

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This part will become the first chapter of this undergraduate thesis, in this chapter the writer divided the chapter into several sub-chapters, started from the background of the problem, the research question, the purpose of research, the theoretical framework, the hypothesis, the methods of research and the systematic of writing.

A. Background

This research attempts to investigate the strategies of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the United Kingdom. Hizb ut-Tahrir is a Revolutionary Islamic party which made the teachings of Islam as an ideology.¹ Hizb ut-Tahrir was established in 1952 in al-Quds (*Baitul Maqdis*). Hizb ut-Tahrir is the Islamic party that rejects any foreign concepts created by western society such as nationalism, democracy, capitalism, socialism and others. They consider all the concepts that contradict the teachings of Islam.

Political party based on Islamic teaching was founded by Sheikh Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani, a scholar graduated from al-Azhar University in Egypt, and had been a judge in the Sharia Court in Palestine. Sheikh Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani also became a teacher after he completed his

¹ Ahmed, H., & Stuart, H. (2009). *Hizb ut-Tahrir Ideology and Strategy*. London: The Centre for Social Cohesion., page 7.

education at the University of al-Azhar. He left teaching in 1938 because he felt the curriculum belonged to 'Western colonialist nations' that were 'prone to corruption'.²

An-Nabhani died in 1977 and was succeeded by Abu Yusuf Abdul Qadim Zallum, another Palestinian cleric. Zallum left Hizb ut-Tahrir's leadership in March 2003, due to his deteriorating health, and died in April 2003. He was succeeded by Ata Ibnu Khaleel Abu Rashta, who previously served as the party's official spokesman in Jordan. Abu Rashta, alias Abu Yasin, is a Palestinian who is believed to have lived most recently in the West Bank. Under his leadership, Hizb ut-Tahrir activities have become more aggressive.³

A political party, Hizb ut-Tahrir, is wishing to change the world order based on Islamic principles. Hizb ut-Tahrir makes politics as their activities (*Dakwah*) to spread their idea. The establishment of Hizb ut-Tahrir as political party is an important point that can benefit them, because with their formation as political party it can facilitate them to interact with the community to carry out its essential purpose. The approach taken by Hizb ut-Tahrir is to join in the midst of the people, and makes Islam as a problem that can attract the attention of people in order to jointly fight in the name of religion. Then, it leads the people to re-

² *Ibid.*, page.14.

³ Baran, Z. *Radical Islamist in Central Asia*, retrieved from: http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/1366/baran_vol2.pdf. Accessed on January 21st, 2015.

establish the Caliphate system and enforces the laws of Allah revealed in a reality of life, in accordance with the original purpose of Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Hizb ut-Tahrir aims to implement an Islamic life and carries the Islamic *da'wah* all over the world. Applying an Islamic life not only in a region or territory in which Islam and its laws guarded, but also applied in existing areas the Islam community. Everything is set in law *Syara'*, halal and haram is treated as an absolute law to regulate the course of life.

Then Hizb ut-Tahrir aims to bring together the entire Muslim world into a single political bloc called *Ummah*. Muslim community raised and pledge allegiance to their leader, namely caliph, someone who believed by the people. A caliph required to run the government or region based on the Quran and Sunnah.

After that, Hizb ut-Tahrir aims to make Islam as a religion that debuted back, as religion that can dominate the world and apply its laws as a rule in the state. Hizb ut-Tahrir wants Islam (people and teaching) free from all forms of colonialism. Hizb ut-Tahrir also aims to deliver guidance (hint *shari'ah*) for mankind, lead the Muslims to oppose the ideas and the legal system of kufr, and kufr thoroughly, so that Islam can envelop the earth.⁴

The main basic idea of Hizb ut-Tahrir is to apply Islamical principles comprehensively by applying the whole system of Islam without compromising with systems made by Western foreigners. This

⁴ *Opcit.*

idea is similar to the thinking of the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwanul Muslimin), but there is little difference. Hizb ut-Tahrir focuses on the application of the caliphate system. They think if peoples want to Islam triumphant return, then the system should be applied as a model of the caliphate of Khulafaur Rasyidin's period. Hizb ut-Tahrir also thinks this concept could explain why Islam could decline due to the penetration of the West. This idea is used as a form of resistance by Hizb ut-Tahrir against Western colonialism.

