

## About Hizb ut Tahrir: Our Work & Vision

Hizb ut Tahrir [Hizb ut-Tahrir; HT] is a global political party whose ideology is Islam and its singular goal is to resume the Islamic way of life by re-establishing the Khilafah (Caliphate). From its inception in 1953, in Al-Quds (Jerusalem), its ideas and methodology of achieving this goal have been rooted in the detailed understanding of Islam, its Aqeedah and its systems.

At a time when the Muslim world, especially the Middle East was immersed in Nationalism, specifically Pan-Arabism and Arab nationalism, when it was mesmerized with Socialism, and engaged in regional secular anti-colonialism, a ray of light emerged with the establishment of Hizb ut Tahrir by Sheikh Taqiuddin Nabhani (rh).

It is a ray of light with crystal clear ideas, deep thoughts and a conviction that it has the precise solution for the Ummah and the methodology to achieve it.

Hizb ut Tahrir, the Party of Liberation, was ahead of its time. Its ideas were seen as being novel during an era when liberation was limited to freeing land from colonial occupiers. HT articulated that true liberation is of the mind; it is liberation from the concepts, ideas, values and the way of life with its system the occupier imposed upon the Ummah. HT asserted that true liberation was to rid the mind of the intellectual leadership (Al-Qiyadatul Fikriyyah) of the West i.e. the separation of the Deen from life's affairs.

It said true liberation is to uproot the aqeedah (doctrine) of Secularism and replace it with the conviction in the spiritual and political Aqeedah of Islam. HT emphasized that true liberation cannot be completed until the systems of Kufr, Capitalism or Communism were dismantled and the system of Islam is implemented.

Hence, it spoke of Nahda (revival). Revival of the mind. And it said, "Man revives (yanhaDu) according to what he carries of thought (fikir) about the universe, man and life, and about their relationship, as a whole, with what preceded this worldly life and what comes after it. Hence, in order for man to revive (yanhaD), it is necessary to radically and comprehensively change his current thought (fikir) and generate another thought (fikir) for him." **﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّىٰ يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنفُسِهِمْ﴾** "Allah does not change the circumstances of any people until they have changed what is within themselves" [Ar-Rad 11].

It explained this by stating change in society is achieved by changing the thoughts and emotions of the people and the system by which they are organized and governed.

It clearly articulated Islam as a way of life, with an Aqeedah, a complete thought (fikir), a political and spiritual Aqeedah from which a system emanates. A system that was divinely inspired to our beloved Prophet (saw). It categorically rejected the secularization of this Deen.

From its very inception, in 1953, Hizb ut Tahrir formulated the constitution of this system of Islam, the Khilafah. HT detailed out and explained the structure, administration and the various systems of the Khilafah like the economic and ruling systems of Islam as you have heard today.

It has detailed materials on how the Khilafah will function, a blueprint of its vision, a glimpse of it you heard today. This is not academic material to expound on the divine nature of this Deen or to defend Islam from its critics and nor is it philosophical ruminations of political theorists.

Rather, the thoughts we presented today and the detailed materials we have formulated are for the practical resumption of the Islamic way of life. It is for the re-establishment of the Khilafah. It is for the practical solutions for our issues today. These ideas are for a vision of a new future, a vision for a new world, a new order, a new power, the second Khilafah Rashidah (rightly guided Caliphate), inshaAllah.

### Scholars

In terms of our scholarship, we take a principled position to not advertise titles or credentials of our scholarship. This is to elevate the Ummah to look beyond titles and concentrate on the content and its source i.e. the Quran and Sunnah.

One may contend that is what all scholars intend. But, as some may have realized, the war on Islam seeks to reform Islam to fit secular liberal ideas and its values. Unless there is a clear thought and vision, scholars and average Muslims are not immune to secular influences and are targets of Western interference in our Deen. Scholarship and titles have been utilized as part of the agenda to reform Islam.

