

O‘ZBEKISTON XALQARO ISLOM SHUNOSLIK AKADEMIYASI
HUZURIDAGI ILMIY DARAJALAR BERUVCHI
DSc.15/2025.27.12.IsI/Tar.01.01 RAQAMLI ILMIY KENGASH

O‘ZBEKISTON XALQARO ISLOM SHUNOSLIK AKADEMIYASI

ELMIRZAYEV FARRUX YO‘LCHIBOYEVICH

“HIZBUT-TAHRIR” UYUSHMASI G‘OYAVIY-AQIDAVIY
MAFKURASINING REAKSION MOHIYATI

24.00.03 – Fiqh, kalom ilmi. Ilohiyot

ISLOM SHUNOSLIK FANLARI BO‘YICHA FALSAFA DOKTORI (PhD)
DISSERTATSIYASI AVTOREFERATI

Toshkent - 2026

**Islomshunoslik fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD) dissertatsiyasi
avtoreferati mundarijasi**

**Contents of the author's abstract of the dissertation submitted for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Islamic Studies**

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по исломоведению**

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Falsafa doktori (PhD) dissertatsiyasi mavzusi O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Fanlar akademiyasi huzuridagi Oliy attestatsiya komissiyasida B2022.2.PhD/Isl96 raqam bilan ro‘yxatga olingan.

Dissertatsiya O‘zbekiston xalqaro islomshunoslik akademiyasida bajarilgan.

Dissertatsiya avtoreferati uch tilda (o‘zbek, ingliz, rus (rezyume)) Ilmiy kengash veb-sahifasida (www.iiu.uz) va “ZiyoNET” axborot-ta’lim portalida (www.ziyounet.uz) joylashtirilgan.

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Yetakchi tashkilot:

Imom Buxoriy xalqaro ilmiy-tadqiqot markazi

Dissertatsiya himoyasi O‘zbekiston xalqaro islomshunoslik akademiyasi huzuridagi ilmiy darajalar beruvchi DSc.15/2025.27.12.Isl/Tar.01.01 raqamli Ilmiy kengashning 2026-yil “___” -oktabr soat ____ dagi onlayn/offlayn majlisida bo‘lib o‘tadi. (Manzil: 100011, Toshkent shahri, A.Qodiriy ko‘chasi, 11-uy, Tel.: (99871) 244 94 70, Faks: (99871) 244 00 65, e-mail: info@iiu.uz. O‘zbekiston xalqaro islomshunoslik akademiyasi)

Dissertatsiya bilan O‘zbekiston xalqaro islomshunoslik akademiyasining Axborot-resurs markazida tanishish mumkin. (297-raqam bilan ro‘yxatga olingan.) (Manzil: 100011, Toshkent shahri, A.Qodiriy ko‘chasi, 11-uy. Tel.: (99871) 244 00 56; faks: (99871) 244 00 65; e-mail: info@iiu.uz)

Dissertatsiya avtoreferati 2026-yil “_____” -sentabr kunida tarqatildi.

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KIRISH (falsafa doktori (PhD) dissertatsiyasi annotatsiyasi)

Dissertatsiya mavzusining dolzarbligi va zarurati. Jahonda tinchlik va barqarorlikka xavf tug'dirayotgan din niqobi ostida faoliyat yurituvchi ekstremistik tashkilotlar global tahdid o'laroq, alohida kuzatuv va tahlilni ham talab qilmoqda. So'nggi yillarda radikallashuv, ekstremizmning kuchayib borishi nafaqat xavfsizlik, balki ijtimoiy ong va diniy qadriyatlarga ham jiddiy salbiy ta'sir ko'rsatmoqda. Ayniqsa, xalifalik tuzumini tiklash va mavjud davlat tuzilmalarini ag'darish g'oyasiga asoslangan "Hizbut-tahrir" (حزب التحرير) tashkiloti o'zining ekstremistik mafkurasi va yashirin targ'ibotlari orqali ijtimoiy barqarorlik hamda diniy birdamlikka tahdid solib, global xavfsizlik muammolarini yanada keskinlashtirmoqda. "Hizbut-tahrir"ning g'oyaviy-aqidaviy asoslari, siyosiy maqsadlari va targ'ibot usullarini barqarorlik hamda ijtimoiy muhitga ta'siri bilan bog'liq holda tadqiq etish dolzarb ahamiyat kasb etadi.

Dunyoda ekstremistik g'oyalarning tarqalishi va ularning ijtimoiy-siyosiy ta'siri kuchayib borayotgan sharoitda, mazkur jarayonlarni baholashga ixtisoslashgan ilmiy tadqiqot muassasalari tomonidan "Hizbut-tahrir"ning yoshlar orasida radikal qarashlari targ'iboti, moliyalashtirish mexanizmlari hamda tarixiy ildizlari o'rganilmoqda. Arab ilmiy muhitida: tashkilotning kelib chiqishi, fiqhiy-aqidaviy asoslari va "xalifalik" haqidagi da'volari, G'arb tadqiqotlarida: radikallashuv jarayonlari, kommunikatsiya strategiyalari va media resurslardan foydalanish shakllari, Rossiya va Markaziy Osiyoda tashkilot xavfsizlik hamda huquqiy-tashkiliy nuqtayi nazaridan o'rganilib, uning tuzilmasi, profilaktika choralari o'rganilmoqda. "Hizbut-tahrir" faoliyatining ayrim jihatlari xalqaro ilmiy adabiyotlarda o'rganilgan bo'lsa-da, uning g'oyaviy-aqidaviy qarashlari, tashkiliy tuzilmasi va targ'ibot usullarini o'zaro bog'liq holda tadqiq etish dolzarb ahamiyat kasb etadi.

Yangi O'zbekistonda "Jaholatga qarshi ma'rifat" tamoyili asosida aholini ekstremistik va radikal g'oyalar ta'siridan asrashga alohida e'tibor qaratilmoqda. "Hizbut-tahrir fitnasidan ogohlantirish", "Xavfsiz kelajak sari: ekstremizmni bartaraf etishda bag'rikenglikning o'rni", "Tafakkur transformatsiyasi: ekstremistik g'oyalarga qarshi kurashda ta'limning o'rni" kabi ilmiy-uslubiy adabiyotlar ana shu maqsadda tayyorlandi. O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidenti Shavkat Mirziyoyev ta'kidlaganidek, "Bugungi tahlikali dunyoda xalqimiz, ayniqsa, yoshlarga islom mohiyatini to'g'ri tushuntirib berish, jaholatga qarshi ma'rifat bilan kurashish har qachongidan dolzarb ahamiyat kasb etmoqda"¹. Shundan kelib chiqib, "Hizbut-tahrir" mafkurasida ilgari surilgan da'volarni tahlil qilish, uning reaksiya mohiyatini ochib berish va bunday g'oyalarga qarshi mafkuraviy profilaktika ishlarini ilmiy asosda takomillashtirish zarurati yuzaga kelmoqda.

O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidentining 2018-yil 19-sentyabrdagi PF-5542-son "Terroristik, ekstremistik yoki boshqa taqiqlangan tashkilot va guruhlar tarkibiga adashib kirib qolgan O'zbekiston Respublikasi fuqarolarini jinoiy javobgarlikdan ozod etish tartibini takomillashtirish to'g'risida"gi, 2021-yil 1-iyuldagi PF-6255-son

¹ Diniy-ma'rifiy yo'nalishlardagi ishlar sarhisob qilindi // O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidentining rasmiy veb-sayti. – 2023-yil 28-aprel. – URL: <https://president.uz/oz/lists/view/6237> (murojaat sanasi: 27.08.2026)

“2021–2026-yillarga mo‘ljallangan ekstremizm va terrorizmga qarshi kurashish bo‘yicha O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Milliy strategiyasini tasdiqlash to‘g‘risida”gi hamda 2025-yil 21-apreldagi PF-68-son “Fuqarolarning vijdon erkinligi huquqi kafolatlarini yanada mustahkamlash hamda diniy-ma‘rifiy sohadagi islohotlarni yangi bosqichga olib chiqish chora-tadbirlari to‘g‘risida”gi farmonlarida, O‘zbekiston Respublikasining 2018-yil 30-iyuldagi O‘RQ-489-son “Ekstremizmga qarshi kurashish to‘g‘risida”gi Qonuni hamda sohaga doir boshqa me‘yoriy-huquqiy hujjatlarda belgilangan vazifalarni amalga oshirishda ushbu dissertatsiya ishi muayyan darajada xizmat qiladi.

Tadqiqotning respublika fan va texnologiyalari rivojlanishining ustuvor yo‘nalishlariga mosligi. Dissertatsiya respublika fan va texnologiyalari rivojlanishining I. “Axborotlashgan jamiyat va demokratik davlatni ijtimoiy, huquqiy, iqtisodiy, madaniy, ma‘naviy-ma‘rifiy rivojlantirishda innovatsion g‘oyalar tizimini shakllantirish va ularni amalga oshirish yo‘llari” nomli ustuvor yo‘nalishiga muvofiq amalga oshirilgan.

Muammoning o‘rganilganlik darajasi. Uyushmaning g‘oyaviy ildizlari, shakllanish omillari va faoliyat xususiyatlariga oid adabiyotlar tahlilidan kelib chiqib, ushbu masala yuzasidan shakllangan ilmiy qarashlarni shartli ravishda uch guruhga ajratish mumkin.

Birinchi guruhni: “Hizbut-tahrir”ning vujudga kelishi, mafkuraviy ildizlari, tashkiliy tuzilmasi va maqsadlariga bag‘ishlangan xorijiy tadqiqotlar tashkil etadi. Xususan, E.Karagiannis, M.Topchi, G.Qilichogli, J.Yetoat hamda H.Karimiyning² izlanishlarida uyushmaning Markaziy Osiyodagi faoliyati va uning mintaqa davlatlariga ta’siri ko‘rib chiqilgan. A.Aktash³ Turkiya va O‘zbekiston misolida uyushma g‘oyalarining tarqalish omillarini qiyosiy asosda tahlil qilgan, A.Pozdnyakov, V.Ranchinskiy va Ye.Yegorov⁴ tadqiqotlarida esa, tashkilotning ichki tuzilishi hamda mafkuraviy shakllanish bosqichlariga e’tibor qaratilgan, Z.Baran uyushmaning kelib chiqishi, yetakchilari, g‘oyaviy asoslari, ayollar va yoshlar orasida olib borilgan targ‘ibot usullarini tahlil etgan, H.Azad esa, uning tarixini va ijtimoiy-siyosiy jarayonlarga munosabatini yoritgan. S.Faruqiy⁵ “Hizbut-tahrir”ni xalqaro miqyosdagi global tarmoq sifatida ko‘rsatgan. Shuningdek, Z.Abuza, J.Brendon, B.Farmer, J.Jerman, L.Xatib va S.Svikning⁶ ishlarida tashkilotning xalifalikni

² E.Karagiannis Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami: The Challenge of a Non-Violent Radical Islam // Terrorism and Political Violence . 2021; Topchi, M.C. va Kılıçoglu, G. Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Türkistan’da Radikal Dini Hareketler ve Faaliyetler: Hizb’ut-Tahrir Örneği // Pamukkale Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi. 2022.; Javad Etaat, Hasan Karimi Hizbut-tahrir party and its influence in Central Asia. Tehran: Shahid Beheshti University, 2018;

³ Aktaş A. Hizb-ut Tahrir Yapılanması Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz: Özbekistan ve Türkiye Örneği // Harran Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi -2021. - № 45.

⁴ Поздняков А. Н. Структура и признаки типичных террористических организаций религиозного толка, подлежащих выявлению и документированию органами внутренних дел (на примере “Хизб ут-Тахрир”) // Право и государство: теория и практика. – 2023; Ранчинский В. П. “Хизб ут-Тахрир” (партия освобождения): создание и идеология на этапе становления // Вестник Брянского государственного университета. – 2017; Егоров Е. Н. “Хизб ут-Тахрир” на Западе: идеология и деятельность // Исламоведение. – 2017.

⁵ Zeyno Baran, Fighting the War of Ideas // Foreign Affairs. 2005; Hasan Azad, (Im)Possible Muslims: Hizb ut-Tahrir, the Islamic State, and Modern Muslimness. Columbia, Columbia University press, 2017; Suha Taji-Farouki A Fundamental Quest: Hizb al-Tahrir and the Search for the Islamic Caliphate. London: Grey Seal, 1996.

