

*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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**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**

*Executive Summary:*

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT), meaning “Party of Liberation,” is an international Islamist movement seeking to unite Muslims under one Islamic caliphate.<sup>1</sup>

Founded by Palestinian Taqiuddin al-Nabhani al-Filastyni in 1953, HT considers itself a non-violent political party.<sup>2</sup> HT states that its goal is to peacefully convert Muslim nations to Islamist political systems.<sup>3</sup> HT praises the concept of jihad but insists that it does not use “material power to defend itself or as a weapon....”<sup>4</sup> The group publicly disavows efforts to achieve its goals of a caliphate through violent means.<sup>5</sup>

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,<sup>6</sup> the murder of a pro-secularist blogger in Bangladesh,<sup>7</sup> and spreading anti-Western and Muslim-separatist propaganda in the West. HT maintains that its members are political dissidents.<sup>8</sup>

HT has been called a “conveyor belt” for terrorists by Zeyno Baran of the Hudson Institute.<sup>9</sup> Baran notes that HT members, once radicalized by the group’s ideology, are vulnerable to more explicit messages of militancy.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> Another example is ISIS fighter “Jihadi John” (now deceased), who reportedly attended events with HT speakers while in university in Great Britain.<sup>12</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup>

## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

While HT promotes the concept of a caliphate, it does not recognize the so-called caliphate created by [ISIS](#). 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.

<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, British HT members have reportedly joined ISIS and other militant Islamist groups in the Middle East.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup>

British prime ministers Tony Blair and David Cameron called for banning HT in 2009 and 2011, respectively.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup> The British Home Office has also ruled that HT does not advocate violence and that Britain cannot ban the group for having unpopular ideas.<sup>19</sup> The Home Office did concede, however, that HT is antisemitic, homophobic, and anti-Western.<sup>20</sup> Citing HT's history of antisemitism and support for terrorism, the United Kingdom banned HT Britain in January 2024 under the United Kingdom's terrorism laws.<sup>21</sup>

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."<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

### *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.<sup>25</sup> HT proposes the restoration of a caliphate as a solution to the problems in the Middle East,<sup>26</sup> with all Muslims living according to sharia (Islamic law) under the rule of an Islamic caliphate.<sup>27</sup> HT insists that it seeks to reestablish the caliphate only in the Muslim world, not "in any of the western countries including the US."<sup>28</sup> 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.<sup>29</sup>

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.<sup>30</sup> HT's extensive outreach activities around the world indicate that the group 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."<sup>31</sup> 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."<sup>32</sup>

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.<sup>33</sup> Analysts studying the HT movement have implicated HT members in failed military coups in Jordan (1968 and 1969) and Egypt (1974).<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

Since HT presents Islam as an exclusive socio-political system superior to secularism and democracy,<sup>36</sup> 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,<sup>37</sup> oversimplifying the complex global socio-political environment into a single, simple narrative: the West opposes Islam.<sup>38</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> One possible example of HT-inspired radicalization is the case of 15-year-old Farhad Jabbar in Parramatta, Australia. Jabbar

## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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shot and killed a police accountant in October 2015 and reportedly attended an HT event the morning of the shooting.<sup>40</sup> 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.”<sup>41</sup>

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.”<sup>42</sup> In 2003, similar antisemitic rhetoric resulted in the group being banned from many university campuses in Britain and a complete ban of the group in Germany.<sup>43</sup>

HT supports not only violence against Jews in general but offensive jihad against Israel in particular.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup> 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.”<sup>47</sup>

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.<sup>48</sup> He began attending HT meetings while at King’s College in London.<sup>49</sup> Sharif reportedly followed former HT leader [Omar Bakri Mohammed](#) to his new group, al-Muhajiroun.<sup>50</sup> On April 30, 2003, Sharif and fellow British citizen Asif Muhammad Hanif attempted a suicide bombing at a Tel Aviv bar.<sup>51</sup> Sharif’s explosives failed, but Hanif killed three and wounded 50.<sup>52</sup> HT denied responsibility for radicalizing Sharif.<sup>53</sup>

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.<sup>54</sup> HT’s doctrine also forbids homosexual acts and prohibits participation in other faiths’ celebrations, such as Christmas.<sup>55</sup>

### *Organizational Structure:*

HT is a hierarchical organization with as many as 1 million members throughout the world.<sup>56</sup> HT boasts of a presence in at least 33 countries and maintains a central media office in Beirut, Lebanon.<sup>57</sup> Each country has a local chapter led by an emir, who answers to HT’s overall emir, Ata Abu Rashta.<sup>58</sup> 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.<sup>59</sup> Once an Islamic state is established, the caliph would select a defense minister,<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup>

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.<sup>62</sup> HT’s operations in the United Kingdom are led by HT Britain’s chief executive, Dr. [Abdul Wahid](#).<sup>63</sup> HT’s spokesperson, Taji Mustafa, engages the media on behalf of the movement, and has spoken at HT conferences in other countries like Australia.<sup>64</sup> 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.

## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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On both Twitter and Facebook, HT Britain has amassed over 11,000 followers.<sup>65</sup> Local HT Britain chapters organize their own fundraising to support outreach efforts, such as printing and handing out leaflets in public spaces.<sup>66</sup> HT Britain has also benefited from government funding, including grants to run early education programs.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup>

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](#) (a.k.a. Jihadi John) was in contact with the group while studying at British universities before he joined ISIS.<sup>69</sup>

Although the United Kingdom was previously reluctant to ban HT, on January 15, 2024, U.K. Home Secretary James Cleverly announced that his government would ban the group under the country's terrorism laws. The decision came after HT members chanted for jihad at a pro-Gaza rally in October 2023. Cleverly accused HT of being an "antisemitic" organization "that actively promotes and encourages terrorism, including praising and celebrating the appalling 7 October attacks" by Hamas on Israel.<sup>70</sup> The ban went into effect on January 19, 2024.<sup>71</sup>

### **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.

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.<sup>72</sup> 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.<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> 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.<sup>75</sup>