HT's work to re-establish the Khilafah requires scholarship which it does not lack. Any serious attempts to review our material only amplifies this fact. Nonetheless, a principled position to not advertise titles is a tough hill to climb but the long-term outcome of elevating Muslim thought is worth the struggle.

Nonetheless, I will briefly speak about the leaders of Hizb ut Tahrir as an example.

Hizb ut Tahrir was founded by Sheikh Taqiuddin Nabhani (rh) together with multiple other Fuqaha, most of whom were graduates from Al-Azhar University. Founding members included Nimr Al-Masri, Dawud Hamdan, Ghanim Abdu, Sheikh Ahmed Daur, Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum among other Ulema.

Sheikh Taqi was born in 1911, in Ijzim a few miles from Haifa. He came from a scholarly family. His father Sheikh Ibrahim was a jurist and a teacher in Sharia and his mother Taqiyya was a memorizer of Hadith. His maternal grandfather Sheikh Yusuf al-Nabhani was a well-known figure in the Ottoman Caliphate and was a Qadi in the Ottoman courts.

Sheikh Taqi became hafiz al-Quran at a young age. In 1928, he went to Egypt to study where he was simultaneously enrolled at al-Azhar University and Dar al-Ulum. He graduated from both in 1932, at the top of his class with four degrees - al-Azhar high school certificate, degree in Sharia, degree in Arabic language and literature and Ijaza to be a judge in Sharia.

By all accounts from his teachers and colleagues, Sheikh Taqi was a genius with depth in his thinking, strength in his arguments and had a strong personality. Prior to his forming HT, he worked as a judge in Jerusalem.

Sheikh Taqi authored a huge volume of literature including books, articles, political analysis and Fatawa on wide range of issues.

Similarly, HT's second Ameer, Sheikh Abdul Qadeem Zallum (rh) came from a religious family. He graduated from Al-Azhar and obtained Shahada tal 'Alamiya and specialized in Judiciary which is equivalent to the Ph.D. of modern times. He was a faqih and wrote several books, including the Funds in the Khilafah.

The third and current Ameer, Sheikh Ata Bin Khalil Abu Al-Rashtah initially grew up and studied in a refugee camp near Hebron and eventually graduated as a civil engineer from Cairo University in Egypt. He was the first spokesperson of Hizb ut Tahrir and was regularly arrested by the Jordanian government. His book, Taysir fi Usul at-Tafsir and regular Questions & Answers on numerous issues show his depth in his scholarship. The book, Taysir fi Usul at-Tafsir, comprises treatise on the principles of tafsir followed by their application through the tafsir of Surah Al-Baqarah. He wrote this book while in prison in Jordan.

## **Sacrifices**

Hizb ut Tahrir has shed blood and tears for its ideas and its goal to re-establish the Khilafah. From the very beginning in 1953, it has been persecuted across the Muslim world and banned. Its members continue to be harassed, kept under surveillance, deported, jailed, tortured and killed. All this despite it being a completely non-violent group.

In 1953, after the official announcement of its formation, the founding members were arrested. They were asked to abandon the call and even bribed. The party was duly banned while other movements were allowed to operate due to their pragmatic approach towards the Jordanian government.

Laws were passed to prevent HT activities and throughout the 1950's and 60's arrests of members were a routine occurrence. Just to illustrate this point the Shabab would bring their bags packed with their pajamas along with a copy of the speech they were to deliver at the

Masajid, universities or streets knowing that they would be arrested by the authorities immediately.

Abdul Ghani al-Mallah was the first member of Hizb ut Tahrir to be killed under torture by Iraqi Baathist in 1963.

Sheikh Abdul Aziz al-Badri, a prominent past member and well known scholar was tortured and killed in 1969 by the Iraqi Baath party.

Sheikh Taqi was arrested and tortured by the Iraqi government in 1972; for 3 months he was given one spoonful of food a day.

