁵ Maajid Nawaz, "The Education of 'Jihadi John,'" *New York Times*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/opinion/the-education-of-jihadi-john.html> [109].

¹⁵⁶ Maajid Nawaz, "The Education of 'Jihadi John,'" *New York Times*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/opinion/the-education-of-jihadi-john.html> [109].

¹⁵⁷ Maajid Nawaz, "The Education of 'Jihadi John,'" *New York Times*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/opinion/the-education-of-jihadi-john.html> [109].

¹⁵⁸ Maajid Nawaz, "The Education of 'Jihadi John,'" *New York Times*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/opinion/the-education-of-jihadi-john.html> [109].

¹⁵⁹ Duncan Gardham, "Fears that university has been infiltrated by Islamist extremists," *Telegraph* (London), April 12, 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/8446562/Fears-that-university-has-been-infiltrated-by-Islamist-extremists.html> [111].

¹⁶⁰ "Global Ideas Society President shares pictures from Hizb ut-Tahrir conference," Student Rights, July 3, 2012, http://www.studentrights.org.uk/article/1937/global_ideas_society_president_shares_pictures_from_hizb_ut_tahrir_conference [112].

¹⁶¹ Emma Youle, "University of Westminster under fire for letting Islamic radicals recruit 'like lambs to the slaughter,'" *Hampstead & Highgate Express* (London), May 28, 2015, http://www.hamhigh.co.uk/news/university_of_westminster_mohammed_emwazi_islamic_radicals_recruit_on_campus_1_4089771 [113].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

¹⁶² Emma Youle, "University of Westminster under fire for letting Islamic radicals recruit 'like lambs to the slaughter,'" *Hampstead & Highgate Express* (London), May 28, 2015,

http://www.hamhigh.co.uk/news/university_of_westminster_mohammed_emwazi_islamic_radicals_recruit_on_campus_1_4089771 [113].

¹⁶³ Emma Youle, "University of Westminster under fire for letting Islamic radicals recruit 'like lambs to the slaughter,'" *Hampstead & Highgate Express* (London), May 28, 2015,

http://www.hamhigh.co.uk/news/university_of_westminster_mohammed_emwazi_islamic_radicals_recruit_on_campus_1_4089771 [113].

¹⁶⁴ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015,

http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹⁶⁵ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015,

http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹⁶⁶ "Islamists Urge Caliphate Revival," BBC News, August 13, 2007, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/6942688.stm> [98].

¹⁶⁷ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015,

http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹⁶⁸ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," American Foreign Policy Council, accessed June 2, 2015,

http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

Key Leaders



Ata Abu Rashta
Global leader



Abdul Wahid
Chairman of HT Britain



Ismail al-Wahwah
Leader of HT Australia



Yahya Nisbet
Media representative for HT Britain



Uthman Badar
Spokesperson for HT Australia

Hizb ut-Tahrir

History:

- **May 8, 2017:** Following a government review, Indonesia's government announced plans to begin the legal process of banning HT.
Source: Niniek Karmini and Ali Kotarumalos, "Indonesia to disband hard-line Islamic group Hizbut," Associated Press, May 8, 2017, <https://apnews.com/611914b501af4dbd9d928535d4584ca6/Indonesia-to-disband-hard-line-Islamic-group-Hizbut>.
- **March 4, 2016:** As a result of Alison Bevege's June 2015 lawsuit, Australia's Equal Opportunity Tribunal rules that HT discriminates against women by segregating seating at public events.
The tribunal holds al-Wahwah personally responsible. The tribunal decrees that HT must post notices at events that women can sit wherever they choose. Source: Bryan Seymour, "Islamist fundamentalist group Hizb ut-Tahrir found guilty of gender discrimination," 7News Sydney, March 4, 2016, <https://au.news.yahoo.com/nsw/a/31017155/islamist-fundamentalist-group-hizb-ut-tahrir-found-guilty-of-gender-discrimination/>.
- **October 5, 2015:** Owais Raheel is arrested in an upper-class Pakistani neighborhood for handing out HT "Khilafah" [caliphate] brochures.
Raheel rose in the movement's Pakistan branch over the course of eight years despite the group being banned in the country since 2003. Source: Imran Ayub, "Engineer belonging to Hizbut Tahrir arrested for distributing pamphlets," Dawn (Karachi), October 6, 2015, <http://www.dawn.com/news/1211330>.
- **October 2, 2015:** A 15-year-old high schooler, Farhad Khalil Mohammad Jabar, shoots and kills a civilian police officer in Parramatta, Australia.
Jabar allegedly attended an HT event at a mosque the day of the shooting. HT denies any connection to the incident. Source: Patrick Begley, "Parramatta shooting: Hizb ut-Tahrir denies link, blames government for violence," Sydney Morning Herald (Sydney), October 5, 2015, <http://www.smh.com.au/nsw/parramatta-shooting-hizb-uttahrir-denies-link-blames-government-for-violence-20151005-gk1kil.html#ixzz3o4QPzjKf>.
- **September 4, 2015:** HT holds an online conference in Dhaka, Bangladesh, to advocate a caliphate.
More than 400 individuals log on to watch the conference, including Bangladeshi intelligence officers and law enforcement. HT has been banned in Bangladesh since 2007. Source: Mohammad Jamil Khan, "DB: 3 Hizb ut-Tahrir preachers identified," Dhaka Tribune (Dhaka), September 14, 2015, <http://www.dhakatribune.com/crime/2015/sep/14/db-3-hizb-ut-tahrir-preachers-identified>.
- **June 14, 2015:** HT America holds a "Khilafa [caliphate] conference" in Springfield, Virginia.
The conference topics include, "What is Khilafah," "Why Khilafah," "Who is Hizb ut-Tahrir," and "How we work for Khilafah." It is HT's third U.S. conference in one month. HT announces plans for another Washington conference after the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. Source: "2015 Washington DC Conference," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, accessed June 18, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/2015-washington-dc-conference/>.
- **June 2015:** Australian freelance journalist Alison Bevege sues HT for discrimination against women, alleging that she was forced to sit in the back of the room at an HT meeting. Bevege seeks \$100,000 in damages.
HT Australia leader Ismail al-Wahwah defends the group's seating practice, claiming Bevege doesn't understand Islam. Source: Taylor Auerbach, "Hizb ut-Tahrir leader says woman suing for sexual discrimination does not understand Islam," Daily Telegraph (Sydney), June 5, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/hizb-ut-tahrir-leader-says-woman-suing-for-sexual-discrimination-does-not-understand-islam/story-fni0cx4q-1227383633335>.
- **May 17, 2015:** The Islamist terrorist group Hamas, which de facto controls the Gaza Strip, allows HT to hold a rally in Gaza commemorating the 94th anniversary of the fall of the Ottoman caliphate.
Source: Hana Salah, "Hamas struggling with emerging Islamist parties," Al-Monitor, May 28, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/hamas-gaza-support-salafist-groups-islamic-state.html#ixzz3C7SXvGaP>.
- **May 13, 2015:** HT members Wassim Dourehi and Muhammad Hoblos are keynote speakers at a Muslim Students' Association event at the University of Western Sydney.
In his speech, Dourehi blames Muslims' social problems on Western ideology. Source: Ian Walker, "Radical group Hizb ut-Tahrir segregates males and females at UWS Muslim group meeting," Daily Telegraph (Sydney), May 14, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/radical-group-hizb-ut-tahrir-segregates-males-and-females-at-uws-muslim-group-meeting/story-fni0cx12-1227355751307>.
- **May 12, 2015:** Students and residents in the Indonesian city of Kupang unite under the name "National Alliance" to protest HT's presence in that province, East Nusa Tenggara.
HT Indonesia had planned a parade in Kupang on May 16. Source: Djemi Amnifu, "NTT residents reject Hizbut Tahrir Islamic group," Jakarta Post, May 13, 2015, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/05/13/ntt-residents-reject-hizbut-tahrir-islamic-group.html>.
- **May 8, 2015:** Bangladeshi police detain HT member Sharful Awal in the city of Chittagong after discovering jihadist materials during a raid of Awal's home.
According to police, the evidence suggests Awal has been in "close contact with several militant groups at home and abroad." Source: "Hizb ut-Tahrir man held in Ctg," Daily Star (Dhaka), May 9, 2015, <http://www.thedailystar.net/country/hizb-ut-tahrir-man-held-ctg-81324>.
- **May 2015:** HT Malaysia condemns Malaysian political party Umno, Prime Minister Najib Razak, and former prime minister Mahathir Mohamad for allegedly failing to live up to Islamic values.
HT Malaysia blames the country's problems on the government's failure to implement "Islamic doctrine." Source: "Hizbut Tahrir: Umno has failed because it rejected Islam," Free Malaysia Today, May 5, 2015, <http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2015/05/05/hizbut-tahrir-umno-has-failed-because-it-rejected-islam/>.
- **May 2015:** HT Australia condemns Prime Minister Tony Abbott's recently passed anti-terrorism laws.
HT says that the legislation "seeks to beat the Muslim community into submission." Source: Ean Higgins, "Terror laws 'to beat Muslims into submission': Hizb ut-Tahrir," Australian (Sydney), May 26, 2015, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/in-depth/terror/terror-laws-to-beat-muslims-into-submission-hizb-ut-tahrir/story-fnpdbcmu-1227370439325>.