### **Australia:**

HT Australia is led by Islamist cleric [Ismail al-Wahwah](#).<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup>

The group also maintains a strong public profile on social media. Al-Wahwah has more than 4,000 followers on Facebook,<sup>78</sup> and the group's Facebook page has more than 26,000 likes as of May 2017, up from 9,000 likes in January 2016.<sup>79</sup> HT Australia's media spokesperson, Uthman Badar, tweets regularly to more than 7,000 people.<sup>80</sup>

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.<sup>81</sup> 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.<sup>82</sup>

In March 2017, international media circulated video footage of Badar stating that apostates—those who leave Islam—should be put to death.<sup>83</sup> In response, anti-HT activists in Australia launched an online petition to have the group banned.<sup>84</sup>

### **Denmark:**

HT Denmark was founded in 2000 by former HT member Maajid Nawaz, and others.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>86</sup> Outside of Denmark, HT Scandinavia has hosted events and distributed leaflets in Stockholm, Sweden.<sup>87</sup> HT Scandinavia has a website that highlights the group's

## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

work, policy positions, and planned events in the region.<sup>88</sup> On Facebook, the group has amassed more than 6,000 likes as of May 2017, up from 4,000 in February 2016.<sup>89</sup>

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 antisemitic propaganda.<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup>

HT's Danish leadership frequently focuses its attention on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.<sup>92</sup> 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.<sup>93</sup> Saeed's sermon was delivered the day before a terrorist attack in Copenhagen, wherein 22-year-old gunman Omar El-Hussein killed two and injured five while attempting to enter a cultural center that was hosting a free-speech event.<sup>94</sup>

### **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.<sup>95</sup> 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.<sup>96</sup> HT Netherlands also maintains a website highlighting its policy positions, activities, and planned events in the country.<sup>97</sup>

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.<sup>98</sup> HT has persisted in its recruitment and publicity strategy by handing out HT literature in Dutch in Rotterdam.<sup>99</sup>

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

Consequently, Netherlands has unsuccessfully attempted to ban HT.<sup>100</sup>

### **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.<sup>101</sup> HT Pakistan engages the public regularly through its website and social media activity. HT Pakistan's Twitter account has more than 6,000 followers,<sup>102</sup> and its Facebook page has more than 19,000 likes as of May 2017, up from more than 5,500 in March 2016.<sup>103</sup> 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.<sup>104</sup>

Pakistani authorities periodically arrest HT members despite the group's ban in 2003.<sup>105</sup> For example, the group maintains that the Pakistani government abducted its leader, Naveed Butt, in 2012, and has since been advocating for his release.<sup>106</sup> In November 2015, Pakistani authorities arrested HT Pakistan leader Siham Qamar and seven others during a series of raids.<sup>107</sup>

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."<sup>108</sup> Khan and four others were convicted in 2012.<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup> Since then, HT has continued its activities in the country, despite sporadic arrests of alleged members.<sup>111</sup> HT Bangladesh recruits members by hosting conferences and passing out HT literature in public.<sup>112</sup> HT Bangladesh also maintains a website. The group's Facebook account has more than 1,300 likes.<sup>113</sup>

In March 2015, Bangladeshi authorities arrested HT member Farabi Shafiur Rahman in connection with the murder of secular blogger Avijit Roy.<sup>114</sup> 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.<sup>115</sup>

*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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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 Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed.<sup>116</sup>

**Malaysia:**

HT Malaysia’s leadership includes spokesman Abdul Hakim Othman and vice president Sopian Jahir.<sup>117</sup> HT operates freely in Malaysia, except in the province of Selangor, where HT was proscribed in September 2015.<sup>118</sup> Outside of Selangor, HT recruits members by hosting periodic conferences and seminars.<sup>119</sup>

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.<sup>120</sup> Its Facebook page has more than 26,000 followers as of May 2017, up from 13,000 followers in March 2016.<sup>121</sup>

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.<sup>122</sup> On September 17, 2015, the Islamic Religious Department of the Malaysian state of Selangor issued a fatwa outlawing HT Malaysia within its jurisdiction.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup> Othman was released later the same day.<sup>125</sup>

**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.<sup>126</sup> Yusanto regularly engages Indonesian media to advocate HT positions in the country.<sup>127</sup> While membership numbers are unknown, HT events have included more than 100,000 attendees at some conferences.<sup>128</sup> HT Indonesia’s website is regularly updated with articles and videos addressing domestic and foreign politics and social issues from an HT perspective.<sup>129</sup>

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.”<sup>130</sup> Further, he said, HT is “converting people from democracy, secularism and capitalism to Islamic ideology.”<sup>131</sup> In 2016, HT organized protests accusing Jakarta’s Christian governor, Basuki “Ahok” Tjahaja Purnama, of blasphemy.<sup>132</sup> In May 2017, Purnama was found guilty of blasphemy and sentenced to two years in prison.<sup>133</sup>

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.<sup>134</sup>

**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.<sup>135</sup> New members are also drawn through prison recruitment in Central Asia.<sup>136</sup> Uzbekistan is believed to have as many as 8,000 HT members.<sup>137</sup> 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.<sup>138</sup>

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.<sup>139</sup>

**India:**

In May 2023, a joint operation carried out by the Intelligence Bureau, the Anti-Terror Squad of Madya Pradesh, and the Counterintelligence Wing of Telangana exposed covert networks and individuals linked to or belonging to HT. The cells were active throughout Madhya Pradesh and Telangana, often infiltrating educational and other vocational institutions. Reportedly the networks attempted to forcibly convert Hindus. The HT cells throughout southern India also reportedly engaged in combat and shooting training and communicated through encrypted web apps such as Rocket Chat and Threema. Ziyavudeen Baqavi and Bava Bahrudeen have been described as notable figures in HT India, with Baqavi having served as the



## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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leader and chief recruiter for Tamil Nadu and Puducherry. By August, the operation led to the arrest of at least 17 HT members.<sup>140</sup>