The existence of Hizb ut-Tahrir has been rejected in Jordan from the inception of this political party. This happened because the Hizb ut-Tahrir tries to spread the political ideology of the caliphate to be applied throughout the world. They assured this idea by comparing the foreign ideology which is now applied to those applied in the heyday of Islam when the Prophet Muhammad led to the collapse of the Ottoman caliphate in Turkey in 1924. This concept was rejected the group of people who run a modern idea, a group of Arab nationalist movements fighting, and movement adopts socialism.

So that from the beginning, Hizb ut-Tahrir is considered as a movement that disrupts the government ways. The government explicitly prohibits all activities in spreading the ideology of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the country (Jordan, where the establishment of Hizb ut-Tahrir). The form of a ban by the government is to arrest all of the core committee of Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Some of the core committees of Hizb ut-Tahrir like Sheikh Taqiuddin an-Nabhani, Ustadz Dawud Hamdan, Munir Syaquir, Ghanim Abduh, and Dr. Abd al-Aziz al-Khiyatt, was arrested and immediately taken into custody by the Jordanian government. Since then, Hizb ut-Tahrir became calendestine movement and banned in Central Asia, South Asia and the Middle East. Although many restrictions obtained by Hizb ut-Tahrir came from the place of establishment of their political party, Palestine and Jordan remains as important places by Hizb ut-Tahrir. Palestine and Jordan are places of regeneration and development of Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Hizb ut-Tahrir considers all countries in the world today as *Dal al-Kufr* (Land of Disbelief) and *Dar al-Harb* (Land of War) because all countries in the world do not apply the rule in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Once they are banned in some regions such as Central Asia, the Middle East and South Asia, Hizb ut-Tahrir seeks to spread their ideas beyond the region and into Europe. Hizb ut-Tahrir again gets a ban in some areas. Islam phobia seems still strongly attached in that State. Restrictions on are shown in real time, such as the arrest of Hizb ut-Tahrir activists arrested then put into prison by a local security officer. Britain, the Netherlands and Australia are some countries that do not prohibit the

activity or an activity of a political party is to spread ideas or run its course.⁵

Islam as a religious minority in the UK can easily carry out religious activity even the government allows organization or political party such as Hizb ut-Tahrir were in the country. In the UK this movement has been active and growing. The UK government allows this movement to exist and develop in the country. There is no such ban to Hizb ut-Tahrir activist arrest, they were allowed to run their activities but should be peaceful and not interfere the safety and convenience of the government and the surrounding community. Hizb ut-Tahrir is an organization that is marginalized or less popular, but Hizb ut-Tahrir still tries to displays or demonstrates their existence in society. As an organization that is formed from a minority religion (Islam), Hizb ut-Tahrir in the UK goal is to create Muslim political bloc together or form a single power and influence to help the global Islamic revolution and ultimately dominate the region to subvert society.

Hizb ut-Tahrir's goal to establish *Khilafah Islamiyah* country in the UK is a very bold goal. Islam is a minority in the European countries in this case in the UK, but they, HT, bravely make UK as the central region of the country with the establishment of the *Khilafah Islamiyah* system and make sharia law as the basic law of the country of their dreams later. It

⁵ *Opcit.*, page 19.

is very interesting to learn, so writer wanted to find out a strategy of Hizb ut-Tahrir to achieve their goals to establish *Khilafah Islamiyah* in the UK.

B. Research Question

From the explanations that have been described in the background, there arose a question: "What are the strategies used by Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain to achieve their goals to establish a *Khilafah Islamiyah* government system?"

C. Purpose of Research

There are several objectives for this essay:

1. Knowing the history of Hizb ut-Tahrir, the strategies used to spread their ideas in the United Kingdom and the obstacles faced by them.
2. Applying theories or concepts learned during the course of writing the undergraduate thesis.
3. As the requirement to fulfill and achieve a Bachelor degree in the International Relations Program, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta.

D. Theoretical Framework

The writer uses the theory of social movements to answer the research question that has been described above.