Hizb ut-Tahrir

- **April 2015:** British media report that HT and the Nusra Front attacked civil activists in Aleppo, Syria. HT Britain denies the reports. Source: Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html>.
- **March 2015:** Turkish police stop nine British citizens from crossing into Syria to join jihadist groups. British police reveal that one of the nine, Waheed Ahmed—a student at Manchester University and the son of Rochdale town councillor Shakil Ahmed—is a member of HT. HT Britain's chairman, Dr. Abdul Waheed, denies that Ahmed is a member. Source: "UK 'jihadi' linked to group PM tried to bar: Labour councillor's son believed to be member of extremist group which advocates global Muslim caliphate," *Daily Mail* (London), April 4, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3026024/UK-jihadi-linked-group-PM-tried-bar-Labour-councillor-s-son-believed-member-extremist-group-advocates-global-Muslim-caliphate.html>.
- **March 2, 2015:** Bangladeshi police arrest Islamist blogger Farabi Shafiur Rahman in connection with the February 26, 2015, [murder of atheist writer Avijit Roy](#) [114]. Police accused Rahman of belonging to HT and threatening over social media to kill Roy. Source: "Bangladesh Avijit Roy murder: Suspect arrested," BBC News, March 2, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-31690514>.
- **February 2, 2015:** Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott announces his government is exploring its options against HT but not necessarily banning the group. Source: Shalailah Medhora, "Tony Abbott seeks advice on crackdown on Islamic group Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), February 2, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/02/tony-abbott-seeks-advice-on-crackdown-on-islamic-group-hizb-ut-tahrir>.
- **February 2015:** Ahead of a February 14 HT event in Australia, HT Australia leader Ismail al-Wahwah says Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott would have to "prevent the flow of air" to stop HT. Al-Wahwah says that countries such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Russia, which had banned HT, had failed to stop the group's operations in those countries. Source: Geoff Chambers and Sarah Crawford, "Extremist group Hizb ut-Tahrir sends veiled threat to Prime Minister Tony Abbott," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), February 10, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/extremist-group-hizb-ut-tahrir-sends-veiled-threat-to-prime-minister-tony-abbott/story-fni0cx12-1227213869800>.
- **February 2015:** Danish Justice Minister Mette Frederiksen leads a majority of parliamentarians in calling on the public prosecutor's office to weigh banning HT. HT's Scandinavian chapter is based in Copenhagen. The Danish public prosecutor had ruled in 2008 that there are no legal grounds to ban the group. Source: "Denmark looks to ban Hizb ut-Tahrir," Local DK (Stockholm), February 26, 2015, <http://www.thelocal.dk/20150226/denmark-looks-to-ban-islamic-group-hizb-ut-tahrir>.
- **February 2015:** Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott accuses HT of justifying terrorism and calls the group "un-Australian" and "un-Islamic." He notes that HT is careful to avoid directly advocating terrorism but makes excuses for terrorist organizations. Source: Shalailah Medhora, "Tony Abbott seeks advice on crackdown on Islamic group Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), February 2, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/feb/02/tony-abbott-seeks-advice-on-crackdown-on-islamic-group-hizb-ut-tahrir>.
- **January 11, 2015:** In the aftermath of the attack on French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*, HT Australia releases a statement condemning the magazine's portrayal of Muslims. According to HT, "Muslims, too, have red lines over which no compromise can be accepted." Source: Taylor Auerbach, "Charlie Hebdo terrorist attacks a 'cure,' says leader of Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia Ismail Alwahwah," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), January 13, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/charlie-hebdo-terrorist-attacks-a-cure-says-leader-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-australia-ismail-alwahwah/story-fni0cx12-1227182578266>.
- **December 2014:** Iranian-born Australian Man Haron Monis takes more than a dozen people hostage at Sydney's Lindt Chocolat Café. Monis and two hostages are killed after a 16-hour standoff with police. Monis had attended a June 2014 HT lecture on the failings of the West. Source: Dan Kedney and David Stout, "3 Dead After Police Storm Sydney Café to End Hostage Crisis," *Time*, December 15, 2014, <http://time.com/3633134/sydney-hostage-martin-place-lindt-cafe-terrorism/>; Taylor Auerbach, "Lindt cafe gunman Man Haron Monis was honoured guest at Hizb ut-Tahrir's Lakemba hate-fest," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 17, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/lindt-cafe-gunman-man-haron-monis-was-honoured-guest-at-hizb-ut-tahrirs-lakemba-hate-fest/story-fnnp1181-1227265393578>.
- **September 2014:** The Danish National Centre for Social Research names HT as one of 15 extremist groups operating in Denmark. Source: "15 extremist groups found in Denmark," Local DK (Stockholm), September 9, 2014, <http://www.thelocal.dk/20140909/15-extremist-groups-found-in-denmark-report>.
- **June 27, 2014:** HT Australia senior members Uthman Badar and Wassim Doureihi lecture at the group's Lakemba headquarters on the failings of the West. In attendance is Man Haron Monis, who will take dozens of people hostage at Sydney's Lindt Chocolat café in December 2014. Badar had been scheduled to deliver the talk at Sydney's Festival of Dangerous Ideas in August. The festival canceled his presentation, titled "Honour Killings are Morally Justified," after a public outcry. HT scheduled the June 27 lecture in response. Sources: Taylor Auerbach, "Lindt cafe gunman Man Haron Monis was honoured guest at Hizb ut-Tahrir's Lakemba hate-fest," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 17, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/lindt-cafe-gunman-man-haron-monis-was-honoured-guest-at-hizb-ut-tahrirs-lakemba-hate-fest/story-fnnp1181-1227265393578>; "Festival of Dangerous Ideas cancels event by Hizb ut-Tahrir's Uthman Badar titled Honour Killings are Morally Justified," Australian Broadcasting Corporation, June 25, 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-06-25/dangerous-ideas-festival-cans-honour-killings-speech-badar/5548006>.
- **March 2014:** Fazil Amzayev, head of HT's media office in Crimea, tells the *New York Times* HT doesn't "want a caliphate here in Crimea" and instead wants peace.

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Source: Jochen Bittner, "Is Crimea the Next Yugoslavia?," *New York Times*, March 17, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/18/opinion/bittner-is-crimea-the-next-yugoslavia.html>.

- **October 28, 2013:** Dozens of students in Kupang, Indonesia protest against HT Indonesia and the violent Islamist group Islamic Defenders Front.
Source: Djemi Amnifu, "NTT residents reject Hizbut Tahrir Islamic group," *Jakarta Post*, May 13, 2015, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/05/13/ntt-residents-reject-hizbut-tahrir-islamic-group.html>.
- **June 2013:** In response to condemnation from Indonesian Islamic hardliners, the Miss World pageant restricts contestants from wearing bikinis during the upcoming competition in Bali.
HT Indonesia plans protests ahead of the pageant and demands that the pageant be moved to another country. Source: Associated Press, "Indonesia axes bikinis for 2013 Miss World pageant," *Yahoo News*, June 6, 2013, <https://www.yahoo.com/tv/s/indonesia-axes-bikinis-2013-miss-world-pageant-100753823.html?nf=1>.
- **November 2012:** Early in the month, Russian authorities arrest 18 Russian and Tajik citizens allegedly plotting bomb attacks around Moscow.
After searching their apartments, authorities find "counterfeit money worth \$1 million and 2 million euros," as well as guns and explosives. On November 16, authorities charge nine Russian and Tajik citizens with belonging to HT, which is banned in those countries. Source: Thomas Grove, "Russia charges nine with membership of banned Islamist group," *Reuters*, November 16, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/16/russia-islam-charged-idUSL5E8MG1TP20121116>.
- **November 9, 2012:** HT's branch in Syria holds a major rally in Aleppo, calling for an Islamic caliphate.
Source: "Huge Protest in Aleppo Syria by Hizb ut-Tahrir 'We want an Islamic Caliphate!'" 9 Nov 2012, YouTube video, 3:27, from a Hizb ut-Tahrir protest in Aleppo, Syria, on November 9, 2012, posted by "UmmahVideo," November 14, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ius51lcj0B8>.
- **September 19, 2012:** Some 300 members of HT Indonesia protest outside the U.S. embassy against the alleged anti-Islam film "Innocence of Muslims," which was made in the United States.
HT calls for the U.S. government to punish the filmmakers. Source: "Latest developments in protest of anti-Islam film," *Associated Press*, September 19, 2012, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/latest-developments-protest-anti-islam-film-0>.
- **December 2011 - January 2012:** The Bangladeshi army foils a coup attempt against Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed.
The army accuses current and retired military officers with "extreme religious views" of orchestrating the coup attempt. On January 20, Bangladeshi police arrest five HT members accused of supporting the coup attempt. Sources: "Bangladesh army 'foils coup' against Sheikh Hasina," *BBC News*, January 19, 2012, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-16627852>; Anis Ahmed, "Bangladesh army says foiled December coup," *Reuters*, January 19, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/01/19/us-bangladesh-army-idUSTRE80I12520120119>; *Reuters*, "Bangladesh: 5 Islamists Arrested in Coup Attempt, Military Says," *New York Times*, January 21, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/21/world/asia/bangladesh-5-islamists-arrested-in-coup-attempt-military-says.html?_r=0.
- **November 13, 2011:** President Obama visits Indonesia for the ASEAN summit in Bali.
In response, HT Indonesia protests at the U.S. embassy in Jakarta. HT members denounce Obama's visit as part of a U.S. capitalist agenda. Source: "Obama visit brings capitalist agenda: HTI," *Jakarta Post*, November 13, 2011, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/11/13/obama-visit-brings-capitalist-agenda-hti.html>.
- **July 3, 2011:** Speaking at an HT Australia meeting in Sydney, Australia, Uthman Badar calls the war in Afghanistan a Western invasion and justifies HT members' "obligation to resist."
He says that "military occupation should be resisted militarily," and refuses to condemn suicide bombings as a tactic as long as "innocent non-combatants" are not targeted. Source: Tim Vollmer, "Australian Troops 'fair game' for Muslims in war on Afghanistan, Hizb ut-Tahrir believe," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), July 4, 2011, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/australian-troops-fair-game-for-muslims-in-war-on-afghanistan-hizb-ut-tahrir-believe/story-e6freuy9-1226086675320>.
- **June 29, 2011:** HT's Indonesian branch (HT Indonesia) declares itself a political party.
Source: "HTI affirms it's a political party," *Jakarta Post*, June 29, 2011, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/06/29/hti-affirms-it%E2%80%99s-a-political-party.html>.
- **June 2011:** The Pakistani army detains Brigadier General Ali Khan over suspected ties to HT.
Source: Salman Masood, "Pakistan Detains Army Officer on Suspicion of Militant Ties," *New York Times*, June 21, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/22/world/asia/22pakistan.html>.
- **April 2011:** Students at London's Westminster University elect Tarik Mahri and Jamal Achchi president and vice president, respectively, of its student union.
Both have ties to HT. Both men have also posted support for the group online, raising fears of extremists' influence on the student union. Source: Duncan Gardham, "Fears that university has been infiltrated by Islamist extremists," *Telegraph* (London), April 12, 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/terrorism-in-the-uk/8446562/Fears-that-university-has-been-infiltrated-by-Islamist-extremists.html>.
- **November 4, 2010:** Russian police say they prevented an HT cell from blowing up a railway track near a Moscow train station.
Source: Thomas Grove, "Russia charges nine with membership of banned Islamist group," *Reuters*, November 16, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/16/russia-islam-charged-idUSL5E8MG1TP20121116>.
- **January 2010:** An HT press release advocates violence against U.S. troops in Afghanistan.
Source: "Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," *Anti-Defamation League*, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf>.
- **July 7, 2009:** The Palestinian Authority prevents HT from holding a rally in the West Bank city of Ramallah.
HT supporters say the coming global Islamic caliphate "will not provide for the existence of the Palestinian Authority." Source: Peter Kenyon,

Hizb ut-Tahrir

"Rise Of Islamist Group Stokes Unease In West Bank," NPR, July 7, 2009, <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=106353618>.