⁶ Abuza Z. Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia. - Routledge, 2007; Brandon J. Hizb-ut-Tahrir’s Growing Appeal Arab World - 2006; Farmer B. R. Understanding Radikal Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-first

tiklashga qaratilgan strategiya hamda hokimiyatni egallash mexanizmlari tahlil qilingan. Mazkur tadqiqotlar uyushmaning siyosiy yoʻnalishi va tashkiliy strategiyasini anglashda muhim oʻrin tutadi, biroq ularning aksariyatida aqidaviy-fiqhiy asoslar bilan amaliy targʻibot mexanizmlari oʻrtasidagi ichki bogʻliqlik yetarli darajada ochib berilmagan.

Ikkinchi guruhga: Oʻzbekiston va Markaziy Osiyo sharoitida diniy-ekstremistik tuzilmalarning faoliyati, ularning jamiyat barqarorligiga taʼsiri va tarqalish omillariga bagʻishlangan milliy tadqiqotlar kiradi. A.Hasanov, A.Abduvaxitov, B.Babadjanov, Z.Munavvarov, A.Zakurlayev, J.Toshqulov, O.Yusupov, Oʻ.Hasanboyev, D.Raximjonov, A.Karimov, K.Shermuhamedov, Sh.Islamov⁷ kabi tadqiqotchilar tomonidan diniy oqimlarning shakllanishi, ijtimoiy munosabatlarga taʼsiri, shuningdek, mintaqadagi ekstremistik tahdidlar tahlil etilgan. Ushbu ilmiy izlanishlar muammoning milliy va mintaqaviy kontekstini tushunishda muhim oʻringa ega, shu bilan birga, ularda uyushmaning eʼtiqodiy qarashlari, mafkuraviy va taʼsir koʻrsatish mexanizmlari koʻproq umumiy diniy-ekstremistik jarayonlar doirasida koʻrib chiqilgan boʻlib, uyushmaning oʻziga xos aqidaviy va tashkiliy xususiyatlari mustaqil tadqiqot obyekti sifatida tadqiq etilmagan.

Uchinchi guruhni islom ulamolari va huquqshunos olimlarning diniy raddiyalari hamda ushbu masalalarga oid qonunchilik masalalariga oid tadqiqotlar tashkil etadi. Muhammad Sodiq Muhammad Yusuf va Abdulaziz Mansur⁸ uyushmaning aqidaviy xatolarini birlamchi diniy manbalar asosida tanqidiy baholashgan. M.Rajabova, J.Toshqulov va A. Zakurlayev⁹ esa, ekstremistik va terroristik xususiyatga ega

Century. - Bern: Peter Lang, 2007; Jarmon J. A. The New Era in U.S. National Security: An Introduction to Emerging Threats and Challenges. - Rowman & Littlefield, 2014; Khatib L., Lust E. Taking to the Streets: The Transformation of Arab Activism. - Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014; Swick, Sarah. From London to Andijan: The rising global influence of Hizb ut-Tahrir among Muslim youth. Muslims and Islam in the Chaotic Modern World: Relations of Muslims among Themselves and with Others. Temple University, Philadelphia, 2005;

⁷ Hasanov A. Islom ekstremizmining gʻoyaviy ildizlari // Jaholatga qarshi maʼrifat – tinchlik va barqarorlik asosi. - Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2003; Абдувахитов А. Братья-мусульмане на общественно-политической арене Египта и Сирии в 1928–1963 гг.: дисс. ... канд. ист. наук. – Ташкент, 1990; Бабаджанов Б. Ферганская долина: источник или жертва исламского фундаментализма? // Центральная Азия и Кавказ. – 1999. - № 4 (5); Бабаджанов Б., Муминов А., фон Кюгельген А. Диспуты мусульманских религиозных авторитетов в Центральной Азии в XX веке: критические издания и исследования источников. — Алматы: Дайк-Пресс, 2007; Munavvarov Z., Hasanov A. Islom: hanafiylik va vahhobiylik. –Toshkent: Movarounnahr, 1998; A.Zakurlayev. Gʻoyalar kurashi. – Toshkent: Movarounnahr, 2000; Diniy bagʻrikenglik va mutaassiblik: (yuz savolga-yuz javob) /O.Yusupov. – Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2013; Hasanboyev Oʻ. Oʻzbekistonda davlat va din munosabatlari: diniy tashkilotlar, oqimlar, mafkuraviy kurashning dolzarb yoʻnalishlari. – Toshkent, 2014; Rahimjonov D. Maʼrifat – tinchlik asosi. – Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2007; Karimov A. Dunyoviylik dahriylik emas yoxud Hizbut-tahrirning daʼvolari xususida mulohazalar. – T.: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2005; Shermuhamedov K. XX-XXI asr boshlarida Misr ijtimoiy-siyosiy hayotida “Musulmon birodarlar” uyushmasining faoliyati. Dinshunoslik fanlari boʻyicha falsafa doktori (PhD)... avtoref. – Toshkent, 2021; Islamov Sh. “ISHID” terrorchi tashkilotining axborot xuruji va uni bartaraf etish yoʻllari: tarix fanlari boʻyicha falsafa doktori (PhD)... avtoref. – Toshkent, 2020.

⁸ Muhammad Sodiq Muhammad Yusuf. Din nasixatdir. – T.: Sharq, 2006; Alimov U., Mansur A., Tursun A. “Hizbut-tahrir” fitnasidan ogohlantirish. – Toshkent: Movarounnahr, 2015.

⁹ Rajabova M. Diniy ekstremizm va terrorizmga qarshi kurashning jinoiy-huquqiy muammolari. Yurid.fan. doktori diss... avtoref. – Toshkent, 2002.; Rajabova M.A. Shariatda jinoyat va jazo. – Toshkent: Adolat, 1996; Rajabova M.A. Diniy ekstremizm va terrorchilikka qarshi kurash muammolari. – Toshkent: Oʻzbekiston, 2003; Toshqulov J. Terrorizmga qarshi kurashning ayrim huquqiy kafolatlari. – Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti 2008; Zakurlayev A. Oʻzbekiston rivojiga tahdid solayotgan gʻayriqonuniy diniy oqim va terrorchilik tashkilotlari. Taraqqiyot, asliyat va mohiyat. – Toshkent: Oʻzbekiston Respublikasi IIV, 2020.

jinoyatlarning huquqiy tavsifi hamda ularga qarshi kurashning normativ mexanizmlarini takomillashtirish masalalarini o'rganishga e'tibor qaratganlar.

Mazkur masalalarni o'rganishga bag'ishlangan ilmiy tadqiqotlar ko'lami keng bo'lib, ular mavzuning ilmiy hamda amaliy jihatlarini yoritishda muayyan hissa qo'shgan. Mavjud izlanishlar "Hizbut-tahrir" tashkiloti g'oyaviy-aqidaviy mafkurasining reaksion mohiyatini mustaqil ilmiy tadqiqot obyekti sifatida tizimli va chuqur tahlil qilish ehtiyojini to'liq qondirmaydi. Ayni jihat ushbu muammoni tarixiy, nazariy va amaliy nuqtayi nazardan atroflicha tadqiq etish zaruratini yuzaga keltiradi. Shu ma'noda, mazkur masala zamonaviy ilmiy izlanishlar doirasida dolzarbligini saqlab qolmoqda.

Dissertatsiya tadqiqotining dissertatsiya bajarilgan oliy ta'lim muassasasining ilmiy-tadqiqot ishlari rejalarini bilan bog'liqligi. Dissertatsiya O'zbekiston xalqaro islom akademiyasining ilmiy tadqiqot ishlari rejalariga muvofiq FZ – 202002145 "Dinlar tarixi, ta'limoti, manbalari va an'alarini tadqiq etish asosida "Dunyo dinlari" elektron dasturi va mobil ilovasini yaratish" (2021-2023 y.y.) mavzuidagi ilmiy loyihasi doirasida bajarilgan.

Tadqiqotning maqsadi "Hizbut-tahrir" uyushmasi g'oyaviy-aqidaviy mafkurasining reaksion mohiyatini ochib berishdan iborat.

Tadqiqotning vazifalari:

XX asrda arab dunyosidagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy vaziyat va "Hizbut-tahrir"ning yuzaga kelish sabablarini ochib berish;

Taqiyuddin Nabahoniy radikal qarashlarining jamiyatga ta'sirini aniqlash;
tadqiqotlarda uyushma buzg'unchi g'oyalarining reaksion va ular mazmunini yoritishdagi yondashuvlarni aniqlash;

uyushmaning faoliyat usullari va ta'sir vositalarini aniqlash;
tashkilot siyosiy-g'oyaviy mafkurasida davlat tuzilishi, shakli va boshqaruviga oid qarashlar mohiyatini yoritish;

"Hizbut-tahrir" mafkurasidagi fiqhiy asoslarni tanqidiy tahlil qilish;
harakatning mafkuraviy targ'ibotiga qarshi kurashishdagi muammolarni aniqlash;

uyushma radikal g'oyalariga nisbatan mafkuraviy xavfsizlikni ta'minlashda xorijiy tajribani o'rganish;

O'zbekiston Respublikasida ekstremistik g'oyalar ta'siriga tushgan shaxslarga qarshi kurash chora-tadbirlari samaradorligini oshirish hamda taklif va tavsiyalar ishlab chiqish.

Tadqiqotning obyekti sifatida "Hizbut-tahrir" uyushmasi faoliyati olingan.

Tadqiqotning predmetini "Hizbut-tahrir" g'oyaviy-aqidaviy mafkurasi, siyosiy qarashlari, mafkuraviy xavfsizlikni ta'minlash masalalari tashkil etadi.

Tadqiqotning usullari. Tadqiqotda ilmiy obyektivlik tamoyiliga qat'iy rioya qilingan bo'lib, analiz va sintez, tizimli tahlil, qiyosiy tahlil, umumlashtirish, tarixiy-mantiqiy yondashuv hamda sinergetik tahlil kabi usullardan foydalanilgan.

Tadqiqotning ilmiy yangiligi quyidagilardan iborat:

"Hizbut-tahrir" targ'ibotida an'anaviy halqa (حلقه) darslari o'rini ijtimoiy tarmoqlardagi platformalar egallab, ijtimoiy-maishiy muammolarga diniy tus berib,

soxta yechimlar orqali fuqarolar ishonchini suiiste'mol qilish va shaxsiy muloqot bosqichida ularga nisbatan "raqamli tuzoq" amaliyoti qo'llanilishi isbotlangan;

uyushmaning ayollar qanoti – "mushrifa" (مشرفة) institutini doimiy takomillashtirish, nikoh va oilaviy rishtalarni mafkuraviy birodarlik vositasiga aylantirish amaliyoti ayollar o'rtasida diniy radikallashtirishni tizimli kengaytirishga qaratilgan o'ziga xos maxsus strategiyasi ekani dalillangan;

harakat reaksion g'oyalarida zamonaviy siyosiy tizimlarni rad etishi va qat'iy shar'iy boshqaruv targ'ibotiga qaratilgan g'oya bilan "jamiyat yuz yildan ortiq davr mobaynida xalifasiz jaholatda yashayapti" degan da'vo asosida uyushma faoliyatiga qarshilarni takfirda ayblayotgani asoslangan;

uyushma g'oyalarini qo'llab-quvvatlovchi shaxslarning oilasi, sobiq a'zolar va malakali mutaxassislar hamkorligida doimiy muloqot, aqidaviy-fiqhiy va siyosiy-huquqiy dalillarga suyangen raddiyalar orqali ularni g'oyasidan qaytarish mexanizmi samarali natija berishi isbotlangan.