In 1980, Mohammed Mustafa Ramadan was assassinated by Gaddafi outside Regent Park Mosque in London. Gaddafi carried out a personal crusade against Hizb ut Tahrir. In 1983, he murdered thirteen members; they were hanged in universities and schools in front of their teachers, students and families. One of them was brought down still alive, he was hung a second time, then they tied his body to the back of a car which was driven in full view of his family. Mohammed Muhathab Haffaf, after being hanged, the regime supporters continued beating his lifeless body. In April 2012, a commemoration for those killed 30 years earlier was held at the University of Tripoli with the courtyard where they were executed renamed as "The Martyr Mohammed Muhathab Haffaf".

In 1984, Saddam Hussein executed 60 members of the party including several military officers.

In 1999, Farhad Usmanov was killed by Islam Karimov in Uzbekistan. The brutality carried out by Islam Karimov against the Hizb has no limits. Some members of the Hizb have been boiled alive. Even women are not spared. For example, Musharaf Usmanova, the wife of Farhad was arrested too. She later married Ismat Hudoyberdiyev and he too was killed in 2002.

In 2005, in Andijan, a city in Uzbekistan, an estimated 500-700 Muslim men, women and children were massacred by Islam Karimov, many of whom were Dawah carries of the Hizb.

By 2010, approximately 8000 members of Hizb ut Tahrir were imprisoned in Uzbekistan.

In 2012, Naveed Butt, Official Spokesman of Hizb ut Tahrir in Pakistan, was kidnapped by intelligence services in broad daylight and his whereabouts and current status is still unknown.

Additionally, just these last 20 years, thousands of its members have been arrested in Tunisia, Egypt, Tanzania, Yemen, Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Kuwait, Turkey, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Crimea. They are handed out lengthy sentences especially in the Central Asian Republics and Russia.

These are just a few examples of the sacrifices the men and women of HT have made for the sake of Allah (swt) and for the work to re-establish the Khilafah. They are part of this Ummah that suffers together for the cause of Islam. Their crime is nothing but to speak the word of Haqq against these tyrant rulers and calling for the application of Islam. May Allah (swt) raise their ranks in the Akhirah, ease their persecution, return the ones imprisoned back to their families and raise the killed as Shuhada, inshaAllah. Ameen

### **Political Acuity**

The work of revival and re-establishing the Khilafah is political work which is guided by Islam. Political acuity is to have a clear thought, a view point, an ideological perspective, sharpness in thinking, understanding local and international politics and understanding the nature of society. Without these qualities, movements will fail and play into the hands of its enemies and will be unable to tread the path for revival.

There is a "campaign to alienate the Muslims from politics...[it] has reached the extent of depicting politics as contradictory to the greatness and spirituality of Islam. Therefore, the Ummah has to understand the secret behind the war fought by the kaffir states and the puppet rulers against the Islamic groups who are working to revive the Muslims ... [It] is necessary to culture the Ummah with the Islamic culture and to continually inject her with the Islamic political thoughts and rules and explain how these thoughts and rules emanate from the Islamic

Aqeedah...It is also necessary to concentrate this culture from its spiritual aspect in its capacity as the commands and prohibitions of Allah (swt)" - Political Thoughts

The Hizb has constantly demonstrated its accurate understanding of global politics and astuteness in political thinking in general. To illustrate this point, I will go over a few examples.

In the 1950's when the whole Middle East was gripped by Pan-Arabism and enamored by Gamal Abdel Nasser, as the great liberator, Hizb ut Tahrir said he was nothing but an American agent. At the time this was unimaginable. The Hizb suffered a lot due to our strong and unpopular political stand. Members of the party were not only persecuted by the authorities but also the general public at the time.

Furthermore, we said that the formation of the United Arab Republic between Egypt and Syria was part of the US plans in the region while the Arab Union between Jordan and Iraq was Britain's attempt to keep its control.

Decades later our position has been proven to be accurate.

Another example is in July of 1966 we warned that the West Bank will be given under the Zionist entity's control and normalization of relationships will take place between 'Israel' and Jordan. A delegation was sent to warn Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Al-Tall against such a move. He rejected this allegation and said such an event will never happen while he is prime minister. Next year, in June 1967, during the Six Day War, this is exactly what happened. We declared King Hussein as a traitor and of course arrests duly followed.