- **November 27, 2007:** HT leads several protests in the West Bank against renewed Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. HT's then-spokesman Baher Assaf accuses the Palestinian Authority police of using "brutal force" against protesters and wounding "hundreds." Source: Isabel Kershner, "Palestinian Is Killed in Hebron as Police Disperse Protest Over Mideast Peace Talks," *New York Times*, November 28, 2007, http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/28/world/middleeast/28palestinians.html?_r=0.
- **September 2007:** German police arrest three members of HT splinter group IJU for plotting to attack restaurants, military and civilian airports, and nightclubs. Sources: "Claiming Responsibility for Terror: Islamic Jihad Union Threatens Attacks Outside Germany," Spiegel Online, September 12, 2007, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/claiming-responsibility-for-terror-islamic-jihad-union-threatens-attacks-outside-germany-a-505265.html>; "Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf>.
- **August 4, 2007 - August 5, 2007:** HT holds a conference in London called "Khilafah: The Need and the Method," drawing several thousand participants. HT Britain Chairman Abdul Wahid says, "I preach a hatred of the lies of people in this country that send soldiers to Iraq. I preach a hatred of torture." Source: Jane Perlez, "London Gathering Defends Vision of Radical Islam," *New York Times*, August 6, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/06/world/europe/06hizb.html>.
- **August 2007:** An HT rally in the West Bank city of Ramallah draws up to 40,000 supporters. Sources: Carolynne Wheeler, "Palestinians back caliphate over politics," *Telegraph* (London), August 27, 2007, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1561462/Palestinians-back-caliphate-over-politics.html>; Mark Perry, "You Can't Kill Hamas, You Can Only Make It Stronger," *Foreign Policy*, July 14, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/14/you-cant-kill-hamas-you-can-only-make-it-stronger/>.
- **August 2007:** HT hands out leaflets to Muslim students at British universities imploring them to fight against U.S. and British forces in Iraq and Afghanistan. Source: Tom Harper, "Islamists 'urge young Muslims to violence,'" *Telegraph* (London), September 30, 2007, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1564616/Islamists-urge-young-Muslims-to-use-violence.html>.
- **December 2006:** British Prime Minister Tony Blair drops demands to ban HT in Great Britain after counter-terrorism experts say there is insufficient evidence to designate the group a terrorist organization. Blair has attempted to add HT to the country's list of proscribed terrorist organizations since the 7/7 bombings in 2005. Source: Jamie Doward and Gaby Hansliff, "PM shelves Islamic group ban," *Guardian* (London), December 24, 2006, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/dec/24/religion.uk>.
- **July 29, 2006:** Surveillance cameras film two Lebanese men carrying suitcases filled with propane-gas explosives onto trains in Germany. Investigators said one of the men, Youssef Mohammed el-Hajdib, may have ties to HT. The group denies that Hajdib was a member. Source: Mark Landler and Souad Mekhennet, "Wider Network May Be Linked to Bomb Plot, Germans Say," *New York Times*, August 23, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/23/world/europe/23german.html>.
- **May 13, 2005:** Uzbek security forces stop a revolt, prison break, and an anti-government demonstration in the city of Andijon. Uzbek President Islam A. Karimov blames international terrorist groups and HT for organizing the uprising. HT denies responsibility. Source: C.J. Chivers, "Israel Evacuates Staff From Uzbekistan as Instability Worsens," *New York Times*, June 4, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/04/world/asia/israel-evacuates-staff-from-uzbekistan-as-instability-worsens.html>.
- **July 2004:** HT splinter cell Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) take responsibility for attacks on the American and Israeli embassies in Uzbekistan. Source: Jim Nichol, "Central Asia: Regional Development and Implications for U.S. Interests," Congressional Research Service, November 20, 2009, 11, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/134296.pdf>.
- **April 19, 2004:** The Ankara 11th High Criminal Court in Turkey labels HT a terrorist organization. Source: Abdul Bozkurt, "Turkey's Snub of Indonesia," *Today's Zaman* (Istanbul), April 24, 2015, http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist/abdullah-bozkurt/turkeys-snub-of-indonesia_378884.html.
- **2004:** British authorities arrest an HT member for joining al-Qaeda and plotting to attack financial targets in New York. Source: Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf>.
- **April 30, 2003:** Suicide bomber Asif Muhammad Hanif, a British citizen, explodes at the entrance to Tel Aviv bar Mike's Place. The bombing kills three and wounds 50. Israeli authorities identify a second bomber, Omar Khan Sharif, also a British citizen, whose explosives failed to detonate. Both men belonged to HT offshoot al-Muhajiroun. Sharif was also reportedly "associated with HT." Sources: "Details of April 30- 2003 Tel Aviv suicide bombing-3-Jun-2003," Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 3, 2003, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2003/Pages/Details%20of%20April%2030-%202003%20Tel%20Aviv%20suicide%20bombing.aspx>; Chris McGreal and Jeevan Vasagar, "Mystery of the last hours of failed suicide bomber found at sea," *Guardian* (London), May 20, 2003, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/may/20/israel>; Martin Bright and Fareena Alam, "Making of a martyr," *Guardian* (London), May 3, 2003, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/may/04/terrorism.religion>; Angela Rabasa and Cheryl Benard, *Eurojihad: Patterns of Islamist Radicalization and Terrorism in Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 53; Andrew Gilligan, "Hizb ut Tahrir is not a gateway to terrorism, claims Whitehall report," *Telegraph* (London), July 25, 2010, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/journalists/andrew-gilligan/7908262/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-is-not-a-gateway-to-terrorism-claims-Whitehall-report.html>; David Bamber, Daniel Foggo, and Martin Bentham, "MI5 admits: 'we let suicide bombers slip through net,'" *Telegraph* (London), May 4, 2003, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/israel/1429143/MI5-admits-we-let-suicide-bombers-slip-through-net.html>.
- **April 13, 2003:** Abu Yaseen Ata ibn Khaleel Abul Rashta, previously HT's spokesman in Jordan, becomes HT's emir

Hizb ut-Tahrir

after Zallum's death.

Source: Sheikh Ata' bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashta, "Economic Crises: Their reality and solutions from the viewpoint of Islam," Hizb ut-Tahrir, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.hizb.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Economic-crises-Ata.pdf>.

- **April 10, 2003:** German police raid some 80 buildings as part of a crackdown on HT. Police collect HT literature, mailing lists, and computer disks. Source: Richard Bernstein, "German Police Raid an Islamic Militant Group," *New York Times*, April 11, 2003, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/11/world/german-police-raid-an-islamic-militant-group.html>.
- **January 10, 2003:** Germany bans HT for allegedly spreading anti-Semitic propaganda and promoting violence against Jews. Following the ban, German police raid 25 buildings across the country looking for information on HT's members. Sources: Angela Rabasa and Cheryl Benard, *Eurojihad: Patterns of Islamist Radicalization and Terrorism in Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 52; "Verbotene islamistische Organisationen," Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, last updated March 25, 2015, <http://www.verfassungsschutz.de/de/arbeitsfelder/af-islamismus-und-islamistischer-terrorismus/verbotene-organisationen-islamismus>; Richard Bernstein, "German Police Raid an Islamic Militant Group," *New York Times*, April 11, 2003, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/11/world/german-police-raid-an-islamic-militant-group.html>.
- **2003:** Russia labels HT a terrorist organization. Source: Mohit Nayal, *The Invisible Wall of China* (New Delhi: Vij Books India, 2012), 11.
- **October 2002:** In a Copenhagen square, HT Denmark spokesman Fadi Abdelatif hands out leaflets inciting anti-Jewish violence. A Danish court convicts him of distributing racist propaganda. Source: Sandra Laville, "Banned groups with roots in UK appeal to disaffected young Muslims," *Guardian* (London), August 5, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/aug/06/uk.terrorism3>.
- **October 2002:** HT holds a demonstration at the Technical University of Berlin. Speakers make anti-American speeches. Members of Germany's extreme-right National Democratic Party attend. The *New York Times* states, "The common ground between the two groups would seem to be a hatred of Jews." Source: Richard Bernstein, "German Police Raid an Islamic Militant Group," *New York Times*, April 11, 2003, <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/04/11/world/german-police-raid-an-islamic-militant-group.html>.
- **1999:** Russia bans HT, labeling it a criminal organization. Source: Mohit Nayal, *The Invisible Wall of China* (New Delhi: Vij Books India, 2012), 11.
- **1977:** Al-Nabhani dies. Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum becomes HT's new emir. Source: Sheikh Ata' bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashta, "Economic Crises: Their reality and solutions from the viewpoint of Islam," Hizb ut-Tahrir, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.hizb.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Economic-crises-Ata.pdf>.
- **1960:** HT forms a chapter in Turkey. Source: Pinar Tremblay, "Turks increasingly sympathetic to Islamic State," *Al Monitor*, November 10, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/11/turkey-growing-support-for-isis-caliphate.html>.
- **1953:** Islamic scholar Taqiuddin al-Nabhani founds Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) in east Jerusalem. Source: Umm Mustafa, "Why I left Hizb ut-Tahrir," *New Statesman* (London), February 28, 2008, <http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/2008/02/party-hizb-tahrir-members>.

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Violent history:

HT calls for unifying Muslim-majority countries under a single, global caliphate, while not advocating violence directly. However, individuals associated with HT have been involved in violent acts. Many younger members indoctrinated by HT, such as notorious ISIS figure “Jihadi John,” have gone on to join jihadist movements.