Tadqiqotning amaliy natijalari quyidagilardan iborat:

"Hizbut-tahrir"ning "xalifalik" atrofida shakllangan siyosiy mafkurasini o'rganish natijasida, ekstremistik g'oyalar tarqalishining asosiy mexanizmlari sifatida halqalar orqali yopiq ta'lim tizimi, "biz va ular" tamoyiliga asoslangan ichki ijtimoiy chegara, Qur'on va hadislarning o'z maqsadlariga muvofiq talqin qilinishi hamda diniy masalalarning siyosiy lashtirilishi aniqlanib, ular ilgari surayotgan xalifalik davlatining ijtimoiy-siyosiy tizimini tahlil qilish asosida mazkur hodisani izohlashga xizmat qiluvchi nazariy-mafkuraviy baza shakllantirilgan;

uyushmaning tashkiliy tuzilmasida maxsus yetakchilar va mushriflarni tayyorlash tizimi mavjud bo'lib, ularning yangi a'zolarini g'oyaviy-aqidaviy jihatdan shakllantirishdagi faol ishtiroki, xalifalik davrining ideallashtirilgan tarixiy modeli hamda "oltin asr" konsepsiyasi orqali hozirgi siyosiy vaziyatdan norozi qatlamlarni jalb qilish usullari, shuningdek, hududiy, ijtimoiy va yosh xususiyatlariga moslashtirilgan g'oyalarni tez tarqatish mexanizmlari ochib berilgan;

tadqiqot davomida O'zbekiston va xorijiy davlatlar tajribasi qiyosiy tahlil qilinib, "Hizbut-tahrir"ga qarshi kurashishda jazoni ijro etish muassasalaridagi hamda ozodlikka chiqqan "hizbiy"lar va ularning oila a'zolarini g'oyaviy jihatdan sog'lomlashtirish yo'nalishida ijtimoiylashtirish va "qaytaruv guruhlari" tomonidan amalga oshirilayotgan individual va jamoaviy suhbatlar samarali tajriba sifatida baholanib, ularni "O'zbekiston tajribasi" sifatida xalqaro miqyosda eksport qilish imkoniyatlari isbotlangan;

tadqiqotning ilmiy natijalaridan huquqni muhofaza qiluvchi organlar hamda mafkuraviy xavfsizlik sohasida faoliyat yurituvchi mutaxassislar uchun tayyorlangan – "Zamonaviy terroristik va ekstremistik tashkilotlarning jamiyatga tahdidi", "Jihodchilar ekstremistik oqimining vujudga kelishi: maqsad va vazifalari" hamda "O'quvchilar va yoshlar o'rtasida radikallashtirishning oldini olish" kabi amaliy qo'llanmalar yaratishda foydalanilgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining ishonchliligi. Tadqiqot natijalarining ishonchliligi metodologik bazaning yaratilgani, Sharq va G'arb ilmiy maktablarida rivojlangan bir qator ilmiy tadqiqot usullaridan foydalanilgani, ilmiy xulosalarni ilgari surishda Qur'on oyatlari, hadislarga tayanilgani, dalillar bilan asoslangani hamda falsafiy,

qiyosiy-tarixiy usullardan foydalanilgani, tadqiqot natijalarining amaliyotga joriy etilgani hamda olingan natijalarning vakolatli tashkilotlar tomonidan tasdiqlangani bilan izohlanadi.

Tadqiqot natijalarining ilmiy va amaliy ahamiyati. Tadqiqot natijalarining ilmiy ahamiyati olingan natijalarning turli oqim va toifalarni o'rganishda yangicha ilmiy yondashuv va tadqiqotlarga asos bo'lishi, oqim vakillari bilan ishlashda ilmiy-nazariy jihatlarni takomillashtirish, yoshlarni jaholat, yot g'oyalardan himoya qilish borasidagi bilim va ko'nikmalarini kuchaytirishda samarali ta'sir etishi bilan izohlanadi.

Tadqiqot natijalarining amaliy ahamiyati dissertatsiyada bayon etilgan mulohazalar, tahliliy natijalar va xulosalar O'zbekiston xalqaro islomshunoslik akademiyasi va Ichki ishlar vazirligi akademiyasida o'qitiladigan "Din niqobidagi tahdidlarga qarshi immunitetni shakllantirish asoslari", "Islom va hozirgi zamon", "Axborot iste'moli madaniyati" kabi ijtimoiy-gumanitar fanlar bo'yicha darslik, o'quv qo'llanma, ma'ruza matnlari tayyorlashda, shuningdek, mutaassib shaxslar bilan ishlashda tavsiyaviy qo'llanma bo'la olishi bilan izohlanadi.

Tadqiqot natijalarining joriy qilinishi. "Hizbut-tahrir" uyushmasi g'oyaviy-aqidaviy mafkurasining reaksiyon mohiyatini o'rganish bo'yicha amalga oshirilgan ilmiy tadqiqot natijalari asosida:

"Hizbut-tahrir"ning yoshlar ongida radikal kayfiyat va tegishlilik hissini shakllantirishga xizmat qiluvchi psixologik ta'sir mexanizmlari sifatida, bir tomondan, halqa (حلقة) darslari, ikkinchi tomondan esa, ijtimoiy tarmoqlarda ijtimoiy, iqtisodiy va siyosiy jihatdan dolzarb mavzular asosida dalildan ko'ra, hissiy ta'sirga tayangan sun'iy bahslarni yuzaga keltirish, bu mavzularga diniy tus berish orqali qiziqish va shubhani kuchaytirish, keyin esa yuqori emotsional holatdagi shaxslarni ajratib olib, ular bilan shaxsiy muloqot asosida g'oyalarni tezkor og'dirish usulidan foydalanilayotganiga oid ilmiy xulosalardan "O'quvchilar va yoshlar orasida radikallashtirishning oldini olish" nomli kitobni chop etishda foydalanilgan (O'zbekiston Respublikasi Ichki ishlar vazirligining 2026- yil 14-martdagi 16/T4-1672-son ma'lumotnomasi). Natijada, kitob huquqni muhofaza qiluvchi organlar xodimlari va tinglovchilari uchun muhim qo'llanma sifatida xizmat qilmoqda;

"Hizbut-tahrir"ning zamonaviy siyosiy tizimlarni qat'iy rad etishi, Usmonli xalifaligining tugatilishini shar'iy hukm barham topgan holat sifatida talqin qilishi to'g'risidagi ilmiy xulosalardan "Jihodchilar ekstremistik oqimining vujudga kelishi: maqsad va vazifalari" nomli hammualliflikda chop etilgan kitobda foydalanilgan (O'zbekiston Respublikasi Bosh prokuraturasining 2025-yil 30-yanvardagi 3/3-798-son ma'lumotnomasi). Natijada, mazkur kitob Huquqni muhofaza qilish akademiyasi tinglovchilari uchun muhim qo'llanma sifatida xizmat qilmoqda;

Uyushma doirasida ayollar uchun joriy etilgan lavozimlar orqali ijtimoiy ta'sirni saqlab turish, uyushmaga nisbatan ayollar sadoqatini mustahkamlash, ayollar vositasida oila muhitiga kirib borish va nikoh munosabatlaridan tashkiliy imkoniyat sifatida foydalanish yo'li bilan tarmoqning oilalar kesimida kengayib borayotganidan Oila va xotin-qizlar qo'mitasining 2026-yil 19-yanvardagi "O'zbekiston Respublikasi Oila va xotin-qizlar qo'mitasining 2026-yil II yarim yilligiga mo'ljallangan

rejasi”ning 80-bandini ishlab chiqishda foydalanilgan (Oila va xotin-qizlar qo‘mitasining 2026-yil 17-martdagi 02/02-591-son ma’lumotnomasi). Natijada, ayollar orqali oila muhitiga kirib borish va tarmoqni oilalar kesimida kengaytirish xususiyatlari o‘rganilib, shu asosda xotin-qizlar o‘rtasidagi salbiy ijtimoiy holatlarni barvaqt aniqlash hamda mahallalarda manzilli profilaktika choralarini kuchaytirishga xizmat qiluvchi yondashuvlar mexanizmi ishlab chiqilgan;

“Hizbut-tahrir”ning zamonaviy siyosiy tizimlarni qat’iy rad etishi, Muhammad (a.s)dan keyin qiyomatgacha shar’iy boshqaruv uzluksiz davom etishi shart, degan da’vo asosida Usmonli xalifaligining tugatilishini shar’iy hukm barham topgan holat sifatida talqin qilishi asoslangani, shuningdek, Taqiyuddin Nabahoniy shariatda inson omilining har qanday ko‘rinishini inkor etgani sababli, musulmon jamiyatida qadriyat va qoidaga aylangan “istihson”, “maslahat ul-mursala” va “urf” kabi sha’riy manbalarni rad etganligiga oid ma’lumotlardan O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Din ishlari bo‘yicha qo‘mitasi, O‘zbekiston Mahallalar uyushmasi, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Ichki ishlar vazirligi, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Yoshlar ishlari agentligi, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Oila va xotin-qizlar qo‘mitasi o‘rtasida 2025-yil 19-mayda qabul qilingan 4-qq-son Qo‘shma qaror va “Jamiyatda vijdon erkinligini kafolatlash, diniy bag‘rikenglik, fuqarolararo totuvlik hamda ijtimoiy-ma’naviy muhit barqarorligini ta’minlash maqsadida, “Barqaror jamiyat – barqaror davlat” tamoyili asosida tuzilgan chora-tadbirlar rejasi”ning 5, 7, 8 va 12-bandlarini ishlab chiqishda foydalanilgan (O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Din ishlari bo‘yicha qo‘mitaning 2026-yil 27-apreldagi 02-02/3387-son ma’lumotnomasi). Natijada, jamiyatda diniy bag‘rikenglik, fuqarolararo totuvlik va ijtimoiy-ma’naviy barqarorlikni mustahkamlashga xizmat qiluvchi tizimli hamkorlik mexanizmini yanada kuchaytirishga erishilgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining aprobatyasi. Tadqiqot natijalari 6 ta ilmiy-amaliy konferensiyada, shu jumladan, 3 ta xalqaro va 3 ta respublika ilmiy-amaliy konferensiyalarida aprobatyadan o‘tkazilgan.

Tadqiqot natijalarining e’lon qilinganligi. Dissertatsiya mavzusi bo‘yicha jami 15 ta ilmiy ish, jumladan, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi Oliy attestatsiya komissiyasining dissertatsiyalar asosiy ilmiy natijalarini chop etish uchun tavsiya etilgan ilmiy nashrlarda 8 ta ilmiy maqola (jumladan, 5 tasi respublika va 3 tasi xorijiy jurnallarda) chop etilgan.

Dissertatsiyaning tuzilishi va hajmi. Dissertatsiya tarkibi kirish, uchta bob, xulosa, foydalanilgan adabiyotlar ro‘yxati va ilovalardan iborat. Dissertatsiyaning asosiy matni 126 varaqni tashkil etadi.

DISSERTATSIYANING ASOSIY MAZMUNI

Kirish qismida dissertatsiya mavzusining dolzarbligi va zarurati asoslanib, tadqiqotning maqsadi, vazifalari, o‘rganish obyekti va predmeti aniqlangan. Tadqiqotning fan va texnologiyalar taraqqiyotining ustuvor yo‘nalishlariga mosligi ko‘rsatilib, ishning ilmiy yangiligi hamda amaliy natijalari bayon etilgan. Olingan natijalarning ishonchliligi asoslangan holda ularning ilmiy va amaliy ahamiyati ochib berilgan. Tadqiqot natijalarining amaliyotga joriy qilinishi, ishning aprobatyasi, e’lon qilingan ishlar va dissertatsiyaning tuzilishi to‘g‘risida ma’lumotlar keltirilgan.

Dissertatsiyaning birinchi bobi **“Hizbut-tahrir” uyushmasi faoliyatini tadqiq etishning ilmiy-nazariy asoslari**” deb nomlanib, uning birinchi bandi *“XX asrda musulmon davlatlaridagi ijtimoiy-siyosiy vaziyat va “Hizbut-tahrir” uyushmasining yuzaga kelish sabablari*” deb atalgan.

XX asr boshlarida musulmon dunyosida yuz bergan ijtimoiy-siyosiy o'zgarishlar, avvalo, Usmoniylar imperiyasining zaiflashuvi, Birinchi jahon urushi oqibatlari, mustamlakachilik siyosatining kuchayishi hamda Sayks-Piko kelishuvi asosida mintaqaning qayta taqsimlanishi bilan chambarchas bog'liq bo'ldi. Mazkur jarayonlar arab jamiyatlarida milliy o'zlikni anglash, panarabizm va islom uyg'onish g'oyalarining faollashuviga zamin yaratdi. Misr, Suriya, Iroq, Falastin va Iordaniyada kuzatilgan siyosiy beqarorlik, tashqi siyosiy kuchlar ta'sirining ortishi hamda diniy va dunyoviy qarashlar o'rtasidagi keskin tortishuvlar jamiyatda yangi mafkuraviy yo'nalishlar, guruhlarining shakllanishini jadallashtirdi¹⁰. XX asr boshlaridagi vaziyat musulmon jamiyatlarida nafaqat milliy ozodlik harakatlarini, balki islomni siyosiy va ijtimoiy tiklanish omili sifatida talqin qiluvchi yondashuvlarni ham kuchaytirdi.