Similarly, we held Khomeini to account, refuted his constitution and in 1979 said the revolution was backed by the United States. Of course at the time this was unbelievable. Many people including other Islamic movements at the time were completely supportive and/or uncritical of Khomeini and the Iranian Revolution. Even now, we continue to say Iran is an agent of the so-called "great satan" America. This has now been revealed with recent documentation published showing back and forth communication between Khomeini and the CIA. Simply put there is no conflict between Iran and America.

Decades later our position has been proven to be accurate.

In 1999, when General Pervaiz Musharraf came to power in Pakistan, the majority of the public and other Islamic movements supported the coup. However, we clearly said that he was an American agent with plans to end the resistance movements in Kashmir and allow India to consolidate its grip on Kashmir. He was a willing participant of the WOT [war on terrorism] and American plans in the region. Twenty years later, in 2019, Kashmir finally came under complete control of India with tacit acceptance of Pakistan, confirming our understanding of the political situation.

During the Syrian uprising we reaffirmed our position that Bashar Al-Assad was an American agent and the US is the primary player that brought Russia, Iran, Turkey, the Kurdish militia and ISIS to thwart the revolution.

Another example, in 1996 and 1997 we published books called *The American Campaign to Suppress Islam* and *Dangerous Concepts*. In these books we explained terms like Terrorism, Democracy, Freedom, Interfaith, Pluralism etc. as ideas in the war against Islam.

We said, the "current American campaign aims to destroy Islam by making Muslims reject their creed and embrace the creed of secularism and to take Capitalism as a new "Deen" for them as the basis of their thinking...which means to keep Islam completely away from their lives such that nothing remains of it but clerical rituals conducted in the places of worship.

The clearest proof of this fact is that America, while simultaneously campaign[s] to make Capitalism universal, has initiated [a] campaign to fight Islam either by labelling those adherents to Islam as terrorists, or by forcing the corrupt rulers in the Muslim lands to oppress those who are working faithfully to revive the Ummah on the basis of Islam, in addition to distorting the concepts of Islam with the help of these agents and their cronies."

This is exactly what we see today with the WOT / War on Islam. Yet again our ideas and political opinions have been proven to be accurate.

Finally, in December 2021, prior to the war starting between Russia and Ukraine we said, “that Russia is dragging itself into a crisis ... [and] America can ... provoke Russia so that Russia has no room or choice but to invade Ukraine, [where it] gets stuck in the Ukrainian mud and gets in trouble with Europe. Ukraine is not a member state of NATO for America to come to its defense [militarily, rather it will only apply economic sanctions]. If Russia makes a mistake and invades Ukraine, it will provide America with all the justifications for subjugating the European countries and bringing them back under the American cloak under the pretext of standing in line against Russia’s aggressiveness, which is incompatible with the multipolarity of internationalism advocated by Russia. There is also an angle that Russia does not see. [With increased] American pressure on Russia [and] in the event of its invasion of Ukraine, America will have a new tool to dismantle the emerging alliance between Russia and China....if America decides to implicate Russia and push it to war in Ukraine, then Russia will have fallen or been entrapped in its plan.”

Much of what we have said on this issue has now come to pass. All, the above is to draw attention to the fact that the Hizb excels in political acuity and awareness. Hence, it possesses Statesmen that will inshaAllah lead the coming Khilafah.

### **Principles, Consistency & Uncompromising**

HT has been truthful and brave in its politics despite the oppression meted out against it across the world. Since its inception, it has stood on principles, unwavering and uncompromising. Pragmatic politics, political expediency or Maslaha are not part of its DNA. Despite the harassments, arrests, torture and execution of its members, Hizb ut Tahrir has never given an inch to its oppressors.

It has not changed its name, it has not diluted its ideas and nor has it compromised on its method to re-establish the Khilafah. A method it has derived solely from the Qur’an, Sunnah and the Seerah of our Prophet (ﷺ). A method it believes is a Hukm Shar’i.