- **April 30, 2003:** Suicide bomber Asif Muhammad Hani, a British citizen, explodes at the entrance to Tel Aviv bar Mike’s Place. The bombing kills three and wounds 50. Israeli authorities identify a second bomber, Omar Khan Sharif, also a British citizen, whose explosives failed to detonate. Both men belonged to HT offshoot al-Muhajiroun. Sharif was also reportedly “associated with HT.”¹⁶⁹
- **2004:** British authorities arrest an HT member for joining [al-Qaeda](#) [115] and plotting to attack financial targets in New York.¹⁷⁰
- **July 2004:** HT splinter cell Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) attacks the American and Israeli embassies in Uzbekistan.¹⁷¹
- **May 13, 2005:** Uzbek security forces stop a revolt, prison break, and an anti-government demonstration in the city of Andijon. Uzbeki President Islam A. Karimov blames international terrorist groups and HT for organizing the uprising. HT denies responsibility.¹⁷²
- **July 29, 2006:** Surveillance cameras film two Lebanese men carrying suitcases filled with propane-gas explosives onto trains in Germany. Investigators said one of the men, Youssef Mohammed el-Hajdib, may have ties to HT. The group denies that Hajdib was a member.¹⁷³
- **September 2007:** German police arrest three members of HT splinter group IJU for plotting to attack restaurants, military and civilian airports, and nightclubs.¹⁷⁴
- **November 4, 2010:** Russian police say they have prevented an HT cell from blowing up a railway track near a Moscow train station.¹⁷⁵
- **November 2012:** Early in the month, Russian authorities arrest 18 Russian and Tajik citizens allegedly plotting bomb attacks around Moscow. After searching their apartments, authorities find “counterfeit money worth \$1 million and 2 million euros”, as well as guns and explosives. On November 16, authorities charge nine Russian and Tajik citizens with belonging to HT, which is banned in those countries.¹⁷⁶
- **December 2014:** Iranian-born Australian Man Haron Monis takes more than a dozen people hostage at Sydney’s Lindt Chocolat Café. Monis and two hostages are killed after a 16-hour standoff with police. Monis had attended a June 2014 HT lecture on the failings of the West.¹⁷⁷
- **March 2015:** Bangladeshi police arrest Islamist blogger Farabi Shafiur Rahman in connection with the February 26, 2015, [murder of atheist writer Avijit Roy](#) [114]. Police accuse Rahman of belonging to HT and threatening over social media to kill Roy prior to his murder in a knife attack.¹⁷⁸
- **Late March 2015:** Turkish police stop nine British citizens from crossing into Syria to join jihadist groups. British police reveal that one of the nine, Waheed Ahmed—a student at Manchester University and the son of Rochdale town councilor Shakil Ahmed—is a member of HT. HT Britain’s chairman, Dr. Abdul Waheed, denies that Ahmed is a member.¹⁷⁹
- **April 2015:** British media report that individuals associated with HT and the [Nusra Front](#) [116] attacked civil activists in Aleppo, Syria. HT Britain denies the reports.¹⁸⁰

¹⁶⁹ Angela Rabasa and Cheryl Benard, *Eurojihad: Patterns of Islamist Radicalization and Terrorism in Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 53; “Details of April 30- 2003 Tel Aviv suicide bombing-3-Jun-2003,” Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 3, 2003, <http://mfa.gov.il/MFA/PressRoom/2003/Pages/Details%20of%20April%2030-%202003%20Tel%20Aviv%20suicide%20bombing.aspx> [38].

¹⁷⁰ Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America,” Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combatting-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf> [117].

¹⁷¹ Jim Nichol, “Central Asia: Regional Development and Implications for U.S. Interests,” Congressional Research Service, November 20, 2009, 11, <http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/134296.pdf> [118].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

¹⁷² C.J. Chivers, "Israel Evacuates Staff From Uzbekistan as Instability Worsens," *New York Times*, June 4, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/04/world/asia/israel-evacuates-staff-from-uzbekistan-as-instability-worsens.html> [119].

¹⁷³ Mark Landler and Souad Mekhennet, "Wider Network May Be Linked to Bomb Plot, Germans Say," *New York Times*, August 23, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/23/world/europe/23german.html> [120].

¹⁷⁴ "Claiming Responsibility for Terror: Islamic Jihad Union Threatens Attacks Outside Germany," *Spiegel Online*, September 12, 2007, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/claiming-responsibility-for-terror-islamic-jihad-union-threatens-attacks-outside-germany-a-505265.html> [121];

"Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf> [117].

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Grove, "Russia charges nine with membership of banned Islamist group," Reuters, November 16, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/16/russia-islam-charged-idUSL5E8MG1TP20121116> [122].

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Grove, "Russia charges nine with membership of banned Islamist group," Reuters, November 16, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/16/russia-islam-charged-idUSL5E8MG1TP20121116> [122].

¹⁷⁷ Dan Kedmey and David Stout, "3 Dead After Police Storm Sydney Café to End Hostage Crisis," *Time*, December 15, 2014, <http://time.com/3633134/sydney-hostage-martin-place-lindt-cafe-terrorism/> [59];

Taylor Auerbach, "Lindt cafe gunman Man Haron Monis was honoured guest at Hizb ut-Tahrir's Lakemba hate-fest," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 17, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/lindt-cafe-gunman-man-haron-monis-was-honoured-guest-at-hizb-ut-tahrirs-lakemba-hate-fest/story-fnpn118l-1227265393578> [60].

¹⁷⁸ "Bangladesh Avijit Roy murder: Suspect arrested," BBC News, March 2, 2015, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-31690514> [123].

¹⁷⁹ "UK 'jihadi' linked to group PM tried to bar: Labour councillor's son believed to be member of extremist group which advocates global Muslim caliphate," *Daily Mail* (London), April 4, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3026024/UK-jihadi-linked-group-PM-tried-bar-Labour-councillor-s-son-believed-member-extremist-group-advocates-global-Muslim-caliphate.html> [124].

¹⁸⁰ Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html> [17].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Designations:

Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:



Bangladesh banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 2009.¹⁸¹



China has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.¹⁸²



Egypt banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 1974.¹⁸³



Germany banned Hizb ut-Tahrir on January 10, 2003.¹⁸⁴



Indonesia announced the beginning of a legal process to ban Hizb ut-Tahrir on May 8, 2017.¹⁸⁵



Jordan has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.¹⁸⁶



Kazakhstan banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 2005.¹⁸⁷



Kyrgyzstan has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.¹⁸⁸

Hizb ut-Tahrir



Lebanon has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.¹⁸⁹



Pakistan banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 2003.¹⁹⁰



Russia banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 1999 (as a criminal organization) and 2003 (as a terrorist organization).¹⁹¹



Saudi Arabia has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.¹⁹²



Tajikistan banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 2001.¹⁹³



Turkey has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸¹ "Bangladesh outlaws Islamist militant group Ansarullah Bangla Team," *BDNews24.com*, May 25, 2015, <http://bdnews24.com/bangladesh/2015/05/25/bangladesh-outlaws-islamist-militant-group-ansarullah-bangla-team> [125].

¹⁸² "Denmark Looks to Ban Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Local DK (Stockholm)*, February 26, 2015, <http://www.thelocal.dk/20150226/denmark-looks-to-ban-islamic-group-hizb-ut-tahrir> [67].

¹⁸³ "The Jihadists Who Have Recanted I," *Atlantic*, November 16, 2009, <http://www.theatlantic.com/daily-dish/archive/2009/11/the-jihadists-who-have-recanted-i/193995/> [126].

¹⁸⁴ "Verbotene islamistische Organisationen," *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*, last modified March 25, 2015, <http://www.verfassungsschutz.de/de/arbeitsfelder/af-islamismus-und-islamistischer-terrorismus/verbotene-organisationen-islamismus> [127].

¹⁸⁵ "Ninie Karmini and Ali Kotarumalos, "Indonesia to disband hard-line Islamic group Hizbut," *Associated Press*, May 8, 2017, <https://apnews.com/611914b501af4dbd9d928535d4584ca6/Indonesia-to-disband-hard-line-Islamic-group-Hizbut> [102].

¹⁸⁶ "Hizb ut-Tahrir," *American Foreign Policy Council*, accessed June 2, 2015, http://almanac.afpc.org/sites/almanac.afpc.org/files/Hizb-ut%20Tahrir_0.pdf [39].

¹⁸⁷ "Five Sentenced In Kazakhstan For Being Members Of Hizb Ut-Tahrir," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, July 1, 2014, <http://www.rferl.org/content/hizb-ut-tahrir-kazakhstan-almaty-trial/25441193.html> [128].

¹⁸⁸ "Alleged Members of Banned Islamist Groups Detained in Kyrgyzstan," *Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty*, February 4, 2015, <http://www.rferl.org/content/alleged-members-of-banned-islamic-groups-detained-in-kyrgyzstan/26829621.html> [129].

¹⁸⁹ "American club refuses to host Hizb ut-Tahrir conference in U.S. after protests," *Al Arabiya*, June 12, 2012, <http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/06/12/220213.html> [130].

¹⁹⁰ Jamie Doward and Gaby Hansliff, "PM shelves Islamic group ban," *Guardian* (London), December 24, 2006, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2006/dec/24/religion.uk> [131].

¹⁹¹ Mohit Nayal, *The Invisible Wall of China* (New Delhi: Vij Books India, 2012), 11.

Hizb ut-Tahrir

¹⁹² “Denmark Looks to Ban Hizb ut-Tahrir,” Local DK (Stockholm), February 26, 2015, <http://www.thelocal.dk/20150226/denmark-looks-to-ban-islamic-group-hizb-ut-tahrir> [67].

¹⁹³ “Tajik Hizb Ut-Tahrir Leader Sentenced To 18 Years,” Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, January 22, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/tajikistan_hizuttahrir_members_sentenced/2284242.html [132].