### *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.

<sup>141</sup> Operational costs appear low because many members do volunteer work. Donations are primarily raised in Europe, the Middle East, and Pakistan.<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup>

HT has also benefited from government funding. For example, a British foundation run by HT members received government grants to run early education programs.<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup>

### *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,<sup>146</sup> and releasing pro-Islamist publications, such as *The Institutions of State in the Khilafah* [caliphate], online.<sup>147</sup> 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."<sup>148</sup> 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.<sup>149</sup>

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.<sup>150</sup>

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.<sup>151</sup> Emwazi attended Britain's University of Westminster, where he was exposed to HT ideology through the university's Islamic Society.<sup>152</sup> 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.<sup>153</sup> The university has been the subject of several accusations that HT has infiltrated its campus.<sup>154</sup>

British counter-extremism activist Maajid Nawaz is a former HT member who was drawn to the group as a teenager.<sup>155</sup> 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.<sup>156</sup> 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 speakers who "peddle a highly politicized, often violent strain" of Islam.<sup>157</sup>

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."<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup> As president of Westminster's Global Ideas Society, Mahri had been instrumental in bringing HT speaker Jamal Harwood to campus.<sup>160</sup>

## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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.<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup> Because of the university’s tolerance of HT campus activities, “students were being led like lambs to the slaughter,” according to Stein.<sup>163</sup>

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.<sup>164</sup> Recruits include college students and teachers, the unemployed, and factory workers. Central Asian authorities believe HT also recruits heavily in prisons.<sup>165</sup>

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.<sup>166</sup>

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.<sup>167</sup> 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.<sup>168</sup>

### *Also Known As:*

- Hezb ut-Tahrir<sup>169</sup>
- Hizb ut Tahrir<sup>170</sup>
- Hizbut Tahrir<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 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> (page discontinued).