1. Definition of Social Movement

According to Giddens in Suharko's book, social movement is a collective effort to pursue a common interest, or movement to achieve common goals through collective action outside the scope of establishment institution. Another definition is almost as expressed by Sedney Tarrow about social movement that is, a form of resistance that is performed by a group of ordinary people who joined the group of influential community fatherly against elites, authorities, and other parties. When this movement is supported by other community (social network) is strong, and then perform an action, the resistance leads to a continual interaction with opposing parties, and the result is a social movement. Joint action undertaken by a group of ordinary people who are influential in the community environment to fight is the basis of social movements. Real action is a resource owned by ordinary people in other parties against the more powerful, such as the State. Things that lead to the emergence of social movements in general is dominated by non-governmental organizations were born as a form of protest against the policy of the authorities. Social movements can

operate within the bounds of legality sector in society, but can also move illegally or as an underground group. Social movements have produced some theories, namely the theory of collective action or behaviour, the theory of value added J. Smelser, resource mobilization theory, the theory of the political process, and the theory of new social movements.⁶

According to Suharko (2006)⁷, there are many ways or strategies that can be used by a group of people who join together to achieve their goals (social movement). The selected strategy is usually based on an assessment of the context or setting specific political, considerations facing the opposing party, the targeted issues, strengths and resources of the social movement based organizations.

2. Strategy of Social Movement: Advocacy Strategy

The word 'advocacy' comes from the English, it's a means to educate, to defend, to promote, to create or to change. Advocacy is an effort to correct or change public policy to fit with what they want. In advocacy activities there are some of activities to influence decision-making. Form of activity or advocacy effort is a process of socialization and mobilization. The process of socialization and mobilization is the process or form of awareness activities and the

⁶ Suharko, Ph.D. (2006). *Gerakan Sosial: Konsep, Strategi, Aktor, Hambatan dan Tantangan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia*. Malang: Averroes Press. page 1-9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 11-16.

formation of public opinion and the pressure of organized mass. Examples of such processes of socialization and mobilization are campaign, raising support, discussions, seminars, training, and directing the masses.⁸

Advocacy Strategy is the strategy often used for urgent social changes, such as the reform of democratic governance, protect natural resources or the environment, promoting sustainable development, creating and maintaining peace conflict-prone areas, and so on. This strategy is effective to impose changes in government policy.⁹

According to Suharko (2006), this strategy is often used by non-governmental organizations and is often applied in developed countries or developing countries. If this strategy is used by Hizb ut-Tahrir then combined with media campaigns and alliances foreign donors, the Hizb ut-Tahrir could have a strong power to change government policy.¹⁰ Advocacy strategies considered correspond with the purpose of Hizb ut-Tahrir to change the world order on the policies of the countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceania who decided weeks to implement the system or concept created by the West (Nation claimed by Hizb ut-Tahrir as a nation of *Kufr*) as their governance systems. Hizb ut-Tahrir who reject all concepts created by the West trying to change the policy in each and every country to

⁸ Azizah., N. (2013). *Advokasi Kuota Perempuan di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: LP3M Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta. Page 11-15.

⁹ *Opcit.*, page 13.

¹⁰ *Opcit.*, page 13.

replace the system of government, becoming the *Khilafah Islamiyah* system.

Then, Hizb ut-Tahrir makes the process of socialization and mobilization as a form of activity in advocacy activities. Hizb ut-Tahrir often holds discussions to attract attention or can be regarded as effort to approach the target. The discussion that has been done is to conduct an open forum, then the theme of the forum is usually about the system of government that has been created by the West, "Is the system created by the West is the best system?". Then, "Is the system created by the West has considered about equal rights of every citizen?", And many other themes. Then, on the sidelines of the discussion, HT trying to enter and introduce about their ideas, the *Khilafah Islamiyah*, to forum participants. Hizb ut-Tahrir seeks to provide that the *Khilafah Islamiyah* is the only system that is fair and can answer the concerns of the people.

3. Motives and Obstacles of Social Movements

According to Suharko (2006)¹¹, social movements have several motives, such as economic motives, social prestige, and political power. The diversity of motive of each actor involved giving some influences in the social movement. As follows:

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Page 23-26.

Table 1: Motives of Social Movement

| Motive | Kind of Actor | Influence in Social Movement |
|--|----------------------|--|
| Economic (land, money, etc.) | Materialist | Will stop when it profit the economy, or if according to the calculations of economic it will not possible to gets anymore |
| Politic (Power) | Opportunist | Tend to stop if it has get on political advantage, or even stop if his involvement in social movements can threaten his political position |
| Generalized Belief (application of the norm or socialization value) | Idealist | Will likely continue to struggle with the values or norms which he believes is received or applied. They are often dare to sacrifice their lives |

Source: Suharko (2006: 26)

Based on the table above, Hizb ut-Tahrir is classified in the social movement that has the Generalized Belief motive with the idealistic type of actor. The influence of the movement Hizb ut-Tahrir is to sensitize people about the necessity of this world to establish a state-Islamic caliphate, and they are willing to sacrifice their life in order to achieve their common goals.