¹⁹⁴ “Denmark Looks to Ban Hizb ut-Tahrir,” Local DK (Stockholm), February 26, 2015, <http://www.thelocal.dk/20150226/denmark-looks-to-ban-islamic-group-hizb-ut-tahrir> [67].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Associations:

Ties to Extremist Entities:

After joining HT, some members have gone on to join explicitly violent Islamist groups. These groups include:



[Al-Qaeda](#) [133]

Before joining al-Qaeda, both Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and former al-Qaeda in Iraq leader [Abu Musab al-Zarqawi](#) [134] were members of HT.¹⁹⁵ HT members have also joined al-Qaeda in fighting the Assad regime in Syria's ongoing civil war.¹⁹⁶



[ISIS](#) [1]

Some HT recruits have gone on to join ISIS. ISIS fighter Mohammed Emwazi, a.k.a. "Jihadi John," reportedly attended HT events while in university in England.¹⁹⁷



[Nusra Front](#) [135]

HT members have joined, or tried to join, the Nusra Front. HT members have also joined Nusra Front rallies against the Syrian regime.¹⁹⁸



[Al-Muhajiroun](#)

Former HT leader [Omar Bakri Muhammad](#) [2] founded al-Muhajiroun in 1996 with [Anjem Choudary](#) [136]. Al-Muhajiroun is allegedly responsible for 50 percent of the terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom since 1995.¹⁹⁹



[Ansarullah Bangla Team \(ABT\)](#)

Some HT members in Bangladesh have joined Bangladesh-based Islamist group ABT, which is sometimes referred to as "Ansar Bangla 8."²⁰⁰ One such member, Farabi Shafiur Rahman, was arrested in March 2015 for allegedly killing secular blogger Avijit Roy with a machete the preceding month. Rahman is under investigation for the deaths of other pro-secularist bloggers, including Ahmed Rashid Haider.²⁰¹

Ties to Extremist Individuals:

Hizb ut-Tahrir



Omar Bakri Muhammad [2]

Omar Bakri Muhammad led HT for approximately ten years before founding al-Muhajiroun, a more explicitly militant organization.²⁰² Al-Muhajiroun has been connected to more than 50 percent of terrorist plots in the United Kingdom, according to British terrorism expert Raffaello Pantucci. Numerous members of al-Muhajiroun have committed violent crimes in the United Kingdom or become foreign fighters in the Middle East.²⁰³

¹⁹⁵ "American club refuses to host Hizb ut-Tahrir conference in U.S. after protests," Al Arabiya, June 12, 2012, <http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/06/12/220213.html> [130].

¹⁹⁶ Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html#ixzz3c1qj1Ah> [137].

¹⁹⁷ Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html#ixzz3c1qj1Ah> [137].

¹⁹⁸ Sara Malm, "100 members of controversial Islamic group linked to radicalised British students including Jihadi John have 'joined forces with al Qaeda in Syria,'" *Daily Mail* (London), April 11, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3034733/100-members-controversial-Islamic-group-linked-radicalised-British-students-including-Jihadi-John-joined-forces-al-Qaeda-Syria.html#ixzz3c1qj1Ah> [137].

¹⁹⁹ Richard Spillet, "The extremist group behind most of the UK's terror plots: Al-Muhajiroun network linked to half of attacks by Britons over past 20 years," *Daily Mail* (London), March 23, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3007180/The-terror-group-UK-s-terror-plots.html> [138].

²⁰⁰ S. Binodkumar Singh, "Bangladesh: Freedom and Death Analysis," *Eurasia Review*, May 18, 2015, <http://www.eurasiareview.com/18052015-bangladesh-freedom-and-death-analysis/> [139].

²⁰¹ Saad Hammadi and Mark Tran, "Bangladesh authorities arrest man over atheist blogger's murder," *Daily Mail* (London), March 2, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/02/bangladesh-authorities-arrest-man-atheist-bloggers-murder-avijit-roy> [13].

²⁰² Roots of Violent Radicalization, House of Commons Home Affairs Committee, Nineteenth Report of Session 2010-12, Vol. 1 (London: the Stationary Office, February 6, 2012), 101, <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201012/cmselect/cmhaff/1446/1446.pdf> [140].

²⁰³ Richard Spillet, "The extremist group behind most of the UK's terror plots: Al-Muhajiroun network linked to half of attacks by Britons over past 20 years," *Daily Mail* (London), March 23, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3007180/The-terror-group-UK-s-terror-plots.html#ixzz3c2H1HuX4> [141].

Media Coverage:

Western Media

Western media outlets tend to mirror their respective government's positions when debating a possible ban on HT. Both Reuters and the Associated Press have covered some HT activity, including a November 2012 incident in which Russian authorities charged nine HT members with plotting terrorist attacks.²⁰⁴ Over the years, the *New York Times* has provided more extensive coverage of the group's global activities. In its coverage, the *Times* has frequently depicted the group as a radical Islamist organization.

In early June 2005, Uzbek President Islam A. Karimov blamed HT for instigating an uprising in the city of Andijon. HT denied involvement.²⁰⁵ In its coverage, the *New York Times* repeated various Uzbek government accusations, typically referring to HT as a group seeking "to create governments ruled by its view of Islamic tradition."²⁰⁶ In May 2006, the *Times* reiterated German allegations of HT's involvement in a failed bomb plot aboard German trains involving two Lebanese men.²⁰⁷

The *New York Times* has also covered links between HT and the jihadist foreign fighter phenomenon in Iraq and Syria. In a March 2015 piece, NYT cited renowned counter extremist activist Maajid Nawaz, who recalled his own radicalization and membership in HT.²⁰⁸ Author and journalist Mary Anne Weaver explored Britain's foreign fighter phenomenon and campus radicalization in an April 2015 piece for the *Times*.²⁰⁹

New York Times columnists have also debated whether HT's activities fall within the limits of free speech or constitute a wider threat. Richard Bernstein questioned whether Germany banned HT because of the country's embarrassment over the discovery of a Hamburg cell that aided the 9/11 hijackers,²¹⁰ though the more common explanation is that HT's anti-Semitic literature ran afoul of Germany's hate-speech laws.²¹¹

None of the above outlets provided coverage of HT's activities within the United States.

Of the three outlets, only Reuters provided original coverage of Australian Prime Minister Tony Abbott's February 2015 announcement that his government may ban HT.²¹² British and Australian media outlets have provided a platform for debate on the possible policy change.

While HT calls for replacing existing regimes in Muslim countries with an Islamic caliphate, the *Guardian's* senior reporter, Sandra Laville, noted in 2005 that HT maintains that it is dedicated to non-violence.²¹³ The *Guardian* has also given a voice to HT in the debate. Uthman Badar, HT's spokesman in Australia, argued in a February 2015 *Guardian* op-ed that numerous Australian investigations into HT have yielded nothing incriminating. He defended HT as a "political activist group that adopts exclusively intellectual and political means to propagate its ideas, which oppose unjust domestic and foreign policies that target Islam and Muslims."²¹⁴

²⁰⁴ Thomas Grove, "Russia charges nine with membership of banned Islamist group," Reuters, November 16, 2012, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/16/russia-islam-charged-idUSL5E8MG1TP20121116> [122]; "Russia charges 9 Islamic radicals with terrorism," Associated Press, November 16, 2012, <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/russia-charges-9-islamic-radicals-terrorism> [142].

²⁰⁵ C.J. Chivers, "Israel Evacuates Staff From Uzbekistan as Instability Worsens," *New York Times*, June 4, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/04/world/asia/israel-evacuates-staff-from-uzbekistan-as-instability-worsens.html> [119].

²⁰⁶ C.J. Chivers, "Israel Evacuates Staff From Uzbekistan as Instability Worsens," *New York Times*, June 4, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/04/world/asia/israel-evacuates-staff-from-uzbekistan-as-instability-worsens.html> [119].

²⁰⁷ Mark Landler and Souad Mekhennet, "Wider Network May Be Linked to Bomb Plot, Germans Say," *New York Times*, August 23, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/08/23/world/europe/23german.html> [120].

²⁰⁸ Maajid Nawaz, "The Education of 'Jihadi John,'" *New York Times*, March 3, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/03/opinion/the-education-of-jihadi-john.html> [109].

²⁰⁹ Mary Anne Weaver, "Her Majesty's Jihadists," *New York Times*, April 14, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/19/magazine/her-majestys-jihadists.html> [21].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

²¹⁰ Richard Bernstein, "THE WORLD; What Is Free Speech, And What Is Terrorism?," *New York Times*, August 14, 2005, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9A03E0D6153EF937A2575BC0A9639C8B63> [143].

²¹¹ Acacia Shields, *Creating Enemies of the State: Religious Persecution in Uzbekistan* (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2004), 51, <http://www.worldcat.org/title/creating-enemies-of-the-state-religious-persecution-in-uzbekistan/oclc/249317228> [144].

²¹² Matt Siegel, "Australian PM Abbott announces fresh security crackdown," Reuters, February 23, 2015, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2015/02/23/us-australia-security-idUSKBN0LR03H20150223> [145].

²¹³ Sandra Laville, "Banned groups with roots in the UK appeal to disaffected Muslim youth," *Guardian* (London), August 5, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2005/aug/06/uk.terrorism3> [146].