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**Key Leaders**



**Ata Abu Rashta**

Global leader



**Abdul Wahid**

Chairman of HT Britain executive committee



**Ismail al-Wahwah**

Leader of HT Australia



**Yahya Nisbet**

Media representative for HT Britain



**Uthman Badar**

Spokesperson for HT Australia



**Mahmut Kar**

Head of Media of HT Turkey



**Ziyavudeen Baqavi**

Leader and chief recruiter for Tamil Nadu and Puducherry for HT India



## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

### History:

- **January 19, 2024:** Following parliamentary approval, the United Kingdom proscribes HT as a terrorist organization. Following the proscription, membership in HT becomes a criminal offense with a potential prison sentence of 14 years, which can be handed down alongside or in place of a fine. Source: "Hizb ut-Tahrir proscribed as terrorist organization," Gov.UK, January 19, 2024, <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/hizb-ut-tahrir-proscribed-as-terrorist-organisation>.
- **January 15, 2024:** U.K. Home Secretary James Cleverly announces his government will ban HT under the United Kingdom's terrorism laws. The decision comes after HT members chanted for jihad at a pro-Gaza rally in October 2023. Cleverly accuses HT of being an "antisemitic" organization "that actively promotes and encourages terrorism, including praising and celebrating the appalling 7 October attacks" by Hamas on Israel. The ban is expected to go into effect on January 19. Dominic Casciani, "Home Office to ban Hizb ut-Tahrir as terror group," BBC News, January 15, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-67984295>.
- **December 23, 2023:** HT Britain holds a conference called "Answer the Call: Liberate Palestine" in London. Hundreds of Muslims across the United Kingdom come to support the event. The topics discussed include the "fallacy of the two-state solution" and calling on the armies of Muslim-majority countries to "awaken from their slumber." One of the speakers at the event, Saliqur Abu Eesa, also delivers a speech called "How Do We Move the Armies?" where he states that it is the responsibility of Muslim countries and members of the military to wage jihad. Source: "Speech At London Conference By Hizb Ut-Tahrir Britain Calls To Pressure Muslim Armies To 'Liberate Palestine' Through Jihad," Middle East Media Research Institute, December 28, 2023, <https://www.memri.org/jtm/speech-london-conference-hizb-ut-tahrir-britain-calls-pressure-muslim-armies-liberate-palestine>.
- **October 30, 2023:** After holding dozens of rallies across Turkey in October, HT Turkey holds a demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy where participants burn an American flag and chant "Murderer Israel, murderer US." Demonstrators also chant for Turkish deployment to Gaza and the implementation of sharia law while advocating for the establishment of a caliphate. Source: "Caliphate advocate Hizb ut-Tahrir escalates anti-Israel protests, calls for armed intervention in Gaza," Nordic Monitor, November 8, 2023, <https://nordicmonitor.com/2023/11/caliphate-seeking-hizb-ut-tahrir-escalates-anti-israel-protests-calls-for-armed-intervention-in-gaza/>.
- **October 21, 2023:** HT Britain organizes a pro-Gaza rally in London, during which attendees reportedly call for jihad. The rally follows an October 7 largescale Hamas attack on Israel, which killed approximately 1,200 people. In response to the attack, Israel declared war on Hamas and launched airstrikes and a ground invasion of Gaza, sparking pro-Gaza rallies worldwide. Source: Dominic Casciani, "Home Office to ban Hizb ut-Tahrir as terror group," BBC News, January 15, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-67984295>.
- **October 7, 2023:** Following news of Hamas's attack on Israel that day, Taji Mustafa, a senior official of HT Britain, praises the events, posting on Twitter Spaces, "It's a day most of us will remember, inshallah because it is a day of news, good news...really an amazing day in the sense that some things which were said to be undoable we now see the possibilities." Mustafa later adds, "Fighters from within occupied Gaza, within this massive prison, have been able to go into the Zionist entity, and the fear and the running of the Zionist left, right and centre, really something which has been a sight to behold." The discussion reportedly had an audience of 2,800 people. Source: Edward Malnick, "British extremists that Blair and Cameron tried to ban celebrate Israeli massacre," *Telegraph* (London), October 14, 2023, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2023/10/14/hizb-ut-tahrir-twitter-spaces-israel-hamas-attack/>.
- **May 17, 2023:** Australian HT leader Ismail al-Wahwah dies of an undisclosed illness. Source: "Obituary of Dawah Carrier," Hizb ut-Tahrir Media Office, May 18, 2023, <https://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.info/en/index.php/press-releases/jordan/24603.html>.
- **May 13, 2023:** HT America holds its annual Khilafah Conference, themed "Crises & Crossroads: The Urgency of Islam to Save the World," at Ambiance Banquets in Chicago. Speakers address America's declining hegemony, warn of the dangers of the "LGBT agenda," and discuss the "threat" of feminism to the family unit. The lineup of speakers lambast democracy and capitalism as failed systems that have led to a crumbling social order. They all conclude that only a caliphate under an Islamic system will save humanity. The conference is broadcast on Facebook Live and posted to YouTube. Sources: "2023 Khilafah Conference PRESS RELEASE," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, May 13, 2023, <https://hizb-america.org/2023-khilafah-conference-press-release/>; "Islam vs. LGBT Agenda (2023 Khilafah Conference)," YouTube video, 23:37, from the annual Hizb ut-Tahrir America Khilafah Conference on May 13, 2023, posted by "Hizb ut-Tahrir America," May 18, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dPfdWvqgYKY>; "Muslim women rise up against the feminist Agenda (2023 Khilafah Conference)," YouTube video, 23:47, from the annual Hizb ut-Tahrir Khilafah America Conference on May 13, 2023, posted by "Hizb ut-Tahrir America," May 18, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JcLoxQSYE5Y>; "The Crumbling Empire: Americas Political Crisis (2023 Khilafah Conference)," YouTube video, 22:10, from the annual Hizb ut-Tahrir America Khilafah Conference on May 13, 2023, posted by "Hizb ut-Tahrir America," May 18, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ght0MJAY0UE>.
- On May 9, the anti-terrorist squad (ATS) in India's Madhya Pradesh state arrests 11 HT members in the Bhopal and Chhindwara districts. On May 17, authorities reportedly seize anti-national documents, technical equipment, radical literature, and other materials in the Telangana state capital of Hyderabad and arrest five other HT members around Telangana. According to ATS investigations, three of the accused had previously converted to Islam from Hinduism. Madhya Pradesh Home Minister Narottam Mishra revealed all the suspects had forcibly converted their wives to Islam. India's National Investigation Agency (NIA) takes over the investigation because of the global ramifications of HT involvement. The case represents HT's first reported activity in India since 2010. Sources: "HuT case: MPATS seizes documents, equipment from Hyderabad," *Free Press Journal* (Mumbai), May 18, 2023, <https://www.freepressjournal.in/bhopal/hut-case-mpats-seizes-documents-equipment-from-hyderabad/>; Ravish pal Singh, "Radical Islamic outfit Hizb ut-Tahrir members were earlier Hindus, forcibly converted girls to Islam: MP ATS," *India Today*, May 16, 2023, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/madhya-pradesh-ats-arrest-hizb-ut-tahrir-group-accused-converted-to-islam-married-muslim-girls-2379891-2023-05-16>; P. Naveen, "NIA to take over probe against Hizb-ut-Tahrir members held from Bhopal and Hyderabad," *Times of India*, May 14, 2023, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bhopal/nia-to-take-over-probe-against-hizb-ut-tahrir-members-held-from-bhopal-and-hyderabad/articleshow/100230306.cms>; "16 people held in Madhya Pradesh and Telangana over links with radical outfit Hizb ut-Tahrir, police say 'they want to topple India's democratic setup,'" *OpIndia*, May 10, 2023, <https://www.opindia.com/2023/05/16-people-held-in-madhya-pradesh-and-telangana-over-links-with-radical-outfit-hizb-ut-tahrir/>.
- **April 6, 2023:** Senior HT Bangladesh leader Talat Mahmud Sayen is arrested in Dhaka. Police recover 23 anti-government leaflets, three jihadi books, a computer and two mobile phones. He was previously arrested in 2015 and freed on bail. He was sentenced to two years in prison but escaped during the sentencing hearing. Source: "Top Hizb ut-Tahrir leader arrested in Dhaka," *Jagonews24.com*, April 9, 2023, <https://www.jagonews24.com/en/national/news/67811>.
- **March 22, 2023:** HT America launches a campaign to encourage Muslim parents to reject the "feminist agenda" and educate their children on Islamic values.

## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

According to HT America, Allah designed the primary role of women to be taking care of her home, husband, and children. While men are designed to be the protectors and maintainers of their families. Source: "Protecting the Muslim Family From the Feminist Agenda (Preschool to Early Elementary)," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, March 22, 2023, <https://hizb-america.org/protecting-the-muslim-family-from-the-feminist-agenda/>.