Shunday tarixiy-siyosiy muhitda *“Musulmon birodarlar”* kabi harakatlar maydonga chiqib, islomni jamiyatni qayta qurish va boshqaruvni yangilashning asosiy g'oyaviy mezoni sifatida ilgari surdi. Keyinchalik yuzaga kelgan g'oyaviy va ichki qarama-qarshiliklar boshqa yo'nalishga ega bo'lgan yangi tuzilmalarning shakllanishiga olib keldi. *“Hizbut-tahrir”* ning paydo bo'lishi diniy faollikning davomi emas, balki musulmon dunyosidagi siyosiy parokandalik, xalifalik institutining tugatilishiga nisbatan javob sifatida vujudga kelgani to'g'risida ma'lumotlar keltirilgan.

“Ta'qiyuddin Nabahoniy radikal qarashlarining jamiyatga ta'siri” deb nomlangan ikkinchi bandda T.Nabahoniy shaxsiyati, faoliyati, diniy-siyosiy qarashlarining shakllanish omillari, mazkur qarashlarning jamiyatga ta'siri hamda uyushma g'oyalarining bosqichma-bosqich radikallashtirish jarayoni tahlil qilinadi. T.Nabahoniy shaxsiyatini XX asr o'rtalarida musulmon dunyosida yuzaga kelgan siyosiy va mafkuraviy inqiroz *“Hizbut-tahrir”* asoschisi sifatida shakllantirgan. U 1909-yilda Falastinning Ijzim qishlog'ida tug'ilgan, dastlabki ta'limni oilasida olib, 1932-yilda Al-Azhar universitetini tamomlagan¹¹. Unda radikal dunyoqarashning shakllanishida Falastin ta'lim tizimidagi g'arb ta'siri, sud-huquq tizimidagi faoliyati hamda 1948-yilda Isroil davlatining tashkil topishi ta'sir qildi. Uning 1950-yilda e'lon qilingan asarlarida ummatning tiklanishi faqat islom asosidagi boshqaruv orqali ta'minlanishi ilgari surildi. 1951-yildagi siyosiy muvaffaqiyatsizlikdan so'ng esa u qat'iy mustaqil tashkilot tuzish yo'liga o'tdi. *“Hizbut-tahrir”* ning dastlabki tashkiliy-siyosiy faoliyati 1952-yilda boshlangan bo'lib, ayrim manbalarda 1953-yil ko'rsatilsa-da, tashkilotning amaliy shakllanishini 1952-yildan baholash ilmiy jihatdan asosli hisoblanadi. Dastlab, varaqalar tarqatish, masjidlardagi targ'ibot, o'zaro muhokamalar va halqa darslari orqali yoyilgan bu harakat keyinchalik ichki intizom, markazlashgan g'oyaviy tizimga tayangan uyushmaga aylandi.

¹⁰ Pırl A. The Formation of Iraqi Nationalism under the British Mandate (1920-1932). - Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2009. – pp. 12-15.

¹¹ Mukaramxonov N.A. Hizbut-tahrir. –Toshkent: Islomshunoslik ilmiy-tadqiqot markazi, 2017. – B.5.

T.Nabahoniy qarashlarining jamiyatga ta'siri, eng avvalo, diniy tushunchalarni tarbiya vositasi sifatida emas, balki siyosiy kurash va hokimiyatni qo'lga kiritish vositasi sifatida talqin etilishida namoyon bo'ldi. Tashkilot mafkurasida demokratiya, dunyoviy davlat, konstitutsiyaviy boshqaruv, milliy qadriyatlar va vatanparvarlik rad qilinib, ular islomga zid tizim sifatida baholandi. "Hizbut-tahrir" o'zini diniy, xayriya yoki ma'rifiy emas, balki islom asosiga qurilgan siyosiy uyushma deb ta'riflab, hokimiyatni egallashni uch bosqichli model – hizbiy uyushmani shakllantirish, jamiyatga g'oyaviy ta'sir o'tkazish, boshqaruvni qo'lga olishni rejalashtirgan. Abdulqadim Zallum va Ato Abu Rushta rahbarligi ostida harakat mintaqaviy va xalqaro miqyosda kengayib, Yaqin Sharq, Yevropa, Janubi-Sharqiy Osiyo hamda sobiq sovet hududlarida yashirin va ochiq targ'ibot shakllarini qo'lladi¹². T.Nabahoniyning radikal qarashlari jamiyat ichida qonuniy siyosiy institutlarga nisbatan ishonchsizlik, radikal siyosiy ongni shakllantirgan.

Dissertatsiyaning *"Hizbut-tahrir"ning buzg'unchi g'oyalari va ularning mazmuni bo'yicha tadqiqotlar* deb nomlangan uchinchi bandida uyushma g'oyalarining mazmuni va ularning turli tadqiqotlarda yoritilishi qiyosiy-tahliliy asosda ochib beriladi.

Xususan, Z.Baran uyushmaning g'oyaviy asoslari, yoshlar orasidagi jozibadorligi va turli siyosiy-ijtimoiy muhitlarga moslashish imkoniyatlarini tahlil qilib, uning tarqalishini faqat aqidaviy adashish emas, balki siyosiy norozilik va ijtimoiy beqarorlik bilan bog'liq hodisa sifatida talqin etadi¹³. F.Vali esa, "Hizbut-tahrir"dagi radikallasuvni halqa tizimi orqali bosqichma-bosqich singdiriladigan jarayon sifatida izohlaydi. S.Faruqi, V.Ranchinskiy, Ye.Yegorov, A.Pozdnyakov singari mualliflar esa, tashkilotning xalifalik g'oyasi, media strategiyasi, G'arb mamlakatlaridagi moslashuvchan faoliyati va tashkiliy mexanizmlarini tadqiq etishgan. A.Hasanov, A.Zakurlayev, O'.Hasanboyev, K.Shermuhamedov kabi mahalliy mualliflar tomonidan uyushmaning Markaziy Osiyo, xususan, O'zbekiston sharoitidagi faoliyat uslublari va jamiyat barqarorligiga tahdidi o'rganilgan bo'lsa, Muhammad Sodiq Muhammad Yusuf hamda Abdulaziz Mansur singari ulamolar uning aqidaviy va fiqhiy xatolarini diniy manbalar asosida tanqidiy tahlil qilganlar.

Tadqiqotlar tahliliga ko'ra, "Hizbut-tahrir" diniy shiorlar bilan faoliyat yurituvchi harakat emas, balki diniy tushunchalar orqali siyosiy ong, hokimiyatni egallashga intiluvchi yopiq g'oyaviy tizim sifatida baholanadi. Tadqiqotchilar orasidagi yondashuvlar turlicha bo'lsa-da, umumiy xulosa – uyushma xalifalik g'oyasi orqali amaldagi siyosiy institutlarni inkor etishdan iborat. Iqtisodiy qiyinchilik, diniy savodsizlik yoki siyosiy norozilik, diniy tushunchalarning siyosiy talqini va muayyan ijtimoiy vaziyatga moslashgan targ'ibot mexanizmlari uyushma g'oyalarining ta'sirchanligini oshiradi. "Hizbut-tahrir"ga qarshi kurash faqat huquqiy taqiqlar bilan cheklanmasdan, uning yaxlit g'oyaviy tizimini anglash, ijtimoiy profilaktikani kuchaytirish, fuqarolarda huquqiy va mafkuraviy immunitetni mustahkamlash bilan uyg'un holda olib borilishi asoslangan.

¹² Karagiannis E. The Activism of Hizb ut-Tahrir. In The New Political Islam: Human Rights, Democracy, and Justice. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. – pp. 53-73.

¹³ Baran Z. Fighting the War of Ideas // Foreign Affairs. - 2005. -Vol. 84, No. 6. – P. 68.

“**“Hizbut-tahrir” uyushmasi mafkurasining reaksiyon jihatlarini**” deb nomlangan ikkinchi bobning birinchi bandi *“Uyushmaning faoliyat usullari va ta’sir vositalari”* deb nomlangan bo‘lib, unda “Hizbut-tahrir”ning tashkiliy faoliyat yuritish shakllari, g‘oyaviy ta’sir o‘tkazish mexanizmlari hamda jamiyatning turli qatlamlari ongiga kirib borish usullari tahlil qilinadi.

Uyushma o‘zini Qur‘on, hadis va islom manbalariga tayangan holda faoliyat yurituvchi siyosiy uyushma sifatida taqdim etsa-da, amalda u diniy da’vatdan ko‘ra, ko‘proq hokimiyatni qo‘lga kiritish bilan tavsiflanadi¹⁴. Tashkilot musulmonlarni yagona xalifalik asosida birlashtirish g‘oyasini ilgari surib, demokratiya, dunyoviy boshqaruv, milliy davlatchilik qadriyatlarini rad etadi hamda ularni islomga zid tuzum sifatida talqin qiladi. Tashkilotda halqa darslari, bosqichma-bosqich singdiriladigan mafkuraviy ta’lim, qat’iy ichki intizom va markazlashgan boshqaruv alohida o‘rin tutadi. Tashkilotning asosiy maqsadi mavjud davlat tuzilmalarini isloh qilish emas, balki ularni rad etgan holda o‘z talqinidagi siyosiy-huquqiy tuzumni o‘rnatishdan iborat.

Uyushmaning ta’sir vositalari ham ayni shu strategik maqsadga bo‘ysundirilgan bo‘lib, ular orasida: maxfiy aloqa usullari, shifrlangan lug‘at, qat’iy bo‘ysunishga asoslangan ichki tuzilma, bosma va raqamli targ‘ibot kanallari, shuningdek, ayollar va yoshlar bilan ishlash mexanizmlari muhim o‘rin egallaydi. Yangi a’zolar, odatda, yaqin aloqadagi shaxslari orqali jalb qilinadi, keyinchalik esa, halqa tizimi vositasida mafkuraviy jihatdan shakllantiriladi. Maxfiylikni ta’minlash uchun tashkilot ichida ko‘p bosqichli nazorat, cheklangan aloqa va ramziy terminologiyadan foydalaniladi. Tashkilot internet, varaqalar va boshqa kommunikativ vositalar orqali o‘z qarashlarini keng yoyishga intilib, ayniqsa, siyosiy bosim kuchli bo‘lgan hududlarda kiber makondan xavfsiz targ‘ibot vositasi sifatida foydalanadi. Ayollar faoliyatiga alohida e’tibor qaratilishi ham tashkilot manfaatiga bo‘ysundirilgan bo‘lib, ular aniq manzilli targ‘ibotlarga jalb etiladi¹⁵. “Hizbut-tahrir”ning faoliyat usullari va ta’sir vositalari alohida g‘oyaviy-siyosiy mexanizm sifatida baholanishi bayon qilingan.

“Hizbut-tahrir” siyosiy-g‘oyaviy mafkurasida davlat tuzilishi, shakli va boshqaruviga oid qarashlar mohiyati” deb nomlangan ikkinchi badda uyushmaning xalifalik asosidagi davlat modeli, boshqaruv shakli va siyosiy tuzumga oid qarashlarining mazmun-mohiyati tahlil qilinadi.

Uyushma siyosiy-g‘oyaviy mafkurasida davlat tuzilishi, shakli va boshqaruviga oid qarashlar markaziy o‘rin egallab, ular bevosita xalifalik g‘oyasi bilan bog‘lanadi. Tashkilot nazarida xalifalik barcha musulmonlarni yagona siyosiy makonda birlashtiruvchi, xalifa boshqaruvi ostida faoliyat yurituvchi davlat modeli hisoblanadi va aynan shu tuzum orqali musulmon jamiyatlaridagi ijtimoiy, iqtisodiy hamda siyosiy muammolarni bartaraf etish mumkin, degan da’vo ilgari suriladi. Uyushma bu modelni tarixiy jihatdan Xulafoi roshidinlar, Umaviylar, Abbosiylar va Usmoniylar davlatchiligi bilan bog‘lab asoslashga urinadi hamda 1924-yilda xalifalikning bekor qilinishini musulmon dunyosidagi siyosiy tarqoqlikning asosiy sababi sifatida talqin

¹⁴ Karimov A. O‘zbekistonda faoliyat yuritayotgan norasmiy oqim va guruhlar. – Toshkent: Movarounnahr, 2004. – B. 14.