²¹⁴ Uthman Badar, "Hizb ut-Tahrir: is it an offence to oppose government policy? If so, let it be plainly said," *Guardian* (London), February 22, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/23/hizb-ut-tahrir-is-it-now-an-offence-to-oppose-government-policy-if-so-let-it-be-said-plainly> [18].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Rhetoric:



[147]

[HT Afghanistan Media Office, July 7, 2019](#) [147]

“Now, it is proven to all the world that terror and horror are rooted in the DNA of the US system.”²¹⁵



[148]

[HT Afghanistan Media Office, May 2, 2019](#) [148]

“America is the sick man of the twenty-first century on the brink! <https://bit.ly/2UW2bVJ> [149]” (Tweet)²¹⁶



[150]

[HT Afghanistan Media Office, January 13, 2019](#) [150]

“Trump’s main problem is that he cannot hide America's hateful intentions and motives, which former US officials have kept secret in their hearts and strategies. His position is not only about the Islamic Ummah but also shows America's hatred and bad motives against all the nations of the world.”²¹⁷



[151]

[HT Afghanistan Media Office, October 7, 2018](#) [151]

“American colonization in Afghanistan was seventeen years old” (Tweet)²¹⁸



[152]

[Uthman Badar, HT Australia, March 25, 2017](#) [152]

“The ruling for apostates as such in Islam is clear, that apostates attract capital punishment and we don’t shy away from that.”²¹⁹



[153]

[Ahmed Abu Hayyan, HT Britain, June 4, 2015](#) [153]

“[Tony] Blair et al have struggled for decades to articulate an argument to try and divide the world’s Muslims. From ‘Islamists’ versus ‘moderate.’... It is a great disappointment to Blair that Islam, rather than muscular liberalism is taught in Muslim schools and institutions in the Muslim world.”²²⁰



[154]

[Abdul Wahid, July 24, 2015](#) [154]

“Extremist is the secular word for heretic. It means that you don’t subscribe to certain political and social norms.”²²¹

[Abdul Wahid, Chair of HT Britain’s executive committee, May 27, 2015](#) [155]

Hizb ut-Tahrir



[155]

“De-radicalization means making people less Islamic, more Western, more secular.”²²²



[156]

[HT Britain article, May 13, 2015](#) [156]

“[The concept of extremism] is flawed because it rests on a false premise: the lie that the more Islamic a person is, the more of a potential threat they pose. ‘Deradicalisation’ has therefore come to mean making Muslims less Islamic and more ‘westernised’ or secular, using coercive means.”²²³



[157]

[HT Malaysia statement, May 2015](#) [157]

“If the people are suffering in Malaysia, it is because Umno is not applying the doctrines of Islam. If Umno leaders are rich while the people are poverty-stricken, it is because Umno is not applying the Islamic doctrine. If there is a high incidence of crime and immoral acts in Malaysia, it is because Umno is not applying the Islamic doctrine.”²²⁴



[158]

[Hassan al-Madhoun, spokesman for HT in the Gaza Strip, May 2015](#) [158]

“Destroying the Islamic caliphate led to the loss [under one flag] of Palestinian land and the rest of the Arabs. Only the Islamic caliphate will fill the political vacuum experienced by the Arab and Islamic nations. It will liberate Palestine and unify the Arab and Muslim nations in light of the sectarian rivalry witnessed in the Arab region. The state of the caliphate is a state with real state authority and underlying jurisprudential, intellectual and legal structures.”²²⁵



[159]

[Hassan al-Madhoun, spokesman for HT in the Gaza Strip, May 2015](#) [159]

“We call on the Muslim armies to direct their weapons toward Israel instead of Muslims in an Arab country.”²²⁶



[160]

[Hassan al-Madhoun, HT spokesman in the Gaza Strip, May 2015](#) [160]

“The West knows that the return of the caliphate is inevitable, therefore it supports regimes that suppress the nation’s movement, represented by the revolutions in Muslim countries, such as in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Yemen and others. The nation is alive, and there are Western fears of a return to the rule of the Islamic regime as a result of the Arab revolutions. The caliphate ruled Muslims for 1,300 years. Calling for its return is a tenet and is an idea that does not fall outside the framework of Islamic societies.”²²⁷



[161]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, March 9, 2015](#) [161]

“Palestine cannot contain the Muslims and the Jews. It belongs to the local people. The Jews should not be in Palestine and will not remain there. Any Jew living in Palestine is an illegitimate occupier. He is a target of jihad and will end up in the garbage bin of history. This holds true for all the Jews in Palestine. It makes no difference whether a Jew is pro-peace or pro-war, whether right-wing or left-wing, any Israeli living in Palestine is an occupier and serves as a target for the jihad of the Islamic nation. If you don’t like it, take

Hizb ut-Tahrir

your passport and go back where you came from.”²²⁸



[162]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, March 3, 2015 \[162\]](#)

“The Jews are the most evil creatures of Allah. Moral corruption is linked to the Jews. They will pay with blood for blood, with tears for tears, and with destruction for destruction.”²²⁹



[163]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, February 2015 \[163\]](#)

“You will be successful in banning ideas and their spread when you are able to prevent the flow of air itself.”²³⁰



[164]

[HT Australia statement on the Charlie Hebdo attack, January 11, 2015 \[164\]](#)

“It seems some in Australia are arrogantly and irresponsibly heedless of the fact that provoking and insulting a people’s core beliefs is a matter that can only end in acrimony for everyone concerned.

“The actions of Charlie Hebdo have been rightly criticised by many sane voices in Europe. Scores of people of faith and no faith, with the slightest concern for societal harmony, have expressed their disapproval of the deliberate insult and provocation of a people’s core beliefs, warning that such actions will generate responses that are undesirable to communal harmony.

“Muslims, too, have red lines over which no compromise can be accepted. Ignoring this fact is ignorance at best and blind arrogance at worst.”²³¹



[165]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, Leader of HT Australia, January 2015 \[165\]](#)

In response to the Charlie Hebdo attack in France and “pressure” from the West against Islam:

“Woe, time and gain, to all those who point the finger at any pressure when it gets a blast from the Muslims, regardless of size... For the accusation is ready; You justify the explosion, you justify terrorism.”²³²



[166]

[Abdul Wahid, January 2015 \[166\]](#)

In reference to the Charlie Hebdo murders:

“Had any government in the Muslim world taken a robust stand on the on-going insults to the Prophet - peace be upon him - threatening diplomatic action or to cut trade relations over the insulting depictions - I do not believe individuals would feel the frustration to retaliate.”²³³



[167]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, January 2015 \[167\]](#)

“Woe, time and gain, to all those who point the finger at any pressure when it gets a blast from the Muslims, regardless of size.....For the accusation is ready; You justify the explosion, you justify terrorism.”²³⁴

[Mahmut Kar, HT Turkey media relations head, November 2014 \[168\]](#)

Hizb ut-Tahrir



[168]

"[Hizb ut-Tahrir] was established in 1960 in Turkey and when we started speaking about the caliphate in 1967 it was the first time the word had been brought back into Turkish public space since 1924. Once the idea of a caliphate was out in the open again, Islamist movements in line with the Muslim Brotherhood started emerging in Turkey."²³⁵



[169]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, October 10, 2014](#) [169]

"They send their troops to Iraq to bomb Iraq to spread democracy. We will send our troops to Australia, to France to Germany."²³⁶



[170]

[Wassim Doureih, HT Australia spokesman, October 2014](#) [170]

"What I'm opposed to is a level of oppression, of barbarity that far exceeds anything ISIS would even imagine doing, and that's represented in the actions of governments like Australia and its allies like America. I'm condemning something which is infinitely greater in barbarity than anything ISIS has ever done or could even imagine doing. I'm condemning a set of policies that have cost the lives of over a million Iraqis."²³⁷



[171]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, Leader of HT Australia, July 25, 2014](#) [171]

"Oh Jews, nobody will give you peace."²³⁸



[172]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, Leader of HT Australia, July 25, 2014](#) [172]

"The entire world suffers from the children of Israel today and complains about them. Who will set the world free from the children of Israel so that the world will be able to say that it has rid itself of that hidden evil? This mission will be accomplished by none but you, O Muslims... The ember of jihad against the Jews will continue to burn. The struggle and the jihad will continue until the words of Allah come true."²³⁹



[173]

[Uthman Badar, HT Australia spokesman, June 27, 2014](#) [173]

"This idea any form of confrontation or any form of Islam getting a bad image in people's mind is a bad thing ... but I say to people who hold this view that you have not read (the words of the prophet). Or you have not thought too deep ... I humbly ask people who have this view that any form of confrontation is bad, any form of a non-Muslim even inadvertently getting a bad image of Islam is wrong, this idea is itself wrong."²⁴⁰



[174]

[HT Britain article, March 21, 2014](#) [174]

"The booklet points out the cultural causes behind the incompetence of the Western capitalist states in solving the environmental problem. It highlights the major industrial countries' erroneous diagnosis and treatment of the environmental problem, and it clarifies that the solutions of the Western great powers practically serve the interests of their large industries at the expense of the environment. Furthermore, the booklet explains the Islamic view on the environment, as well as the way in which the institutions

Hizb ut-Tahrir

of the coming Islamic Khilafah-state will deal with the environmental problem.”²⁴¹



[175]

[Abdul Wahid, April 29, 2013 \[175\]](#)

In reference to the Arab spring:

“Alhamdulillah, things have changed a lot and are still changing. The fear factor in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and much of Syria has gone. People have stood up, spoken out and three major tyrants have fallen in humiliation. The sentiments for Islam, so long suppressed, are loud and clear.”²⁴²



[176]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, December 24, 2012 \[176\]](#)

“That is the duty of the caliphate - to implement Islam internally and carry the light of Islam to the rest of the world. How? Not with flowers. It was the army of Muslims, which started from Al-Madina, and they went to China, India, and Al-Maghreb. That is jihad.”²⁴³



[177]

[Ismail al-Wahwah, December 24, 2012 \[177\]](#)

“All forbidden things in the caliphate will be stopped from day one. In the economic system, there will be no usury. We will close the banks from day one. From day one, alcohol and all forbidden things will stop. Now, to change the manufacture [of wine] to juice does take time, but alcohol will be thrown out from day one. Fornication, whatever, that will all stop. On the streets, there will be only the shari’a dress code. Anyone - Muslim or non-Muslims... A Muslim street has to be like that.”²⁴⁴



[178]

[HT Pakistan statement, October 21, 2012 \[178\]](#)

“To the Generals, Air Marshals and Navy Admirals and officers of the Pakistan armed forces. Being the real rulers of this country, only through you can the ummah be liberated from the current crises, hardship and calamities that she faces at the hands of the Western capitalist states.”²⁴⁵



[179]

[Dadun Abdul Manaf, HT Indonesia spokesman, Sukabumi chapter, February 12, 2012 \[179\]](#)

“Valentine’s Day is against Islamic tradition hence we must reject it. I hope the local administration will issue a ban on any activity related to Valentine’s Day celebrations. On that day, many people celebrate it by having casual sex or drinking alcohol.”²⁴⁶



[180]

[Uthman Badar, HT Australia spokesman, July 3, 2011 \[180\]](#)

“If our members exist in a country where an occupation has occurred, in capacity as individuals they would have an obligation to resist.”²⁴⁷



[181]

[Uthman Badar, HT Australia spokesman, July 3, 2011 \[181\]](#)

“You have no business in interfering with the people of the Muslim world. Military occupation should be resisted militarily. People there have a right to resist.”²⁴⁸

Hizb ut-Tahrir



[Muhammad Ismail Yusanto, HT Indonesia spokesperson, June 29, 2011 \[182\]](#)

“Hizbut Tahrir is an Islamic political party. We have been a political party since long ago.”²⁴⁹