- **January 15, 2023:** HT Turkey holds a conference in Bursa, entitled "Social collapse-problems and solution," calling for the creation of a caliphate to replace Turkey's government.  
Source: "Hizb ut Tahrir in Turkey campaigning for establishment of 'Islamic Caliphate,'" The Print, January 20, 2023, <https://theprint.in/world/hizb-ut-tahrir-in-turkey-campaigning-for-establishment-of-islamic-caliphate/1325048/>.
- **December 26, 2022:** Bangladesh's Rapid Action Battalion arrests HT member Nafiz Salam Uday in Daka.  
Uday is a member of HT Bangladesh's dawa and finance departments. He had avoided arrest for eight years on charges of assault and terrorism offenses. He had previously distributed HT propaganda. HT is banned in Bangladesh. Bangladeshi authorities say they will interrogate Uday and continue to arrest members of HT. Sources: "RAB arrests 'Hizb ut-Tahrir activist' in Dhaka," New Age Bangladesh, December 26, 2022, <https://www.newagebd.net/article/190010/rab-arrests-hizb-ut-tahrir-activist-in-dhaka>; "Wanted Hizb ut-Tahrir member arrested after eight years," Dhaka Tribune, December 26, 2022, <https://www.dhakatribune.com/militancy/2022/12/26/hizb-ut-tahrir-member-held-in-dhaka>.
- **November 7, 2022:** Bangladesh's Counter Terrorism and Transnational Unit arrests two HT members in Dhaka.  
The suspects are identified as Md Mohsin and Md Sameer. Authorities seize 10 "Hizb ut-Tahrir/Ul'ai'ah Bangladesh" posters and two mobile phones. Source: "2 Hizb ut-Tahrir members arrested in capital," TBS Report, November 8, 2022, <https://www.tbsnews.net/bangladesh/crime/2-hizb-ut-tahrir-members-arrested-capital-528282>.
- **May 7, 2022:** HT Britain organizes a demonstration at the Pakistan High Commission in London to protest against U.S. interference in Pakistani politics.  
Protesters called for the replacement of Pakistan's democratic government with an Islamic caliphate. Source: Yahya Nisbet, "PROTEST IN LONDON SAYS NO TO MORE DEMOCRACY, YES TO THE KHILAFAH," Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, May 7, 2022, <https://www.hizb.org.uk/media/press-releases/protest-in-london-says-no-to-more-democracy-yes-to-the-khilafah/>.
- **March 6, 2022:** HT America holds its annual Khilafah Conference in Chicago.  
Titled "Blueprint for the Future," the conference features speakers describing the structure of a proposed caliphate state and HT's "singular goal is to resume the Islamic way of life by re-establishing the Khilafah." Source: "2022 Khilafah Conference," Hizb ut-Tahrir America, March 6, 2022, <https://hizb-america.org/2022-khilafah-conference/>.
- **June 17, 2021:** Uzbek authorities arrest six HT members in the Samarkand region's Urgut district for belonging to a banned organization.  
Some members of the group had previously been convicted for promoting terrorist ideology. Source: "Uzbek Authorities Detain Six Alleged Members Of Banned Islamic Group," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, June 18, 2021, <https://www.rferl.org/a/uzbekistan-hizb-ut-tahrir-extremist-six-members-detained/31314930.html>.
- **May 28, 2021:** Authorities in Tamil Nadu, India, file charges against HT member Mohammad Iqbal N, a.k.a. Senthil Kumar, for promoting the establishment of an Islamic caliphate earlier in the year.  
Source: "Hizb-Ut-Tahrir member chargesheeted for promoting establishment of Islamic Caliphate," Week (Kochi), May 29, 2021, <https://www.theweek.in/news/india/2021/05/29/hizb-ut-tahrir-member-chargesheeted-for-promoting-establishment.html>.
- **May 19, 2021:** Bangladeshi Anti-Terrorism Unit authorities arrest HT member HM Mehedi Rana in Cox's Bazar, Bangladesh.  
He is charged with terrorism-related offenses for spreading HT propaganda online, including helping to organize international conferences. Source: "Hizb ut-Tahrir operative arrested in Bangladesh," DT Next, May 21, 2021, <https://www.dtnext.in/News/TopNews/2021/05/21/152754/1295773/Hizb-utTahrir-operative-arrested-in-Bangladesh.vpf>.
- HT Britain launches a campaign for the "liberation" of Palestinians by "Muslim armies."  
On May 11, HT's global leadership issues a statement: "The monstrous Jews are spreading their brutal aggression on all parts of Palestine." On May 16, an HT member in Birmingham, England, films himself calling for jihad so the "Zionist entity will be no more." On May 22, Abdul Wahid, chair of HT Britain's executive committee, calls on Muslim armies "liberate Palestine and all Muslim lands." According to security analysts, HT Britain is increasing its activities across the United Kingdom and becoming more visible. Source: Edward Malnick, "Extreme Islamist group flexes its muscles in UK," Telegraph (London), June 6, 2021, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/politics/2021/06/06/extreme-islamist-group-flexes-muscles-uk/>.
- **February 28, 2021:** Following an increase in anti-government activity by HT in Afghanistan, Afghan First Vice President Amrullah Saleh announces HT is not registered with the Afghan Ministry of Justice and therefore its activities are illegal in the country.  
Saleh warns HT supporters to stop anti-government activity and propaganda. The Afghan Justice Ministry likens the mindset of HT supporters to that of ISIS's followers. Source: Zahra Rahimi, "Saleh Calls for an End to Hizb ut-Tahrir Activity in Afghanistan," Tolo News, February 28, 2021, <https://tolonews.com/afghanistan-170346>.
- **January 12, 2021:** The Southern Military Regional Court in Rostov-on-Don, Russia, sentences three Tatar men to prison for terms of 13 to 18 years for belonging to HT.  
The three—Enver Omerov, Ayder Dzhepparov, and Riza Omerov—were arrested in June 2019 and subsequently found guilty of plotting to forcibly seize power in Crimea as part of HT. Enver Omerov was also found guilty of organizing the activities of a terrorist group. Source: "Russian Court Jails Three Crimean Tatars On Extremism Charges," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, January 12, 2021, <https://www.rferl.org/a/russian-court-jails-three-crimean-tatars-on-extremism-charges/31043360.html>.
- **November 6, 2020:** Russian authorities arrest five alleged HT members in the Republic of Tatarstan.  
According to the Federal Security Service (FSB), the five are suspected of spreading "terrorist ideas" among Tatarstan's Muslims. Source: "Five Alleged Members Of Banned Hizb Ut-Tahrir Islamic Group Arrested In Tatarstan," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, November 6, 2020, <https://www.rferl.org/a/five-alleged-members-of-banned-hizb-ut-tahrir-islamic-group-arrested-in-tatarstan/30933743.html>.
- **November 3, 2020:** The Southern Military Regional court in Rostov-on-Don, Russia, sentences three Crimean Tatars—Rustem Emiruseinov, Arsen Abkhaitov, and Eskendir Abulganiyev—to prison sentences of 12 to 17 years for belonging to HT.  
The three were arrested in February 2019 at their homes in Russia-occupied Crimea. HT remains legal in Ukraine, though Russia has outlawed the group. Source: "Russian Court Sentences Three Crimean Tatars To Prison Terms On Extremism Charges," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, November 3, 2020, <https://www.rferl.org/a/30927872.html>.