¹⁵ Rusen C. The Rise and Fall of Turkish Hizb ut-Tahrir// The Challenge of Hizb ut-Tahrir: Deciphering and Combating Radical Islamist Ideology / ed. Baran Z. – Washington, D.C.: The Nixon Center, 2004. – P. 37-40.

qiladi. Uyushma tomonidan kelajakdagi davlat tizimi uchun: boshqaruv shakli, iqtisodiy nizom, ijtimoiy tartib va harbiy tuzilma masalalarini o'z ichiga olgan siyosiy dastur ishlab chiqilgan. Tashkilot davlat boshqaruvini "davlat jihozi" tushunchasi orqali izohlab, xalifani markaziy hokimiyat egasi sifatida ko'rsatadi, unga: muovinnlar, qozilik tizimi, ummat majlisi va jihod amiri kabi bo'g'inlar bo'ysunadi.

Ushbu bandda xalifalik davlatining asosiy ramzlari sifatida "livo" ("لواء") va "pora" ("راية") bayroqlari qo'llanilishi, livo oq rangdagi bayroq bo'lib, unda "La ilaha illalloh, Muhammadur Rasululloh" "اللّٰهُ رَسُوْلٌ مُحَمَّدٌ، اللّٰهُ اِلٰهٌ اِلَّا" kalimasi yozilgani, bu bayroq xalifalik davlatining yuksalishini, diniy va axloqiy qadriyatlarning ustuvorligini ifodalashi, roya esa, qora rangda bo'lib, harbiy harakatlar, jangovar birliklarni namoyish etuvchi bayroqligi, mazkur ramzlar diniy birlikni ta'minlashga xizmat qilishi yoritilgan¹⁶.

II bobning "Uyushma mafkurasidagi fiqhiy asoslarning tanqidiy tahlili" deb nomlangan uchinchi bandida uyushma o'z qarashlarini Qur'on va Sunnatga tayangan holda bayon etishini da'vo qilsa-da, amalda an'anaviy ahli sunna val jamoa tomonidan shakllantirilgan aqidaviy va fiqhiy yondashuvlardan muayyan darajada chekinishi, xususan, ohod hadislarning aqidaviy masalalarda hujjat bo'la olmasligi haqidagi qarashi, qabr azobi, masiyh dajjol, hidoyat va zalolat masalalariga doir talqinlarida mo'tazila va qadariya oqimlaridan ta'sirlangani bayon etilgan. Uyushma ijmoni, asosan, sahobalar davri bilan cheklab, istihson, maslahatul mursala va urfni rad etgan.

Uyushmaning ayrim fatvolari esa, nafaqat diniy tomondan, balki axloq va jamoat qadriyatlari mezonlari bo'yicha ham jiddiy e'tiroz uyg'otadi. Xususan, begona ayol bilan qo'l berib so'rashish yoki uni o'pish, yalang'och tasvirlarni ko'rish, inestga doir jazolarni yengillashtiruvchi yondashuvlar, musulmon bo'lmaganlarning sho'ro majlisiga a'zo bo'lishini joiz deb bilish, namoz va ro'zaning ayrim sharoitlarda soqit bo'lishi haqidagi da'volar islom huquqining asosiy tamoyillari bilan zid keladi. "Hizbut-tahrir" ham o'z g'oyalari maqsadida fiqhiy manbalarni tanlashda, ulardan hukm chiqarishda foydalangani bayon qilingan.

Dissertatsiyaning "Hizbut-tahrir" uyushmasi mafkurasiga qarshi kurashish masalalari" deb nomlangan uchinchi bobning "Hizbut-tahrir" uyushmasi mafkuraviy targ'ibotiga qarshi kurashish borasidagi muammolar" deb nomlangan birinchi bandida mazkur uyushmaning g'oyaviy targ'ibotiga qarshi kurash jarayonida yuzaga kelayotgan tashkiliy, huquqiy, ijtimoiy-psixologik murakkabliklar tahlil qilinadi.

"Hizbut-tahrir" mafkuraviy targ'ibotiga qarshi kurashishda muammolar shundaki, u oddiy diniy da'vat guruhi emas, balki islom shiorlaridan foydalangan holda siyosiy maqsadlarni ilgari suruvchi, ichki tuzilmasi va ta'sir mexanizmlari puxta ishlab chiqilgan uyushmadir. Unga qarshi kurashni faqat diniy raddiya, huquqiy taqiq yoki umumiy profilaktik tushuntirish ishlari bilan cheklash yetarli natija bermaydi. Uyushma targ'ibotni bosqichma-bosqich, rejalashtirilgan tizim asosida olib borib, dastlab, ishonchli shaxslarni saralab, ularni g'oyaviy jihatdan tayyorlaydi, keyin esa, jamoatchilik ongiga ta'sir ko'rsatish orqali hokimiyatga erishiladi. Bu faoliyat,

سيف الله ح. تحولات مقاومة الشباب: مشهد الموسيقى البديلة والسياسة الإسلامية في إندونيسيا ما بعد الاستبداد: أطروحة دكتوراه في الفلسفة. — 16
جامعة مردوخ، ٢٠٢٢. — ص ٨٩.

dastlab, ochiq zo‘ravonlik yoki huquqbuzarlik shaklida emas, balki “fikriy tarbiya”, “siyosiy ongni oshirish” va “diniy tushunchani to‘g‘rilash” kabi ijobiy ma‘nodagi iboralar orqali namoyon bo‘ladi¹⁷. Uni ilk bosqichda aniqlash, o‘z vaqtida ta‘sir choralarini ko‘rish va huquqiy jihatdan baholash qiyin.

Tashkilotning axborot maydonidagi moslashuvchanligi ham ushbu yo‘nalishdagi muammoni yanada qiyinlashtiradi. Avvallari varaqa, risola va uchrashuvlar orqali olib borilgan targ‘ibot bugungi kunda internet, ijtimoiy tarmoqlar va turli raqamli platformalar orqali yashirin va aniq auditoriyaga moslashgan shaklga ega bo‘ldi. Ayniqsa, yoshlar, ayollar, talabalar va ijtimoiy norozi qatlamlar uchun alohida uslub va mazmunda tayyorlanadigan targ‘ibot materiallari an‘anaviy rasmiy chiqishlarning ta‘sir doirasini cheklab qo‘ymoqda. Uyushma jamiyatdagi real ijtimoiy, iqtisodiy va siyosiy muammolarni inkor etmay, aksincha, ularni o‘z mafkurasi foydasiga talqin qiladi hamda barcha muammolarga yagona yechim sifatida xalifalik g‘oyasini ilgari surishi bayon qilingan.

“Uyushma g‘oyalariga nisbatan mafkuraviy xavfsizlikni ta‘minlashda xorijiy tajriba” deb nomlangan ikkinchi badda turli davlatlarning “Hizbut-tahrir” g‘oyalariga qarshi mafkuraviy xavfsizlikni ta‘minlash borasidagi yondashuvlari qiyosiy-tahliliy asosda yoritiladi.

“Hizbut-tahrir” g‘oyalariga nisbatan qarshi kurash bo‘yicha xorijiy tajriba shuni ko‘rsatadiki, mazkur tahdidga qarshi kurash yagona usul yoki faqat bitta vosita bilan samarali natija bermaydi. Uyushmaning islom xalifaligini tiklash haqidagi da‘vosi turli mamlakatlarda mavjud siyosiy tuzumga nisbatan ishonchsizlikni kuchaytirish, diniy tushunchalardan siyosiy maqsadlar yo‘lida foydalanish hamda norozi kayfiyatning shakllanishiga sabab bo‘ladi. Qirg‘iziston, Tojikiston va Qozog‘iston tajribasida, dastlab, diniy sohadagi bo‘shliq, nazoratning sustligi va malakali diniy kadrlar yetishmasligi radikal g‘oyalarning tarqalishi uchun qulay sharoit yaratgani, keyingi bosqichda esa, taqiq, tezkor nazorat, xavfsizlik choralarini kuchaytirishga ustuvor e‘tibor qaratilgani kuzatiladi. Ozarbayjon va Turkiya misolida esa, diniy sohani davlat nazorati asosida tartibga solish, mo‘tadil diniy ta‘limni kuchaytirish, milliy davlatchilik va vatanparvarlik g‘oyalari izchil singdirish radikal qarashlarning yoyilishini cheklashda muhim omil bo‘lgani ko‘rinadi. Bangladesh va Indoneziya tajribasi esa, uyushmaning, ayniqsa, yoshlar, talabalar va elita qatlam orasidagi g‘oyaviy bo‘shliqdan foydalanishga intilishini, bunga qarshi esa, huquqiy taqiq, ta‘lim tizimidagi islohotlar, mahalliy diniy tashkilotlar bilan hamkorlik hamda axborot maydonida muqobil manbalarni kuchaytirish zarurligini tasdiqlaydi.

Buyuk Britaniyada uzoq vaqt davomida kuzatuv, siyosiy baholash va cheklash yondashuvi ustun, Saudiya Arabistonida huquqiy jazo, mafkuraviy raddiya va rehabilitatsiya choralarining o‘zaro uyg‘unligi qo‘llanilgan. Ayniqsa, jazoni ijro etish muassasalari va maxsus rehabilitatsiya markazlari orqali radikal g‘oyalar ta‘siriga tushgan shaxslarni diniy, psixologik va ijtimoiy jihatdan qayta moslashtirishga qaratilgan ishlar alohida e‘tiborga loyiqligi bayon qilingan.

¹⁷ Syamsul R. Indoctrinating Muslim Youths: Seeking Certainty Through An-Nabhanism // Al-Jami‘ah: Journal of Islamic Studies. 2011. Vol. 49. No. 2. – P. 261-264.

Uchinchi bobning “*O‘zbekiston Respublikasida ekstremistik g‘oyalar ta‘siriga qarshi chora-tadbirlar samaradorligini oshirish*” deb nomlangan uchinchi bandida mamlakatimizda ekstremistik g‘oyalar ta‘siriga tushib qolgan shaxslarga qarshi kurashning huquqiy, profilaktik, ma‘rifiy mexanizmlari va “Qaytaruv guruhleri” faoliyati masalalari tahlil qilinadi. O‘zbekiston Respublikasida ekstremistik g‘oyalar ta‘siriga tushib qolgan shaxslarga qarshi kurash chora-tadbirlari samaradorligini oshirish, avvalo, mazkur tahdidning mamlakat hududiga kirib kelish omillarini to‘g‘ri anglash bilan bog‘liq. Ekstremistik qarashlar Sobiq ittifoq davrining so‘nggi bosqichi va mustaqillikning dastlabki yillarida yuzaga kelgan murakkab ijtimoiy-mafkuraviy vaziyat, iqtisodiy qiyinchiliklar, ijtimoiy himoya mexanizmlarining zaiflashuvi hamda yoshlar orasida g‘oyaviy bo‘shliq ta‘sirida tarqalgan. “Hizbut-tahrir” g‘oyalarining Markaziy Osiyo, jumladan, O‘zbekiston hududiga kirib kelishi: tashqi aloqalar, xorijda ta‘lim olgan shaxslar va mahalliy vositachilar faoliyati orqali bosqichma-bosqich amalga oshgan. Keyinchalik tashkilot adabiyotlarining noqonuniy olib kirilishi, ularni tarjima qilish, yashirin hujralar va targ‘ibot tarmoqlari orqali tarqatish, shuningdek, ijtimoiy ko‘mak ko‘rsatish niqobi ostida o‘z tarafdorlarini kengaytirishga urinishlar bu jarayonni kuchaytirgani bayon qilingan.