[182]



[Muhammad Ismail Yusanto, HT Indonesia spokesperson, March 5, 2010 \[183\]](#)

“HTI [HT Indonesia] is clearly concerned with the current condition of the people and their nation that has been struggling with poverty, corruption, moral decadence, injustice, exploitation and ignorance. From HTI’s point of view, the source of the problem is untrustworthy leadership running a bankrupt secular system. Therefore, HTI offers a justifiable, testable and conceptual solution, i.e. Islamic sharia.”²⁵⁰

[183]



[Abdul Wahid, December 12, 2007 \[184\]](#)

“Western governments will never admit that their repeated interventions trying to ‘fix’ what they themselves have broken only creates more problems. They show no signs of wanting to leave the Muslim world to shape its own future and political destiny. Stability can only come when a system of government enjoys the trust and confidence of the people and that will only come when Islam lies at the heart of the system.”²⁵¹

[184]



[Asim Qureshi, speaker at HT rally, August 19, 2006 \[185\]](#)

“When we see the example of our brothers and sisters fighting in Chechnya, Iraq, Palestine, Kashmir, Afghanistan, then we know where the example lies. When we see Hezbollah defeating the armies of Israel, we know where the solution is and where the victory lies. We know that it is incumbent upon all of us, to support the jihad of our brothers and sisters in these countries when they are facing the oppression of the West. Allahu Akhbar! Allahu Akhbar!”²⁵²

[185]



[Kamal Abuzahra, speaker at HT conference, August 4, 2006 \[186\]](#)

“There is no Islam as a way of life without a Khilafah.”²⁵³

[186]



[Imran Waheed, HT Britain spokesman, July 2005 \[187\]](#)

Following the July 7, 2005, bombings in London:

“When Westerners get killed, the world cries. But if Muslims get killed in Iraq or Afghanistan, it's the smallest of news. I will condemn what happened in London only after there is the promise from Western leaders to condemn what they have done in Falluja and other parts of Iraq and in Afghanistan.”²⁵⁴

[187]

[HT Britain leaflet, March 2002 \[188\]](#)

“Kill them [Jews] wherever you find them and turn them out from where they have turned you out.”²⁵⁵

Hizb ut-Tahrir



[188]

[HT Britain leaflet, March 2002 \[189\]](#)

“Before the ink had dried, the Jewish state began to wage a new aggression against the people of Palestine. It went to extremes in its killing, destruction and eviction.”²⁵⁶



[189]

[HT Britain leaflet, March 2002 \[190\]](#)

“Today the mujahideen in Palestine provide us with the best of examples. The youth are competing in the martyrdom operations [i.e., suicide attacks].”²⁵⁷



[190]

[HT Britain leaflet, March 2002 \[191\]](#)

“The Jews are a people of slander.”²⁵⁸



[191]

[HT publication, March 25, 1996 \[192\]](#)

“However, it is not allowed for a Muslim to express any opinion that contradicts Islam, whether regarding the Islamic creed or anything emanating from it. Accordingly, he is not allowed to call for the ‘liberation of women,’ or Nationalism, or Patriotism, or Regionalism, or a Kufr principle like Capitalism or Socialism, or indeed any idea that contradicts Islam. Therefore, it is not allowed for Muslims to adopt the freedom of opinion which the Capitalists call for. Everything that is initiated by a Muslim should be confined by the Shar’ia.”²⁵⁹



[192]

[HT publication, March 25, 1996 \[193\]](#)

“Therefore, a Muslim cannot accept both the pluralism which America propagates and the unrestricted pluralism which means accepting the existence of calls for Kufr and anything which Allah has prohibited.”²⁶⁰



[193]

[HT publication, March 25, 1996 \[194\]](#)

“The rule regarding the Muslim who becomes apostate is to require his repentance. If he insists on his disbelief, the capital punishment is applied on him...”²⁶¹



[194]

Hizb ut-Tahrir



[195]

[HT publication, March 25, 1996 \[195\]](#)

“Freedom of opinion also allows the calls for Kufr ideas that encourage immorality among women, vice, profanity, and corruption, and undermines the high values of honour.”²⁶²



[196]

[HT publication, March 25, 1996 \[196\]](#)

“The American campaign undoubtedly targets the Muslim Ummah first and foremost because only the Muslim Ummah has an ideology capable of confronting and challenging Capitalism.”²⁶³



[197]

[HT America website, Date Unknown \[197\]](#)

“The Islamic penal code is absent and is replaced with that of the European countries. The economic system of Islam has been replaced by that of the Capitalists and today the resources of the Muslim Ummah are the spoils that are distributed by the Kuffar. The Islamic lands are occupied despite the military capacities of the Muslim armies. The absence of the Islamic way of life in our countries is ever affecting the societal fabric with nightclubs and bars arising in the holy lands of al-Quds, as well as many other major cities and capitals in the Islamic world.”²⁶⁴



[198]

[HT article, Date Unknown \[198\]](#)

“Sheikh Osama bin Laden is not just another warrior for present-day Muslims; he is a hero who stands for divine justice and freedom from oppression. Any action against him is seen as action against the global body of Muslims... Oh Muslims, support Sheikh Osama bin Laden and your Islamic movements wherever they may be, whether physically, verbally or financially, in the jihad against the occupiers of Muslims’ land.”²⁶⁵



[199]

[HT Draft Constitution Article 7 \[199\]](#)

“[Those] guilty of apostasy (murtad) from Islam are to be executed according to the rule of apostasy...”²⁶⁶



[200]

[HT Draft Constitution Article 157 \[200\]](#)

“Any country we have real war between us and its citizens (such as Israel) is excluded from trading with the Caliphate and its citizens.”²⁶⁷



[201]

[HT Draft Constitution Section 4 \[201\]](#)

“A state of war must be taken as the basis for all dispositions with them [Israel]. They must be dealt with as if a rear war existed between us—whether an armistice exists or not.”²⁶⁸

Hizb ut-Tahrir



HT article, Date Unknown [202]

“The removal of Kufr depends upon the resumption of the Khilafah. Establishing Islam in actuality means the establishment of the Khilafah as that is the only method of implementing Islam. Indeed, without the Khilafah the Deen cannot exist in our societies. Hence the whole of Islam depends upon the Khilafah as that is the method that Islam defined to bring it into existence.”²⁶⁹



HT article, Date Unknown [203]

“Accordingly, no Muslim on the face of this earth has an excuse to abandon the duty of establishing the Deen which Allah (swt) has ordered, that is, the establishment of a Khaleefah for Muslims, when there is no Khilafah on the earth, and no one to implement the limits (Hudood) of Allah (swt) to protect the sanctities of Allah (swt), and no one to implement the laws of the Deen and unify the Muslim community under the banner of Laa ilaha illa Allah, Muhammad al-Rasul Allah. There is no permission in Islam to abandon the work for this duty until it is indeed accomplished.”²⁷⁰

²¹⁵ “American Terrorism Benefits Afghanistan as a Lab!” HT Afghanistan Media Office, July 7, 2019, <http://hizb-afghanistan.com/topic/content.aspx?id=6837> [204].

²¹⁶ HTAFMediaOffice, Twitter post, May 2, 2019, 12:45 p.m., <https://twitter.com/HTAFMediaOffice/status/1123991818360766466> [205].

²¹⁷ “Trump always shows the true face of America,” HT Afghanistan Media Office, January 13, 2019, <http://hizb-afghanistan.com/topic/content.aspx?id=4167> [206].

²¹⁸ HTAFMediaOffice, Twitter post, October 7, 2018, 5:31 a.m., <https://twitter.com/HTAFMediaOffice/status/1048868399001100288> [207].

²¹⁹ Stephen Johnson, “‘Ex-Muslims Should Be Free from Death Threats’: Malcolm Turnbull Urged to Ban Islamic Extremist Group Hizb ut-Tahrir After Its Leader Called For People Who Had Left the Faith to Be Killed,” *Daily Mail* (London), March 30, 2017, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4363704/Petition-ban-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-gets-2-700-signatures.html> [62].

²²⁰ Ahmed Abu Hayyan, “Blair and his damning legacy,” HT Britain, June 4, 2015, <http://www.hizb.org.uk/current-affairs/blair-and-his-damning-legacy> [208].

²²¹ Peter Osborne, “Extremist is the secular word for heretic’: the Hizb ut-Tahrir leader who insists on his right to speak,” *Guardian* (London), July 24, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jul/24/david-cameron-extremism-struggle-generation-abdul-wahid> [209].

²²² “Dr Abdul Wahid: Expose and Challenge CTS / Prevent Policy,” YouTube video, 6:00, posted by “Hizb ut Tahrir Britain,” uploaded May 27, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m9AcHspQwr8&feature=youtu.be> [210].

²²³ “Cameron’s latest counter-extremism policy attempts to challenge Islam,” Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, May 13, 2015, <http://www.hizb.org.uk/current-affairs/camersons-latest-counter-extremism-policy-attempts-to-challenge-islam> [211].

²²⁴ “Hizbut Tahrir: Umno has failed because it rejected Islam,” FMT News (Malaysia), May 5, 2015, <http://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/nation/2015/05/05/hizbut-tahrir-umno-has-failed-because-it-rejected-islam/> [212].

²²⁵ Hana Salah, “ Hamas struggling with emerging Islamist parties,” Al-Monitor, May 28, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/hamas-gaza-support-salafist-groups-islamic-state.html#ixzz3c7SXvGaP> [213].

²²⁶ Hana Salah, “ Hamas struggling with emerging Islamist parties,” Al-Monitor, May 28, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/hamas-gaza-support-salafist-groups-islamic-state.html#ixzz3c7SXvGaP> [213].

²²⁷ Hana Salah, “ Hamas struggling with emerging Islamist parties,” Al-Monitor, May 28, 2015, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/05/hamas-gaza-support-salafist-groups-islamic-state.html#ixzz3c7SXvGaP> [213].

²²⁸ “Muslim extremist Ismail Alwahwah anti semitic lecture,” News.com.au, March 9, 2015, <http://video.news.com.au/v/313805/Muslim-extremist-Ismail-Alwahwah-anti-semitic-lecture> [214].