On principles, we do not take part in secular electoral politics. On principles, we do not seek positions in secular governments. On principles, we do not rub shoulders with our oppressors. On principles, we do not take selfies with the ones who bomb us. On principles, we believe all of this is Haram.

On principles, we do not flatter the tyrant Muslim rulers. On principles, we do not shake their hands. On principles, we do not push their agenda.

On principles, we speak the Haqq despite the consequences on the Hizb or the individual. On principles, we speak the Haqq even if it is not popular.

On principles, we do not change normative ideas of Islam when it suits the political environment or conforms with the Western agenda to reform Islam.

On principles, we do not align with liberals or conservatives. On principles, we do not reform Islam to fit modernity, liberalism or secularism

On principles, we do not dilute the ideas of Khilafah, Sharia, Jihad, Amr bir M’aruf wa nahiya nil Munkar, Hijab, marriage, Hudud etc.

On principles, we tread the path of Prophetic politics and not pragmatism or political expediency.

Being principled is to follow the Deen of Islam in its totality with understanding of its relevant Adillah. Being principles is to be consistent, firm and uncompromising in the obedience of the Deen, in the obedience of Allah (سبحانه وتعالى), in obedience to His command: ﴿وَلَا تَسْتَوُوا بِآيَاتِي تَمَنًّا﴾ **“And do not sell away My verses for a small price”** (Al-Ma’idah 44) ﴿قِيلَ﴾

### **Our Vision**

Today we have shown you a blueprint of our vision for a new future for the Ummah and the world in general. Our vision is for these ideas to become tangible and become a reality so that they can change the lives of humanity. Hence, it imperative to view Islam on its own worldview and epistemology. Often, certain scholars, thinkers, and movements are involved in fitting Islam

in modernity, molding it to fit Western sensitivities and "easing" our existence in Western lands. The vision is limited to finding a comfortable presence in the secular West where we are "free" to practice our religion and are "accepted." Any serious inquiry on this will reveal that such "freedom and acceptance" is just a fallacy.

Of course, we have specific issues to deal with as a 'minority' in the West but such a minority thinking and apolitical localized Islam is not the way of our Prophet (ﷺ).

Our beloved Prophet (ﷺ) and a small group of Muslims in Mecca were a minority. However, he (ﷺ) from the very beginning challenged the status quo, called for uprooting the current system which he (ﷺ) was born in and envisioned a global power that will conquer Rome and Persia. A bold principled position and vision indeed.

Hence, we need to broaden our horizons. What is required is to adopt the Islamic worldview with a vision for the future that seeks to dismantle the darkness of Secularism and enlighten the world under Islamic rule i.e. the Khilafah.

The Ummah has lived without the Law of Allah (سبحانه وتعالى) for 101 Hijri years since the abolishment of the Khilafah, suffering humiliation, oppression, occupation, corruption, wars, disunity, colonization and sheer brutality against its body.

## **Global Political Party**

### **Join the work**

Here today, we present a global Islamic political party dedicated to reviving the Ummah and resuming the Islamic way of life. A global party, in 40 countries from here in America to Australia with ideological consistency, persistence against persecution and sheer determination and will power to attain its goal.

Despite the persecution and media blackout it suffers, it is able to mobilize across the globe for this singular goal.

For example, in 2007, during its annual Rajab campaign in Indonesia, 100,000 attendees filled Jakarta's Gelora Bung Karno Stadium, the majority of whom were women. Last year, for the 100 year Hijri anniversary of the fall of the Khilafah, HT carried out a global campaign from America to Australia, from Uzbekistan to East Africa, and even across Afghanistan.

To re-emphasize, this is not mere sloganeering for Khilafah. Rather, our work seeks to dismantle the current systems in place in the Muslim world and offer the practical solutions for our issues today.

In the American context, HT has taken uncompromising principled stances on several issues affecting the Ummah here in America, especially after 9/11 when many have made abrupt u-turns on vital issues.