O‘zbekistonda so‘nggi yillarda mafkuraviy xavfsizlikni ta‘minlash vazifasi vijdon erkinligi, ijtimoiylashtirish va sog‘lom fuqarolik pozitsiyasini shakllantirish bilan bog‘liq holda hal etilmoqda. Milliy huquqiy bazaning bosqichma-bosqich mustahkamlanishi, terrorizm va ekstremizmga qarshi kurashga oid qonunlar, farmonlar va strategik hujjatlarning qabul qilinishi ushbu sohada kompleks davlat siyosatini yuzaga keltirdi. Shu bilan birga, amaliyotda faqat jazolashga emas, balki adashib radikal muhit ta‘siriga tushgan shaxslarni to‘g‘ri hayot yo‘liga qaytarish, ularni jamiyatga qayta moslashtirish va sog‘lom ijtimoiy muhitga integratsiya qilishga ustuvor ahamiyat berila boshlandi. “Jaholatga qarshi ma‘rifat” kompleks dasturlar, “Qaytaruv guruh”lari shu yondashuvning amaliy ifodasidir. O‘zbekistonda ekstremistik g‘oyalar ta‘siriga tushgan shaxslarga qarshi kurash samaradorligi jazo va taqiqning o‘zida emas, balki profilaktika, ma‘rifat, ijtimoiy qo‘llab-quvvatlash va qayta ijtimoiylashtirish choralariining yaxlit tizim sifatida ishlashida namoyon bo‘lib, mazkur tajribani alohida amaliy model sifatida baholash va kelgusida “O‘zbekiston modeli” darajasida ilmiy hamda amaliy jihatdan asoslash imkonini beradi.

XULOSA

“Hizbut-tahrir” uyushmasi g‘oyaviy-aqidaviy mafkurasining reaksion mohiyati” mavzusidagi dissertatsiya ishi natijalari asosida quyidagi xulosalarga kelindi:

1. XX asr boshlarida musulmon dunyosida yuz bergan siyosiy-hududiy o‘zgarishlar Usmoniylar davlatining tanazzuli, Birinchi jahon urushidan keyingi mustamlakachilik siyosati va Sayks-Piko tartibi natijasida yuzaga kelgan tarqoqlik diniy, siyosiy harakatlarning mafkuraviy manbai vazifasini bajargan. 1949-yildan keyin “Musulmon birodarlar” doirasida yuzaga kelgan tafovutlar esa, alohida shaxslar o‘rtasidagi kelishmovchilikdan ko‘ra, diniy islohotchilikdan qat‘iyroq siyosiy-mafkuraviy yo‘nalishga o‘tishning ichki bosqichi bo‘lgan. “Hizbut-tahrir”ning shakllanishi ham umumiy diniy faollikning oddiy davomi emas, balki xalifalik

g'oyasi orqali musulmon dunyosidagi siyosiy yemirilishni bartaraf etishga qaratilgan mafkura sifatida shakllangan.

2. T.Nabahoniy qarashlarining jamiyatga ta'siri diniy faollikni kuchaytirish bilan emas, diniy tushunchalarni siyosiy kurash vositasiga aylantirish orqali namoyon bo'ldi. "Hizbut-tahrir"ning halqa tizimi, ichki qasam, bosqichma-bosqich hokimiyatni egallash modeli, demokratiya, dunyoviy davlat, milliy qadriyatlar va vatanparvarlikka nisbatan inkor ruhidagi yondashuvi tashkilotning bosh maqsadi – jamiyatni ma'naviy isloh qilish emas, balki mavjud siyosiy tartibni rad etgan holda yagona mafkuraviy boshqaruv modelini qaror toptirdi. Nabahoniy radikal qarashlarining ta'siri alohida diniy qarashlar tarqalishida emas, balki jamiyat ichida qonuniy siyosiy institutlarga nisbatan ishonchsizlik, noroziliklarni shakllantirishida ko'rinadi.

3. "Hizbut-tahrir" bo'yicha tahlil qilingan ilmiy adabiyotlar, tadqiqotchilar yondashuvidagi farqlarga qaramay, ularning umumiy xulosasi – tashkilot faoliyatining markazida xalifalik g'oyasi va amaldagi siyosiy institutlarni inkor etishga asoslangan qarash turadi. Uyushma g'oyalarining tarqalishini faqat bitta omil, masalan, iqtisodiy qiyinchilik, diniy savodsizlik yoki siyosiy norozilik bilan tushuntirish yetarli emasligini ko'rsatadi. Tahlil qilingan tadqiqotlar uning jozibadorligi guruhviy mansublik ehtiyoji, diniy tushunchalarning siyosiy talqini va muayyan ijtimoiy-siyosiy vaziyatga moslashtirilgan targ'iboti natijasida shakllanishini ko'rsatadi. Tashkilotga qarshi samarali kurashda faqat huquqiy cheklovlar bilan cheklanib qolmasdan, ijtimoiy profilaktika, fuqarolarda huquqiy ong va madaniyatni oshirish, jamiyat barqarorligini mustahkamlashga qaratilgan choralar ham qo'llanishi lozim.

4. "Hizbut-tahrir"ning faoliyat usullari va ta'sir vositalari tashqi ko'rinishda diniy da'vat shaklida namoyon bo'lsa-da, amalda jamiyat ongini bosqichma-bosqich muayyan siyosiy maqsadlar sari yo'naltirishga xizmat qilishi aniqlandi. Tashkilot Qur'on, hadis va aqlga tayangan holda o'z da'volarini asoslashga urinadi, biroq uning ichki mazmunida asosiy urg'u hokimiyat masalasi, amaldagi tuzumlarni rad etishga qaratiladi. Halqa tizimi, maxfiy aloqa usullari, qat'iy ichki intizom, qasamyod va shifrlangan lug'at – bir-biridan ajralgan tashkiliy belgilar sifatida emas, balki o'zaro uzviy bog'langan mafkuraviy-siyosiy tuzilmaning tarkibiy qismlari sifatida baholanadi.

5. "Hizbut-tahrir"ning davlat tuzilishi va boshqaruviga oid qarashlari markazlashgan hokimiyatni shar'iy asos bilan mustahkamlashga yo'naltirilgan loyiha sifatida baholanadi. Uyushma xalifalikni musulmonlarni birlashtiruvchi va adolat o'rnatuvchi boshqaruv shakli deb taqdim etsa-da, uning modelida siyosiy va huquqiy tuzilmalar mustaqil faoliyat yurituvchi institutlar emas, yagona markaziy hokimiyatga bo'ysunuvchi boshqaruv vositalari sifatida shakllantirilgan. Xalifa, tavfiz muovini, jihod amiri, qozilik tizimi va ummat majlisi haqidagi tasavvurlarda hokimiyatni cheklash mexanizmlaridan ko'ra qat'iylashtirish ustuvorlik qiladi. Muoviya (r.a)ga nisbatan bildirilgan salbiy yondashuv ham tarixiy shaxsga xolis ilmiy baho bermaydi, balki Roshidi xalifalikni ideal siyosiy me'yor darajasiga ko'tarish va undan keyingi boshqaruvni og'ish sifatida talqin qilib, o'z siyosiy konsepsiyasini legitimlashtirgan.

6. Tashkilot Qur'on va Sunnani asosiy manba deb belgilagan holda, ijmo' (الإجماع) va qiyos (القياس)ni faqat sahobalar davri doirasida qabul qiladi va keyingi davr

ulamolarining ijtihodlarini inobatga olmaydi. Shuningdek, istihson (الاستحسان) va maslahat ul-mursala (المرسلة المصلحة) kabi qo'shimcha fiqhiy manbalarni rad etishi fiqhiy masalalarni hal etishda foydalaniladigan usullarni toraytiradi. "Hizbut-tahrir"ning hidoyat va zalolat masalasida ham inson irodasini hal qiluvchi omil sifatida ilgari surish, ohod hadislarining aqidaviy hujjat maqomini cheklash, qabr azobi va Masih dajjolga iymon keltirishni gunoh deb baholash kabi aqidaviy qarashlari masalalarda qadariya va mo'tazila oqimlariga ergashuvchi aqidaviy model sifatida baholanib, uyushma ta'limotida islom firqalar tarixidagi qarashlarning XX asr sharoitiga moslashtirilgan ko'rinishi mavjudligini ko'rsatadi. T.Nabahoniy va A.Rushtaning "mujtahidul-mutlaq" darajasida taqdim etilishi ularning islom ilmi doirasidagi umumiy e'tirofiga tayanmasdan, aksincha, uyushmaning ichki mafkuraviy yaxlitligini saqlash va o'z qarashlarini mutlaq haqiqat darajasiga ko'tarish ehtiyojidan kelib chiqadi.

7. "Hizbut-tahrir"ning g'oyaviy targ'ibotiga qarshi kurashda transmilliy va xalqaro darajadagi muammolar, avvalo, tashkilot faoliyatining turli davlatlarda turlicha baholanishi, shuningdek, siyosiy qarama-qarshiliklar va geosiyosiy manfaatlar bilan chambarchas bog'liqligi sababli yuzaga keladi. Unga qarshi samarali ta'sir faqat alohida milliy yondashuvlar bilan cheklanmasdan, davlatlar o'rtasidagi amaliy hamkorlikni ham talab etadi. Tashkilotning transmilliy tabiati: zamonaviy texnologiyalardan unumli foydalanishi, radikal g'oyalarni tizimli ravishda tarqatishi hamda huquqiy bo'shliqlardan foydalanishi bilan izohlanadi. Uyushma targ'ibotiga qarshi choralarning huquqiy, siyosiy, ijtimoiy va ma'rifiy yo'nalishlar asosida olib borilishi, internet va ijtimoiy tarmoqlardagi faoliyat ustidan nazorat o'rnatilishi, yoshlar orasida radikallashuvining oldini olishga qaratilgan tarbiyaviy-ma'rifiy ishlarning izchil yo'lga qo'yilishi va jamiyat barqarorligini mustahkamlovchi keng qamrovli yondashuv zarur.

8. "Hizbut-tahrir" g'oyalariga qarshi mafkuraviy xavfsizlikni ta'minlashda xorijiy amaliyot yagona qolip asosida shakllanmagan. Har bir davlat bu masalaga o'z siyosiy tuzumi, diniy muhiti, huquqiy siyosati va ijtimoiy sharoitidan kelib chiqib yondashgan. Qirg'iziston, Tojikiston va Qozog'iston tajribasi shuni ko'rsatadiki, dastlab, diniy sohadagi bo'shliq, nazoratning sustligi va malakali diniy kadrlar tanqisligi radikal g'oyalar yoyilishi uchun qulay imkoniyat yaratgan, keyingi bosqichda esa taqiq, nazorat va xavfsizlik choralari ko'proq e'tibor qaratilgan. Ozarbayjon va Turkiya misolida diniy sohani davlat va jamiyat manfaatlar doirasida tartibga solish, mo'tadil diniy ta'limni kuchaytirish hamda davlatchilik va vatanparvarlik g'oyalarini singdirish radikal qarashlarning tarqalishini cheklashda muhim omil bo'lib xizmat qilgan. Bangladesh va Indoneziya tajribasi esa, yoshlar va talabalar muhitida yuzaga keladigan g'oyaviy bo'shliqdan radikal tuzilmalar qanday foydalanishini yaqqol ko'rsatadi. Buyuk Britaniya va Saudiya Arabistoni amaliyotida esa kuzatuv, huquqiy baholash, mafkuraviy raddiya va rehabilitatsiya choralari turli ko'rinishda qo'llangan bo'lsa-da, ularning barchasi radikal ta'sirni uzoq muddatda cheklashga qaratilgan. "Hizbut-tahrir" g'oyalariga qarshi samarali kurash bitta vosita yoki bitta yo'nalish bilan cheklanmasligi ayon bo'ldi. Diniy ta'lim, mo'tadil mafkuraviy muqobillar axborot maydonidagi faol qarshilik va ijtimoiy rehabilitatsiya choralari bir-biri bilan uyg'un holda olib borilgandagina seziladi. Mafkuraviy

xavfsizlikni ta'minlashda radikal g'oyalarga faqat jazolash vositasi bilan emas, balki ularni oziqlantiruvchi siyosiy, ijtimoiy, ma'rifiy va psixologik omillarni bir vaqtda bartaraf etish orqali qarshi turish zarur.