²²⁹ Louise Cheer, “‘They will pay with blood’: Islamic leader’s online rant calling the Jewish people ‘the most evil creatures of Allah,’” *Daily Mail* (London), March 12, 2015, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2991638/They-pay-blood-Islamic-leader-s-online-rant-calling-Jewish-people-evil-creatures-Allah.html> [215].

²³⁰ Geoff Chambers and Sarah Crawford, “Extremist group Hizb ut-Tahrir sends veiled threat to Prime Minister Tony Abbott,” *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), February 10, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/extremist-group-hizb-ut-tahrir-sends-veiled-threat-to-prime-minister-tony-abbott/story-fni0cx12-1227213869800> [216].

²³¹ Taylor Auerbach, “Charlie Hebdo terrorist attacks a ‘cure,’ says leader of Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia Ismail Alwahwah,” *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), January 13, 2015,

Hizb ut-Tahrir

<http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/charlie-hebdo-terrorist-attacks-a-cure-says-leader-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-australia-ismail-alwahwah/story-fni0cx12-1227182578266> [217].

²³² Taylor Auerbach, "Charlie Hebdo terrorist attacks a 'cure,' says leader of Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia Ismail Alwahwah," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), January 13, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/charlie-hebdo-terrorist-attacks-a-cure-says-leader-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-australia-ismail-alwahwah/story-fni0cx12-1227182578266> [217]; Ismail Alwahwah, "Commentary on Charlie Hebdo and the Physical Law of Compression," *Proposition Revival*, January 10, 2015, <http://propositionrevival.com/2015/01/10/commentary-on-charlie-hebdo-and-the-physical-law-of-compression/> [218].

²³³ "Dr Abdul Wahid On The Recent Events In Paris," Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, January 8, 2015, <http://www.hizb.org.uk/current-affairs/dr-abdul-wahid-on-the-recent-events-in-paris> [219].

²³⁴ Taylor Auerbach, "Charlie Hebdo terrorist attacks a 'cure,' says leader of Hizb ut-Tahrir Australia Ismail Alwahwah," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), January 13, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/charlie-hebdo-terrorist-attacks-a-cure-says-leader-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-australia-ismail-alwahwah/story-fni0cx12-1227182578266> [217].

²³⁵ Pinar Tremblay, "Turks increasingly sympathetic to Islamic State," *Al-Monitor*, November 10, 2014, <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/11/turkey-growing-support-for-isis-caliphate.html> [220].

²³⁶ Ben McClellan and Geoff Chambers, "Radical Muslim cleric Ismail al-Wahwah tells supporters a new world order is coming," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), October 11, 2014, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/radical-muslim-cleric-ismail-alwahwah-tells-supporters-a-new-world-order-is-coming/story-fni0cx12-1227086878686> [221].

²³⁷ "Islamic State: Hizb ut-Tahrir spokesman allied mission in Iraq and Syria 'infinitely greater in barbarity,'" Australian Broadcasting Corporation, October 8, 2014, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2014-10-08/allied-mission-more-barbaric-than-is-hizb-ut-tahrir-says/5799856> [222].

²³⁸ Taylor Auerbach, "Hizb ut-Tahrir leader Ismail Alwahwah calls for jihad against Jews in inflammatory video," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 9, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/hizb-ut-tahrir-leader-ismail-alwahwah-calls-for-jihad-against-jews-in-inflammatory-video/story-fni0cx12-1227255217347> [223].

²³⁹ Taylor Auerbach, "Hizb ut-Tahrir leader Ismail Alwahwah calls for jihad against Jews in inflammatory video," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 9, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/hizb-ut-tahrir-leader-ismail-alwahwah-calls-for-jihad-against-jews-in-inflammatory-video/story-fni0cx12-1227255217347> [223].

²⁴⁰ Taylor Auerbach, "Lindt cafe gunman Man Haron Monis was honoured guest at Hizb ut-Tahrir's Lakemba hate-fest," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), March 17, 2015, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/news/nsw/lindt-cafe-gunman-man-haron-monis-was-honoured-guest-at-hizb-ut-tahrirs-lakemba-hate-fest/story-fnpn1181-1227265393578> [60].

²⁴¹ Hizb ut-Tahrir - Denmark, "The Environmental Problem Its Causes & Islam's Solution," Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, March 21, 2014, <http://www.hizb.org.uk/solutions/the-environmental-problem-its-causes-islams-solution> [224].

²⁴² "Interview: Dr Abdul Wahid of Hizb ut Tahrir on the Arab Spring," 5Pillars, April 29, 2013, <http://5pillarsuk.com/2013/04/29/interview-dr-abdul-wahid-of-hizb-ut-tahrir-on-the-arab-spring/> [225].

²⁴³ "Ismail Al-Wahwah, Spokesman Of Hizb Ut-Tahrir In Australia: We Will Establish The Caliphate, Instate The Shari'a, And Make Arabic The Official Language," Middle East Media Research Institute, January 6, 2013, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/6911.htm> [226].

²⁴⁴ "Ismail Al-Wahwah, Spokesman Of Hizb Ut-Tahrir In Australia: We Will Establish The Caliphate, Instate The Shari'a, And Make Arabic The Official Language," Middle East Media Research Institute, January 6, 2013, <http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/6911.htm> [226].

²⁴⁵ Michael Kugelman, "Another Threat in Pakistan, in Sheep's Clothing," *New York Times*, August 3, 2012, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/08/04/opinion/hizb-ut-tahrir-threatens-pakistan-from-within.html> [227].

²⁴⁶ "Hardliners call for a ban on Valentine's Day celebrations in Sukabumi," *Jakarta Post*, February 12, 2012, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/02/12/hardliners-call-a-ban-valentines-day-celebrations-sukabumi.html> [228].

²⁴⁷ Tim Vollmer, "Australian Troops 'fair game' for Muslims in war on Afghanistan, Hizb ut-Tahrir believe," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), July 4, 2011, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/australian-troops-fair-game-for-muslims-in-war-on-afghanistan-hizb-ut-tahrir-believe/story-e6freuy9-1226086675320> [229].

²⁴⁸ Tim Vollmer, "Australian Troops 'fair game' for Muslims in war on Afghanistan, Hizb ut-Tahrir believe," *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), July 4, 2011, <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/australian-troops-fair-game-for-muslims-in-war-on-afghanistan-hizb-ut-tahrir-believe/story-e6freuy9-1226086675320> [229].

²⁴⁹ "HTI affirms it's a political party," *Jakarta Post*, June 29, 2011, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/06/29/hti-affirms-it%E2%80%99s-a-political-party.html> [230].

²⁵⁰ Muhammad Ismail Yusanto, "Inaccurate and misleading reports on HTI," *Jakarta Post*, March 5, 2010, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/03/05/inaccurate-and-misleading-reports-hti.html> [231].

²⁵¹ Abdul Wahid, "Why Britain's Afghan Venture has Failed," Dr. Abdul Wahid's Weblog, December 12, 2007, <https://drabdulwahids.wordpress.com/2008/03/09/why-britains-afghan-venture-has-failed/> [232].

²⁵² Jack Moore, "Jihadi John: UK Campaigner With Links to Emwazi Called for Jihad," *Newsweek*, February 6, 2015, <http://europa.newsweek.com/uk-campaigner-links-emwazi-called-jihad-309605> [233].

Hizb ut-Tahrir

²⁵³ Jane Perlez, "London Gathering Defends Vision of Radical Islam," *New York Times*, August 6, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/08/06/world/europe/06hizb.html> [28].

²⁵⁴ Elaine Sciolino and Don Van Natta Jr., "For a Decade, London Thrived as a Busy Crossroads of Terror," *New York Times*, July 10, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/07/10/world/europe/for-a-decade-london-thrived-as-a-busy-crossroads-of-terror.html> [7].

²⁵⁵ "Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf> [117].

²⁵⁶ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

²⁵⁷ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

²⁵⁸ David Leigh, "Background: Hizb ut-Tahrir," *Guardian* (London), July 22, 2005, <http://www.theguardian.com/media/2005/jul/22/pressandpublishing> [14].

²⁵⁹ Hizb ut-Tahrir, "The American Campaign to Suppress Islam," (London: Al Khilafah Publications, 1996), 28; <http://www.ht-bangladesh.info/sites/default/files/books/uscampaign.pdf> [234].

²⁶⁰ Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The American Campaign to Suppress Islam* (London: Al Khilafah Publications, 1996), 19, <http://www.ht-bangladesh.info/sites/default/files/books/uscampaign.pdf> [234].

²⁶¹ Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The American Campaign to Suppress Islam* (London: Al Khilafah Publications, 1996), 24, <http://www.ht-bangladesh.info/sites/default/files/books/uscampaign.pdf> [234].

²⁶² Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The American Campaign to Suppress Islam* (London: Al Khilafah Publications, 1996), 27, <http://www.ht-bangladesh.info/sites/default/files/books/uscampaign.pdf> [234].

²⁶³ Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The American Campaign to Suppress Islam* (London: Al Khilafah Publications, 1996), 39, <http://www.ht-bangladesh.info/sites/default/files/books/uscampaign.pdf> [234].

²⁶⁴ "The Re-establishment of the Khilafah is an obligation upon all Muslims," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, accessed June 10, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/the-re-establishment-of-the-khilafah-is-an-obligation-upon-all-muslims/> [235].

²⁶⁵ Zeyno Baran, ed., "The Challenge of Hizb ut-Tahrir: Deciphering and Combating Radical Islamist Ideology," Center for the National Interest, September 2004, 19, accessed June 1, 2015, <http://www.cftni.org/Program%20Briefs/PB%202004/confrephiztahrir.pdf> [9] (site discontinued).

²⁶⁶ Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf> [117].

²⁶⁷ Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf> [117].

²⁶⁸ Hizb ut-Tahrir Emerges in America," Anti-Defamation League, July 25, 2013, <http://www.adl.org/assets/pdf/combating-hate/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Emerges-in-America-2013-07-25-v1.pdf> [117].

²⁶⁹ "The Re-establishment of the Khilafah is an obligation upon all Muslims," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, accessed June 1, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/the-re-establishment-of-the-khilafah-is-an-obligation-upon-all-muslims/> [235].

²⁷⁰ "The Re-establishment of the Khilafah is an obligation upon all Muslims," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, accessed June 1, 2015, <https://hizb-america.org/the-re-establishment-of-the-khilafah-is-an-obligation-upon-all-muslims/> [235].