*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

- Russia’s supreme court upholds sentences ranging from 10 to 24 years in prison for a group of HT supporters convicted in a military court in 2018.  
Source: Damelya Aitkhozhina, “Harsh Sentences for Alleged Hizb-ut-Tahrir Followers in Russia,” Human Rights Watch, October 1, 2020, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/10/01/harsh-sentences-alleged-hizb-ut-tahrir-followers-russia#>.
- Australian HT leader Ismail al-Wahwah calls social-justice and race riots in the United States an “opportunity” for Muslims to seize power and impose sharia.  
Source: Stephen Johnson and Alison Bevege, “‘We will take over’: Australian leader of extremist Islamic group says US riots are an ‘opportunity’ for Muslims to seize global leadership and impose Sharia law,” *Daily Mail* (London), last updated October 30, 2020, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8385977/Hizb-ut-Tahrir-leader-Ismail-al-Wahwah-says-riots-cause-downfall-Islam-over.html>.
- **April 27, 2019:** HT Australia holds its “Unapologetically Muslim” conference in Sydney, during which speakers call for the implementation of sharia and denigrate diversity and other Western values.  
Spokesman Wassim Doureih claims “the West has its boots over [Muslims’] necks.” A reporter for Daily Mail Australia is removed from the conference before it begins. The reporter is told it is an Islamic conference. Source: Stephen Johnson, “‘We’ve bought into the lie that is tolerance and diversity’: Inside radical Muslim group Hizb ut-Tahrir’s Sydney conference - where gender segregated members heard children should not sing the national anthem,” *Daily Mail* (London), last updated May 1, 2019, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6966531/Radical-Muslim-group-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-bans-media-Unapologetically-Muslim-conference-Sydney.html>; “Pro-Caliphate Islamic Group Holds ‘Unapologetically Muslim’ Conference in Sydney,” Sputnik, April 29, 2019, <https://sputnikglobe.com/20190429/pro-caliphate-islamic-group-unapologetically-muslim-conference-sydney-1074544984.html>.
- **April 25, 2019:** Al-Wahwah is released from prison and returns to Australia.  
Source: HT Australia, Facebook post, April 25, 2019, 8:35 a.m., <https://www.facebook.com/hizbaust/photos/a.607681262698200/1561848627281454/>.
- **January 25, 2019:** Al-Wahwah is sentenced to two years in prison with one year suspended sentence.  
Source: “AUSTRALIAN-JORDANIAN CITIZEN SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT BECAUSE OF FACEBOOK POSTS,” Alkarama, February 5, 2019, <https://www.alkarama.org/en/articles/australian-jordanian-citizen-sentenced-imprisonment-because-facebook-posts>.
- **October 22, 2018:** Jordan’s State Security Court prosecutor charges al-Wahwah with incitement against the political regime, insulting the king, and belonging to an unlawful movement.  
He is reportedly moved to the Al Muwaqqar II maximum security prison in Jordan that month. Sources: Stephen Johnson, “Australian leader of extremist Islamic group that wants a global Muslim caliphate is moved to a notorious maximum security prison in Jordan,” *Daily Mail* (London), last updated November 8, 2018, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6365301/Australian-leader-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Ismail-al-Wahwah-moved-Jordanian-maximum-security-jail.html>; “AUSTRALIAN-JORDANIAN CITIZEN SENTENCED TO IMPRISONMENT BECAUSE OF FACEBOOK POSTS,” Alkarama, February 5, 2019, <https://www.alkarama.org/en/articles/australian-jordanian-citizen-sentenced-imprisonment-because-facebook-posts>.
- **July 25, 2018:** Australian HT leader Ismail al-Wahwah is arrested at the Queen Alia Airport in Amman, Jordan.  
He is incarcerated in Jordan. In August, HT protests al-Wahwah’s arrest outside the Jordanian embassy in Canberra. Sources: Stephen Johnson, “Australian leader of extremist Islamic group that wants a global Muslim caliphate is moved to a notorious maximum security prison in Jordan,” *Daily Mail* (London), last updated November 8, 2018, <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6365301/Australian-leader-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Ismail-al-Wahwah-moved-Jordanian-maximum-security-jail.html>; “Jordanian Security Court Issues Unjust Prison Sentence for Ustadh Engineer Ismail al-Wahwah, one of the Shabab of Hizb ut Tahrir,” Hizb ut-Tahrir America, accessed May 4, 2023, <https://hizb-america.org/jordanian-security-court-issues-unjust-prison-sentence-for-ustadh-engineer-ismail-al-wahwah-one-of-the-shabab-of-hizb-ut-tahrir/>.
- **May 7, 2018:** Indonesia’s Jakarta state administrative court rejects an HT appeal of the 2017 decision to ban the organization.  
HT announces it will appeal. Source: Kate Lamb, “Jakarta court rejects attempt by Hizb ut-Tahrir to reverse its ban,” *Guardian* (London), May 7, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/may/07/indonesia-jakarta-court-rejects-hizb-ut-tahrir-attempt-to-reverse-ban>.
- **October 9, 2017:** Pakistani authorities arrest a suspect on charges of distributing HT pamphlets outside a mosque in Islamabad.  
Source: Madeeha Anwar, “Pakistan Nabs Suspect Distributing Pamphlets Allegedly Linked to Hizb-ut-Tahrir,” *Voice of America*, October 9, 2017, <https://www.voanews.com/extremism-watch/pakistan-nabs-suspect-distributing-pamphlets-allegedly-linked-hizb-ut-tahrir>.
- **July 19, 2017:** A week after Indonesian President Joko “Jokowi” Widodo signs a decree allowing the government to ban groups that go against “national unity and the existence of the Indonesian nation,” Indonesia bans HT.  
HT promises to fight the ban in court. Source: “Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia banned ‘to protect unity,’” *Al Jazeera*, July 19, 2017, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2017/7/19/hizb-ut-tahrir-indonesia-banned-to-protect-unity>.
- **July 15, 2017:** HT Tunisia leader Abderraouf Amri calls to “announce” the death of democracy and “work to bury it.”  
Source: Agence France-Presse, “Tunisian Islamist party says time to ‘bury’ democracy,” *Arab News*, April 15, 2017, <https://www.arabnews.com/node/1085336/world>.
- **June 6, 2017:** A Tunisian court issues a temporary one-month ban of HT in the country.  
Source: Agence France-Presse, “Radical Islamist party banned for one month,” *Pulse News Agency*, June 7, 2017, <http://www.pulse.ng/news/tunisia-radical-islamist-party-banned-for-one-month-id6794579.html>.
- **May 8, 2017:** Following a government review, Indonesia’s government announces plans to begin the legal process of banning HT.  
Source: Niniak Karmini and Ali Kotarumalos, “Indonesia to disband hard-line Islamic group Hizbut,” *Associated Press*, May 8, 2017, <https://apnews.com/611914b501af4d4b9d928535d4584ca6/Indonesia-to-disband-hard-line-Islamic-group-Hizbut>.
- A Tunisian court issues a temporary one-month ban of HT in the country, but another court overturns the ruling three weeks later.  
The following month, Tunisian President Beji Caid Essebsi tells a security council meeting further measures will have to be taken against HT. Sources: “Tunisian president moves against party threatening to ‘cut off heads,’” *Middle East Eye*, September 2, 2016, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/tunisian-president-moves-against-party-threatening-cut-heads>; Agence France-Presse, “Radical Islamist party banned for one month,” *Pulse News Agency*, June 7, 2017, <http://www.pulse.ng/news/tunisia-radical-islamist-party-banned-for-one-month-id6794579.html>.