In social movements¹², obstacles usually come from internal and external actors themselves. This can be illustrated in the table below:

Table 2: The Obstacles of Social Movement

| Micro Aspects (Internal Self Actor) | Macro Aspects (External Self Actor) |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-ideology • Self-values • Perspective view of the actor or of a growing phenomenon • Self-resources • Self-commitment • <i>Espirit de corps</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitude of structural • Structural Tension • Implementation of government • Development strategy • Growing political model • Development: Human Rights, justice, democracy, and the environment • This situation is ongoing, both locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. |

Source: Suharko (2006: 27)

Based on the table above, the Hizb ut-Tahrir might be able to face two obstacles in terms of time, internal and external. In internal self-actor, possible obstacles faced by Hizb ut-Tahrir like the self-ideology, self-values, self-resources and self-commitment. Because the common problem will be faced by social movement based on themselves. Sometimes a person in the organization is often inconsistent with the words, thoughts and treatment. This mismatch will be a time bomb. It can destroy the organization that has been formed.

¹² *Opcit.*, page 27.

Dominant obstacles to be faced by Hizb ut-Tahrir in achieving the goal in the UK are the barriers that come from external factors. While in terms of external self-actors, the possibility of obstacles to be faced by Hizb ut-Tahrir can come from all sides. Because some aspects of the macro specified in the table above makes it possible to be faced by Hizb ut-Tahrir in spreading their ideas throughout the world. One example of external obstacles that have been faced by Hizb ut-Tahrir is catching some of their activists while spreading the ideas of the organization. The Jordanian government was disturbed by the presence of Hizb ut-Tahrir in his country. The arrests were carried out by the government is a form of assertiveness government banned this movement is in Jordan.

E. Hypothesis

By relating the problems and a theoretical framework that has existed in this study, it can be conclude as early conclusion to answer the subject matter of the writing of this undergraduate thesis, namely:

1. The strategies in the UK

a. The strategy of Hizb ut-Tahrir toward Muslims of UK

First, Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain tries to interact with the British Muslim by doing approach. Secondly, after the Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain does approach, Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain tried to gain the

trust of British Muslims that Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political party that makes Islam as their ideology and fight for the rights of Muslims in this world. Third, Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain began proselytizing about a Muslim must be in a single political bloc and used *Khilafah Islamiyah* as government system.

b. The strategy of Hizb ut-Tahrir against non-Muslims of UK

First, they will show to all of non-Muslim in UK about how the life of Muslim society. Looking for attention of non-Muslim of UK exemplifies how neighbors and state life in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Second, if non-Muslim of UK was interested in Islam, Hizb ut-Tahrir activists try to keep the non-Muslims can transform into Islamic beliefs.

F. Method of Research

This undergraduate thesis will use qualitative methods by way of data collection. The writer uses several ways to collect the data in order to discuss the activities of Hizb ut-Tahrir, as follows:

1. Library Research, is collecting data and information relating to the examined issues either in the form of books, articles, documents or newspaper.

2. Media Research, is collecting data from media like internet websites in order to find references and sources to accomplish the explanation on the problem.

G. Systematic of Writing

This undergraduate thesis will be carried out systematically in order to facilitate the interpretation of the topic of problems and then this thesis will be divided into five chapters consisting of:

Chapter I : Introduction that consists of background, research question, purpose of research, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, and systematic of writing.

Chapter II : The rise of Hizb ut-Tahrir. In this chapter will describe about the history, ideology, structure of Hizb ut-Tahrir and the development of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the world.

Chapter III : Hizb ut-Tahrir in the United Kingdom. In this chapter will describe about Hizb ut-Tahrir in the United Kingdom, the strategy and implementation of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the United Kingdom.

Chapter IV : The obstacles faced by Hizb ut-Tahrir in the United Kingdom.

Chapter V : The Conclusion, conclude about the all chapters before.