9. O'zbekistonda ekstremistik g'oyalar ta'siriga tushgan shaxslarga qarshi kurashning samarasi jazo va taqiq choralari emas, balki profilaktika, ma'rifiy ta'sir, ijtimoiy qo'llab-quvvatlash hamda ijtimoiylashtirish jarayonlarining o'zaro bog'langan yaxlit tizim tarzida faoliyati orqali ta'minlanadi. Ekstremistik qarashlarning mamlakatga kirib kelishi va tarqalishi o'tish davrida yuzaga kelgan mafkuraviy bo'shliq, shuningdek, tashqi kuchlar bilan bog'liq bo'lgani bois, bu xatarga faqat xavfsizlik choralari doirasida javob qaytarish yetarli hisoblanmaydi. Milliy huquqiy bazaning mustahkamlanishi, destruktiv g'oyalar tarqalishining oldini olishga qaratilgan davlat siyosati va "Jaholatga qarshi ma'rifat" tamoyili asosida amalga oshirilgan ishlar mamlakatda repressiv emas, balki ma'rifat bilan barqarorlikni qaror toptirishga yo'naltirilgan amaliy yondashuv shakllanganidan dalolat beradi. Yurtimizda qo'lga kiritilgan natijalar endi faqat ichki ehtiyoj doirasida baholanishdan chiqib, mustaqil amaliy model sifatida e'tirof etilishi mumkinligi tadqiqotda o'z aksini topdi. Bu jarayonda "Qaytaruv guruh"lari faoliyati profilaktika, deradikalizatsiya va ijtimoiylashtirish mexanizmi sifatida mazkur modelning asoslaridan biriga aylandi. Endilikda, istiqboldagi ustuvor vazifa xorijiy tajribani o'rganish bilangina cheklanmasdan, davlatimizda shakllangan tajriba va institutsional yondashuvlarni yaxlit tizim holida umumlashtirib, uni "o'zbek modeli" sifatida xalqaro maydonga taqdim etish kerak.

Olingan natija va xulosalar asosida quyidagi tavsiyalar shakllantirildi:

1. O'zbekiston xalqaro islomshunoslik akademiyasida diniy-ma'rifiy soha mutaxassislari uchun "Hizbut-tahrir" uyushmasining g'oyaviy qarashlari, fiqhiy asoslari hamda ularning jamiyat mafkuraviy xavfsizligiga ta'siri masalalarini yoritishga bag'ishlangan monografiya tayyorlash.

2. Tashkilot o'z qarashlarini jamoatchilik oldida "diniy jihatdan asosli" qilib ko'rsatish uchun foydalanayotgan oyat va hadislarini Vazirlar Mahkamasi huzuridagi Imom Moturidiy xalqaro ilmiy-tadqiqot markazi bilan hamkorlikda asl ma'nosi va to'g'ri talqini berilib, ularning qay tarzda noto'g'ri qo'llanishi qisqa va aniq izohlar bilan ko'rsatilgan ilmiy-metodik qo'llanma tayyorlash.

3. O'zbekiston Respublikasi Ichki ishlar vazirligi Jazoni ijro etish departamenti tizimidagi muassasalarda "Hizbut-tahrir" a'zolarining tashkilot mafkurasidan haqiqatan voz kechganlik darajasini xolis va ilmiy asosda baholash imkonini beruvchi aniq mexanizm mavjud emasligi sababli, mahkumlarning uyushma g'oyalariga munosabatini aniqlash hamda ularni hizb mafkurasidan qaytarishga qaratilgan "qaytaruv mexanizmi"ni ishlab chiqish taklif etiladi.

**SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL UNDER
DSc.15/2025.27.12.IsI/Tar.01.01 FOR AWARDDNG SCIENTIFIC DEGREES
AT THE INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC ACADEMY OF UZBEKISTAN**

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC ACADEMY OF UZBEKISTAN

ELMIRZAYEV FARRUKH YULCHIBOEVICH

**THE REACTIONARY NATURE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL AND
DOCTRINAL SYSTEM OF THE HIZBUT-TAHRIR ORGANISATION**

24.00.03 – Science of Fiqh and Kalom. Theology

**AUTHOR'S ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY (PhD) IN ISLAMIC SCIENCES**

TASHKENT – 2026

The topic of the doctoral dissertation (PhD) was registered under No. B2022.2.PhD/Isl96 with the Higher Attestation Commission under the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan.

The dissertation has been carried out at the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan.

The author's abstract of the dissertation has been posted in three languages (Uzbek, English, and Russian [summary]) on the website of the Scientific Council (www.iiiau.uz) and on the "ZiyoNET" information and educational portal (www.ziynet.uz).

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The defence of the dissertation will be held at the online/offline session of the Scientific Council Awarding Scientific Degrees No. DSc.15/2025.27.12.IsI/Tar.01.01 at the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan on "___" October 2026 at ___ hours. (Address: 100011, Tashkent, 11 A. Kadiri Street. Tel.: (99871) 244 94 70; Fax: (99871) 244 00 65; e-mail: info@iiiau.uz. International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan).

The dissertation may be consulted at the Information Resource Centre of the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan (registered under No.297). (Address: 100011, Tashkent, 11 A. Kadiri Street. Tel.: (99871) 244 00 56; Fax: (99871) 244 00 65; e-mail: info@iiiau.uz).

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INTRODUCTION

(Annotation of the Dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD))

Actuality and necessity of the dissertation subject. Extremist organizations operating under the guise of religion and posing a threat to global peace and stability constitute a global challenge that requires particular attention, systematic monitoring, and analysis. In recent years, the growing prevalence of radicalization and extremism has had serious adverse effects not only on security but also on social consciousness and religious values. In particular, Hizbut-tahrir (حزب التحرير), whose ideology is based on the restoration of the Caliphate and the overthrow of existing state structures, has further exacerbated global security concerns by threatening social stability and religious cohesion through its extremist ideology and covert propaganda activities. Therefore, examining the ideological and doctrinal ('*aqīdī*) foundations, political objectives, and propaganda methods of Hizbut-tahrir in relation to their impact on social stability and the broader social environment is of particular relevance.

Against the backdrop of the growing dissemination of extremist ideas and their increasing socio-political impact worldwide, research institutions specializing in the assessment of these processes are examining Hizbut-tahrir's promotion of radical views among young people, its financing mechanisms, and its historical roots. In Arab academic scholarship, attention has focused on the origins of the organization, its fiqh-based and doctrinal ('*aqīdī*) foundations, and its claims concerning the "Caliphate"; Western scholarship has primarily examined processes of radicalization, communication strategies, and patterns of media use; while studies in Russia and Central Asia have approached the organization from security, legal, and organizational perspectives, including its organizational structure and preventive measures. Although certain aspects of Hizbut-tahrir's activities have been examined in international academic literature, an integrated study of its ideological and doctrinal ('*aqīdī*) views, organizational structure, and propaganda methods remains particularly relevant.

In New Uzbekistan, particular attention is being paid to protecting the population from the influence of extremist and radical ideas on the basis of the principle "Enlightenment against Ignorance." To this end, such scholarly and methodological publications as "Warning against the Threat of Hizbut-tahrir," "Towards a Secure Future: The Role of Tolerance in Countering Extremism," and "Transformation of Thinking: The Role of Education in Countering Extremist Ideas" have been prepared. As President of the Republic of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev has emphasized, "In today's turbulent world, properly explaining the essence of Islam to our people, especially young people, and combating ignorance through enlightenment have become more important than ever."¹ Accordingly, there is a growing need to analyze the claims advanced within the ideology of Hizbut-tahrir, reveal their reactionary nature, and improve, on a scientific basis, ideological preventive measures aimed at countering such ideas.

¹ Diniy-ma'rifiy yo'nalishlardagi ishlar sarhisob qilindi // O'zbekiston Respublikasi Prezidentining rasmiy veb-sayti. — 2023-yil 28-aprel. — URL: <https://president.uz/oz/lists/view/6237> (murojaat sanasi: 27.08.2026)

This dissertation contributes, to a certain extent, to the implementation of the tasks set forth in Decree No. PF-5542 of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated 19 September 2018 “On Improving the Procedure for Exempting Citizens of the Republic of Uzbekistan Who Have Inadvertently Become Members of Terrorist, Extremist or Other Prohibited Organizations and Groups from Criminal Liability”; Decree No. PF-6255 dated 1 July 2021 “On Approval of the National Strategy of the Republic of Uzbekistan for Countering Extremism and Terrorism for 2021–2026”; Decree No. PF-68 dated 21 April 2025 “On Measures to Further Strengthen Guarantees of Citizens’ Right to Freedom of Conscience and Bring Reforms in the Religious and Educational Sphere to a New Stage”; the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. O’RQ-489 dated 30 July 2018 “On Countering Extremism”; as well as other regulatory legal acts in this field.

Correspondence of the research to the priorities of the development of science and technology of the republic: This dissertation was carried out in accordance with Priority Area I of the development of science and technology in the Republic of Uzbekistan, entitled “Formation of a system of innovative ideas and the ways of their implementation in the social, legal, economic, cultural, and spiritual-educational development of an information society and a democratic state.”

Degree of investigation of the problem. Based on an analysis of the literature concerning the ideological origins, formative factors, and operational characteristics of the organisation, the scholarly views formed on this subject may be conditionally divided into three groups.

The first group comprises foreign studies devoted to the emergence of “Hizbut-tahrir”, its ideological roots, organizational structure, and objectives. The works of E. Karagiannis, M.Topchi, G.Kilichoglu, J.Etoat, and H.Karimi² examine the organization's activities in Central Asia and its influence on regional states. Drawing on the cases of Turkey and Uzbekistan, A.Aktash³ offers a comparative analysis of the factors underlying the spread of the organization's ideas. The studies of A.Pozdnyakov, V.Ranchinskiy, and Y.Yegorov⁴ focus on its internal structure and the stages of its ideological formation. Z.Baran examines the organization's origins, leadership, ideological foundations, and the methods of propaganda directed at women and youth, while H.Azad explores its history and its stance toward socio-political processes. S.Faruqi⁵ presents “Hizbut-tahrir” as a global transnational network. The works of Z.Abuza, J.Brandon, B.Farmer, J.German, L. Khatib, and S.

² Karagiannis E. Hizbut-Tahrir al-Islami: The Challenge of a Non-Violent Radical Islam // Terrorism and Political Violence . 2021; Topchi, M.C. va Kilichoglu, G. Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Türkistan’da Radikal Dini Hareketler ve Faaliyetler: Hizb’ut-Tahrir Örneği // Pamukkale Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi. 2022.; Javad E., Karimi H. Hizbut-tahrir party and its influence in Central Asia. Tehran: Shahid Beheshti University, 2018;

³ Aktaş A. Hizb-ut Tahrir Yapılanması Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Analiz: Özbekistan ve Türkiye Örneği // Harran Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi. 2021. № 45.

⁴ Поздняков А.Н. Структура и признаки типичных террористических организаций религиозного толка, подлежащих выявлению и документированию органами внутренних дел (на примере “Хизб ут-Тахрир”) // Право и государство: теория и практика. 2023; Ранчинский В. П. “Хизб ут-тахрир” (партия освобождения): создание и идеология на этапе становления // Вестник Брянского государственного университета. 2017; Егоров Е.Н. “Хизб ут-Тахрир” на Западе: идеология и деятельность // Исламведение, 2017;

⁵ Baran Z., Fighting the War of Ideas // Foreign Affairs. 2005; Azad H., (Im)Possible Muslims: Hizb ut-Tahrir, the Islamic State, and Modern Muslimness. Columbia, Columbia University press, 2017; Farouki S. A Fundamental Quest: Hizb al-Tahrir and the Search for the Islamic Caliphate. London: Grey Seal, 1996.

Swick⁶ analyze its strategy for restoring the Caliphate and its mechanisms for seizing power. These studies are valuable for understanding the organization's political orientation and strategic design; however, most of them do not sufficiently address the internal nexus between its doctrinal and jurisprudential foundations and its practical propaganda mechanisms.