From warning the community on the dangers of political participation, CVE programs, War on Terror narratives, identity politics and even on matters related to the secularization of our 'Aqeedah, 'American Islam' and fiqh issues like moon sighting and 'minority fiqh', the Hizb has consistently been involved in the affairs of the Ummah despite the hurdles that are placed in front of it. It has not aligned itself with either a 'liberal' or 'right-wing' agenda nor has it played into the 'good Muslim / bad Muslim' narratives.

HT has upheld bold Islamic principles and opinions on such issues even when they were unpopular without compromise for decades. It has been ahead of its time. It has been ahead of the curve.

It has done so without seeking any worldly accolades, not even a pat on the back, rather it is purely for the concern for the Ummah and to seek Allah's (سبحانه وتعالى) pleasure.

Hizb ut Tahrir, has been at the forefront of this effort and credit needs to be given to it for uplifting the discourse in the Muslim mind to the objective of establishing the Khilafah.

Even its harshest critic, Zeyno Baran had to concede this point. She states, "Hizb ut-Tahrir's greatest achievement to date is that it has shifted the terms of debate within the Muslim world. Until a few years ago, most Islamic groups considered the notion of establishing a new Caliphate

a utopian goal. Now, an increasing number of people consider it a serious objective. And after decades of stressing the existence and unity of a global Islamic community (ummah), Hizb ut Tahrir can take pride in the growing feeling among Muslims that their primary identity stems from and their primary loyalty is owed to their religion, rather than their race, ethnicity, or nationality.” (Fighting the War of Ideas - Zeyno Baran)

The re-establishment of the Khilafah is “an idea whose time has come.”

Patrick Buchanan, states, “Islam survived two centuries of defeats and humiliations of the Ottoman Empire and Ataturk’s abolition of the caliphate. It endured generations of Western rule. It outlasted the pro-Western monarchs in Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Ethiopia and Iran. Islam easily fended off communism, survived the rout of Nasserism in 1967, and has proven more enduring than the nationalism of Arafat or Saddam. Now, it is resisting the world’s last superpower. If Islamic rule is an idea taking hold among the Islamic masses, how does even the best army on earth stop it?” (An idea whose time has come - Patrick Buchanan)

The Khilafah is among the fundamentals of Islam. It is not “extremist” rather it is part of normative Islam. The re-establishment of the Khilafah is an obligation/fard upon us all.

Whether you join the effort or be a spectator or oppose it, one must realize the Ummah's trajectory is moving towards this objective and by the will of Allah (swt) it will be established with you or without you.

The question is where are you on this path?

Allah (swt) says: ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا اسْتَجِيبُوا لِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُولِ إِذَا دَعَاكُمْ لِمَا يُحْيِيكُمْ﴾ “O you who believe! Respond to Allah and to the Messenger when he calls you to that which gives you life.” [Al-Anfal: 24].

Islam and the implementation of Islam is that which gives life to our Ummah.

Look around you, do you not see and feel the pain and the anguish of the Ummah? Look around you, do you not hear the screams and cries of our women and children? Look around you, do you not hear the rape of our women in India and sterilization of women in China. Do you not feel the agony this Ummah is going through? For how long, my brothers and sisters, for how long? For how long will the eyes cry? For how long can the heart bear this pain?

Ya Ummah what is the solution if not the re-establishment of the Khilafah.

Join the work, my brothers and sisters. Join the effort with Hizb ut-Tahrir. A party that has stood on principles, unwavering and uncompromising. A party that has statesmen and visionaries for a new world, a new order, a new Khilafah Rashida, on a method it has not compromised an inch on. Work with Hizb ut Tahrir to help re-establish the Khilafah, ala-Minhaj anNabuwa, on the method of the Prophet (ﷺ).

Finally, remember the promise of Allah (سبحانه وتعالى): ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا إِن تَنصُرُوا اللَّهَ يَنصُرْكُمْ وَيُثَبِّتْ أَقْدَامَكُمْ﴾ “O you who believed if you support Allah, He will support you and plant your feet firmly” [Muhammed 7].

Written for the Central Media Office of Hizb ut Tahrir by

Dr. Abdur-Rafay