*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

- **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-gk1kll.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/>.
- 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>.
- 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/>.
- 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>.
- 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>.
- 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. 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->



## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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](#). 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>.
- 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>.
- 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>.
- 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>.
- 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 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-terrorist/>; 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-fnpl181-1227265393578>.
- 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 Doureih 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-fnpl181-1227265393578>; "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>.
- 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. 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>.
- 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>.
- 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>.

*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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- **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>.
  - - : 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](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>.
  - 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>.
  - 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>.
  - 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>.
  - **October 22, 2009:** Bangladesh bans HT because of its anti-state activities.  
  

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Daka Tribune, December 26, 2022, <https://www.dhakatribune.com/militancy/2022/12/26/hizb-ut-tahrir-member-held-in-dhaka>.
  - **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, "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](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/11/28/world/middleeast/28palestinians.html?_r=0).
  - 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>.
  - 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,"
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## *Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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*Foreign Policy*, July 14, 2014, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/07/14/you-cant-kill-hamas-you-can-only-make-it-stronger/>.

- 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>.
- 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>.
- 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](http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist/abdullah-bozkurt/turkeys-snub-of-indonesia_378884.html).
- 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 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>.
- Russia labels HT a terrorist organization. Source: Mohit Nayal, *The Invisible Wall of China* (New Delhi: Vij Books India, 2012), 11.
- 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>.
- 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>.
- Russia bans HT, labeling it a criminal organization. Source: Mohit Nayal, *The Invisible Wall of China* (New Delhi: Vij Books India, 2012), 11.

*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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- 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>.
- 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>.
- 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>.

**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 2015:** British media report that individuals associated with HT and the [Nusra Front](#) attacked civil activists in Aleppo, Syria. HT Britain denies the reports.<sup>172</sup>
- **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.<sup>173</sup>
- **March 2015:** Bangladeshi police arrest Islamist blogger Farabi Shafiur Rahman in connection with the February 26, 2015, [murder of atheist writer Avijit Roy](#). Police accuse Rahman of belonging to HT and threatening over social media to kill Roy prior to his murder in a knife attack.<sup>174</sup>
- **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.<sup>175</sup>
- **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.<sup>176</sup>
- **November 4, 2010:** Russian police say they have prevented an HT cell from blowing up a railway track near a Moscow train station.<sup>177</sup>
- **September 2007:** German police arrest three members of HT splinter group IJU for plotting to attack restaurants, military and civilian airports, and nightclubs.<sup>178</sup>
- **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.<sup>179</sup>
- **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.<sup>180</sup>
- **July 2004:** HT splinter cell Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) attacks the American and Israeli embassies in Uzbekistan.<sup>181</sup>
- **2004:** British authorities arrest an HT member for joining [al-Qaeda](#) and plotting to attack financial targets in New York.<sup>182</sup>
- **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.”<sup>183</sup>

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*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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**Designations:**

*Designations by Foreign Governments and Organizations:*

- Afghanistan does not recognize the legality of Hizb ut-Tahrir, as the organization is not registered with the Ministry of Justice.<sup>184</sup>
- Austria banned the symbols of Hizb ut-Tahrir in May 2021.<sup>185</sup>
- Bangladesh banned Hizb ut-Tahrir on October 22, 2009.<sup>186</sup>
- China has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.<sup>187</sup>
- Egypt banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 1974.<sup>188</sup>
- Germany banned Hizb ut-Tahrir on January 10, 2003.<sup>189</sup>
- Indonesia banned Hizb ut-Tahrir on July 19, 2017.<sup>190</sup>
- Jordan has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.<sup>191</sup>
- Kazakhstan banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 2005.<sup>192</sup>
- Kyrgyzstan has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.<sup>193</sup>
- Lebanon has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.<sup>194</sup>
- Pakistan banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 2003.<sup>195</sup>
- Russia banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 1999 (as a criminal organization) and 2003 (as a terrorist organization).<sup>196</sup>
- Saudi Arabia has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.<sup>197</sup>
- Tajikistan banned Hizb ut-Tahrir in 2001.<sup>198</sup>
- Turkey has banned Hizb ut-Tahrir.<sup>199</sup>
- The United Kingdom proscribed Hizb ut-Tahrir as a terrorist organization on January 19, 2024.<sup>200</sup>

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## **Associations:**

### *Ties to Extremist Entities:*

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

- **[Al-Qaeda](#)**

Before joining al-Qaeda, both Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and former al-Qaeda in Iraq leader [Abu Musab al-Zarqawi](#) were members of HT.<sup>201</sup> HT members have also joined al-Qaeda in fighting the Assad regime in Syria's ongoing civil war.<sup>202</sup>

- **[ISIS](#)**

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.<sup>203</sup>

- **[Nusra Front](#)**

HT members have joined, or tried to join, the Nusra Front. HT members have also joined Nusra Front rallies against the Syrian regime.<sup>204</sup>

- **[Al-Muhajiroun](#)**

Former HT leader [Omar Bakri Muhammad](#) founded al-Muhajiroun in 1996 with [Anjem Choudary](#). Al-Muhajiroun is allegedly responsible for 50 percent of the terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom since 1995.<sup>205</sup>

- **[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."

<sup>206</sup> 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.<sup>207</sup>

### *Ties to Extremist Individuals:*

- **[Omar Bakri Muhammad](#)**

Omar Bakri Muhammad led HT for approximately ten years before founding al-Muhajiroun, a more explicitly militant organization.<sup>208</sup> 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.<sup>209</sup>

- **[Khalid Sheikh Mohammed](#)**

Known as the mastermind of the 9/11 attack, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed was reportedly a former HT adherent who later left the group to join a more aggressive militant organization.<sup>210</sup>

- **[Mohammed Emwazi, a.k.a. Jihadi John](#)**

A Kuwaiti-born British man, Mohammed Emwazi became one of ISIS's most brutal executioners in Syria. Emwazi was reportedly exposed to HT ideology through his university's Islamic Society in the mid-2000s. The group's events reportedly featured HT members. After traveling to Syria to join ISIS in 2013, Emwazi regularly threatened Western leaders and citizens in ISIS propaganda videos, including former U.S. President Barack Obama and the Japanese government.<sup>211</sup>

- **[Abu Musab al-Zarqawi](#)**

The founder of al-Qaeda in Iraq, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was associated with HT Jordan in the 1990s. In 1993, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment in Jordan for plotting to replace the monarchy with an Islamic state.<sup>212</sup>

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*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

**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.<sup>213</sup> 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.<sup>214</sup> 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."<sup>215</sup> In May 2006, the *Times* reiterated German allegations of HT's involvement in a failed bomb plot aboard German trains involving two Lebanese men.<sup>216</sup>

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.<sup>217</sup> Author and journalist Mary Anne Weaver explored Britain's foreign fighter phenomenon and campus radicalization in an April 2015 piece for the *Times*.<sup>218</sup>

*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,<sup>219</sup> though the more common explanation is that HT's antisemitic literature ran afoul of Germany's hate-speech laws.<sup>220</sup>

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.<sup>221</sup> 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.<sup>222</sup> 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."<sup>223</sup>

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*Hizb ut-Tahrir*

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**Rhetoric:**

*HT Britain, January 15, 2024*

*In response to the U.K. government's planned proscription of the group:*

"By seeking to proscribe Hizb ut-Tahrir, Britain will join the likes of Putin's Russia, Sisi's Egypt and a host of other authoritarian states in silencing a voice for the restoration of an Islamic civilizational alternative for the Muslim world. It also demonstrates that all the talk about diversity, anti-censorship and freedom of speech, are only acceptable as long as one agrees with the extremist Zionist agenda of 10 Downing Street... Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain explicitly states that it will challenge the proposed proscription using all available legal means. Regardless of the outcome for Hizb ut-Tahrir, the political struggle in highlighting the genocide in Gaza, exposing the West's colonial agenda and the obligation to work to restore Islam as a just way of life will always continue."<sup>224</sup>

*Hizb ut-Tahrir Central Media Office, January 14, 2024*

*Press release responding to Western-led airstrikes on Yemen:*

"O Muslims: We call on you to realize that our enemy, the Kafir West, has come with its ideas, its armies, and its agents to strike the Ummah. We also call on the armies to move to support Islam and to respond to Allah's command to establish the Islamic state, implement the Shariah of Allah, reject the Kuffar, their ideas, and their method, and eliminate them. This is the radical solution and the earth-shattering response to the hegemony of the Kuffar, so the inhabitants of the earth and heavens will be satisfied with us."<sup>225</sup>

*HT Pakistan, October 25, 2023*

*Statement advocating for Pakistani military intervention in Gaza:*

"It is the shari'a obligation of the military leadership that instead of condolences and sympathy, it should root out the Jewish state and destroy this cancerous pimple... Why are [Pakistan's] ballistic missiles not being fired at Tel Aviv to protect our mujahideen on the ground?... If your current leaders are not able to lead you in this war, then hand over the power to someone who can establish the caliphate based on the Prophet and move the armies for Jihad against Jews."<sup>226</sup>

*HT America, October 25, 2023*

*Press release in response to Facebook's shutdown of HT pages:*

"Proclaiming itself as a champion of freedom of speech, Facebook's selective censorship actions are clear proof they are no different from the oppressive dictators who control the flow of information to protect their narrative. This morning, Facebook showed its true motive of protecting the Zionist entities and protecting the evil regimes across the Muslim world by attempting to silence the truth. Facebook shutdown many of the official pages of Hizb ut-Tahrir, including America, Australia, Britain, and the Netherlands. They fear what we have been able to do!"<sup>227</sup>

*Mahmut Kar, HT Turkey Head of Media, October 22, 2023*

*Tweet supporting an armed invasion of Israel:*

"If you want to take action, here's the opportunity. Turkey should not enter Gaza as a peacekeeping force but as an attacking force against the occupier, 'Israel'... Gaza is waiting for you."<sup>228</sup>

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**COUNTER  
EXTREMISM  
PROJECT**

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