The second group comprises national studies devoted to the activities of religious-extremist structures in the context of Uzbekistan and Central Asia, their impact on social stability, and the factors underlying their spread. Researchers such as A.Hasanov, A.Abduvakhitov, B.Babadjanov, Z.Munavvarov, A.Zakurlayev, J.Toshqulov, O.Yusupov, O'.Hasanboyev, D.Rakhimjonov, A.Karimov, K.Shermuhamedov, and Sh.Islamov⁷ have examined the formation of religious movements, their influence on social relations, and extremist threats in the region. The present scholarly investigations are significant for understanding the national and regional context of the aforementioned problem. At the same time, within these studies the organisation's doctrinal ('aqīdī) views and its ideological and influence-exerting mechanisms have predominantly been examined within the broader framework of general religious-extremist processes, whereas the organisation's distinctive doctrinal and organisational characteristics have not been placed at the centre as an independent object of research.

The third group consists of religious refutations advanced by Islamic scholars, together with legal scholarship and legislation relating to these issues. Muhammad Sodiq Muhammad Yusuf and Abdulaziz Mansur⁸ have critically evaluated the organization's doctrinal errors on the basis of primary religious sources. M. Rajabova, J. Toshqulov, and A. Zakurlayev⁹, in turn, have focused on the legal characterization

⁶ Abuza Z. Political Islam and Violence in Indonesia. - Routledge, 2007; Brandon J. Hizbut-Tahrir's Growing Appeal Arab World - 2006; Farmer B. R. Understanding Radical Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-first Century. - Bern: Peter Lang, 2007; Jarmon J. A. The New Era in U.S. National Security: An Introduction to Emerging Threats and Challenges. - Rowman & Littlefield, 2014; Khatib L., Lust E. Taking to the Streets: The Transformation of Arab Activism. - Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014; Swick, Sarah. From London to Andijan: The rising global influence of Hizb ut-Tahrir among Muslim youth. Muslims and Islam in the Chaotic Modern World: Relations of Muslims among Themselves and with Others. Temple University, Philadelphia, 2005;

⁷ Hasanov A. Islom ekstremizmining g'oyaviy ildizlari // Jaholatga qarshi ma'rifat - tinchlik va barqarorlik asosi. - Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2003; Абдувахитов А. “Братья-мусульмане” на общественно-политической арене Египта и Сирии в 1928-1963 гг. Дисс. ...канд. ист. наук. – Ташкент. 1990; Бабаджанов Б. Ферганская долина: источник или жертва исламского фундаментализма? / Центральная Азия и Кавказ. – 1999. – №4(5); Бабаджанов Б., Муминов А., фон Кюгельген. Диспуты мусульманских религиозных авторитетов в Центральной Азии в XX веке: критические издания и исследования источников. - Алматы: Дайк-Пресс, 2007; Munavvarov Z., Hasanov A. Islom: hanafiylik va vahhobiylik. –Toshkent: Movarounnahr, 1998; Zakurlayev A. G'oyalar kurashi. – Toshkent: Mavarounnahr, 2000; Diniy bag'rikenglik va mutaassiblik: (yuz savolga-yuz javob) /Yusupov O. – Toshkent, Toshkent islom universiteti, 2013; Hasanboyev O'. O'zbekistonda davlat va din munosabatlari: diniy tashkilotlar, oqimlar, mafkuraviy kurashning dolzarb yo'nalishlari. - Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2014; Rahimjonov D. Ma'rifat - tinchlik asosi. – Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2007; Karimov A., Dunyoviylik dahriylik emas yoxud “Hizbut-tahrir”ning da'volari xususida mulohazalar, Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti, 2005; Shermuhamedov K. XX-XXI asr boshlarida Misr ijtimoiy-siyosiy hayotida “Musulmon birodarlar” uyushmasining faoliyati dinshunoslik fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD)... avtoref. –Toshkent, 2021; Islamov Sh. “ISHID” terrorchi tashkilotining axborot xuruji va uni bartaraf etish yo'llari: tarix fanlari bo'yicha falsafa doktori (PhD)... avtoref. –Toshkent, 2020.

⁸ Muhammad Sodiq Muhammad Yusuf. Din nasixatdir. – Тошкент: Sharq, 2006; Alimov U., Mansur A., Tursun A. “Hizbut-tahrir” fitnasidan ogohlantirish. – Toshkent: Mavorounnahr, 2015.

⁹ Rajabova M. Diniy ekstremizm va terrorizmga qarshi kurashning jinoiy-huquqiy muammolari: yurid. fan. doktori diss... avtoref. –Toshkent, 2002.; Rajabova M.A. Shariatda jinoyat va jazo. –Toshkent: Adolat, 1996; Rajabova M.A. Diniy ekstremizm va terrorchilikga qarshi kurash muammolari. – Toshkent: O'zbekiston, 2003; Toshqulov J.

of extremist and terrorist crimes and on the improvement of normative mechanisms for countering them.

The scope of scholarly research devoted to the study of these issues is extensive and has made a certain contribution to the elucidation of the scholarly and practical dimensions of the subject. Nevertheless, the existing investigations do not fully address the need for a systematic and in-depth analysis of the reactionary nature of the ideological and doctrinal (‘aqīdī) system of the Hizbut-tahrir organisation as an independent object of scholarly research. This circumstance gives rise to the necessity of a comprehensive investigation of the problem from historical, theoretical, and practical perspectives. In this respect, the subject retains its topical significance within the framework of contemporary scholarly inquiry.

Correlation of the research with the research-work plans of the higher educational institution at which the dissertation was carried out. The dissertation has been carried out within the framework of the scientific project FZ–202002145 "Development of the 'World Religions' electronic programme and mobile application on the basis of research into the history, teachings, sources, and traditions of religions", implemented at the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan for the period 2021–2023.

The aim of the research is to disclose the reactionary nature of the ideological and doctrinal (‘aqīdī) system of the Hizbut-tahrir organisation.

The objectives of the research are as follows:

To elucidate the socio-political situation in the Arab world during the twentieth century and the causes underlying the emergence of Hizbut-tahrir;

To determine the societal impact of the radical views of Taqi al-Din al-Nabhani;

To identify the approaches adopted in existing scholarship for elucidating the reactionary nature and substantive content of the organisation's subversive ideas;

To identify the methods of operation and instruments of influence employed by the organisation;

To elucidate the essence of the views concerning the structure, form, and governance of the state within the political and ideological doctrine of Hizbut-tahrir;

To conduct a critical analysis of the jurisprudential (fiqhī) foundations underlying the doctrine of Hizbut-tahrir;

To identify the problems encountered in countering the ideological propaganda of the movement;

To examine international experience in ensuring ideological security against the radical ideas of the organisation;

To enhance the effectiveness of measures directed at countering the influence of extremist ideas on affected individuals in the Republic of Uzbekistan, and to formulate corresponding proposals and recommendations.

The object of the research is the activity of the Hizbut-tahrir organisation.

The subject of the research comprises the ideological and doctrinal (‘aqīdī) framework of Hizbut-tahrir, its political views, and issues related to ensuring

Terrorizmga qarshi kurashning ayrim huquqiy kafolatlari. – Toshkent, 2008; Zakurlayev A. O‘zbekiston rivojiga tahdid solayotgan g‘ayriqonuniy diniy oqim va terrorchilik tashkilotlari. Taraqqiyot, asliyat va mohiyat. – Toshkent, O‘zbekiston Respublikasi IIV, 2020.

ideological security.

Research methods. The principle of scholarly objectivity was strictly observed in the research, and the methods of analysis and synthesis, systems analysis, comparative analysis, generalization, the historical-logical approach, and synergetic analysis were employed.

Scientific novelty of the research consists of the following:

It has been demonstrated that within Hizbut-tahrir's propaganda the traditional ḥalqah (حلقة) study circles are being supplanted by platforms operating on social networks, whereby socio-domestic problems are cast in religious terms and the trust of citizens is exploited through spurious solutions, culminating, at the stage of personal engagement, in the deployment of the practice designated as the "digital trap" (raqamli tuzoq);

It has been substantiated that the continuous refinement of the organisation's women's wing – the mushrifa (مشرفة) institute – together with the practice of transforming marital and familial ties into instruments of ideological brotherhood, constitutes a distinctive specialised strategy directed at the systematic expansion of religious radicalisation among women;

It has been established that the movement's reactionary ideas – namely, the rejection of contemporary political systems and the advocacy of strictly sharī'ah-based governance – combined with the assertion that, for more than a century, society has been living in a state of ignorance (jahālah) without a caliph (khalīfah), form the basis upon which the organisation pronounces takfir upon those who oppose its activities;

It has been proven that the mechanism for disengaging individuals who uphold the organisation's ideas from those ideas – implemented through sustained dialogue conducted in cooperation with their families, former members, and qualified specialists, and grounded in refutations founded upon doctrinal-jurisprudential ('aḳīdī–fiqhī) as well as political and legal arguments – yields effective results.

The practical results of the research consist in the following:

As a result of investigating the political doctrine of Hizbut-tahrir formed around the concept of the Khilāfah, the principal mechanisms for the dissemination of extremist ideas have been identified — namely, the closed system of instruction operating through ḥalqah study circles; the internal social demarcation constructed upon the "us and them" (biz va ular) principle; the tendentious interpretation of the Qur'an and ḥadīth in accordance with the organisation's objectives; and the politicisation of religious matters. On the basis of an analysis of the socio-political system of the caliphal state advanced by the organisation, a theoretical and ideological framework serving to explain this phenomenon has been formulated.

It has been established that the organisational structure of the movement comprises a specialised system for the preparation of leaders and mushrifs (supervisors of the ḥalqah), whose active participation in the ideological and doctrinal ('aḳīdī) shaping of new adherents has been documented; the methods of attracting strata dissatisfied with the current political situation through an idealised historical model of the caliphal period and the concept of the "Golden Age" have been disclosed; likewise, the mechanisms for the rapid dissemination of ideas adapted to

regional, social, and age-related characteristics have been elucidated.

In the course of the research, a comparative analysis of the experience of Uzbekistan and foreign countries was conducted; in countering Hizbut-tahrir, the socialization of Hizbut-tahrir members (*hizbīs*) held in penitentiary institutions and those released from custody, as well as their family members, with the aim of ideological rehabilitation, together with the individual and collective dialogues conducted by the Rehabilitation Groups (*Qaytaruv guruhlari*), was assessed as an effective practice, and the potential for its international dissemination as the “Uzbekistan Experience” was substantiated.

The scholarly results of the research have been employed in the preparation of practical manuals intended for law enforcement agencies and specialists engaged in the sphere of ideological security, including “The Threat Posed by Contemporary Terrorist and Extremist Organisations to Society”, “The Emergence of the Jihadist Extremist Movement: Its Aims and Objectives”, and “The Prevention of Radicalisation among Pupils and Young People”.

Reliability of the research results. The reliability of the research results is substantiated by the establishment of a methodological framework; the application of a range of research methods developed within Eastern and Western scholarly traditions; reliance on Qur’anic verses and *ḥadīths* in formulating scientific conclusions and their substantiation with evidence; the use of philosophical and comparative-historical methods; the implementation of the research results in practice; and the confirmation of the results obtained by competent organizations.

Scientific and practical significance of the research results.

The scientific significance of the research is determined by the fact that the results obtained may serve as a foundation for novel scholarly approaches and further research in the study of various movements and categories; they contribute to the refinement of the theoretical framework for engagement with representatives of such movements; and they exert an effective influence on the enhancement of the knowledge and skills required for protecting young people from ignorance (*jahālah*) and alien ideologies.

The practical significance of the research is determined by the fact that the reflections, analytical findings, and conclusions set forth in the dissertation may be employed in the preparation of textbooks, teaching manuals, and lecture materials for social and humanities disciplines taught at the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan and at the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, including “Foundations of Building Immunity to Threats Disguised under the Guise of Religion”, “Islam and Contemporaneity”, and “The Culture of Information Consumption”; the research may likewise serve as a recommended guide for work with radicalised individuals.

Implementation of the research results. On the basis of the scholarly research conducted concerning the reactionary nature of the ideological and doctrinal (*‘aqīdī*) system of the Hizbut-tahrir organisation:

The scientific conclusions concerning the psychological mechanisms of influence employed by Hizbut-tahrir to foster radical attitudes and a sense of belonging among young people – namely, on the one hand, *ḥalaqa* (حلقة) study circles

and, on the other, the creation on social media of artificial debates on socially, economically, and politically relevant issues that rely on emotional influence rather than evidence, the imparting of a religious character to these issues in order to intensify interest and doubt, and the subsequent identification of individuals in a heightened emotional state and their rapid ideological reorientation through personal communication – were used in the publication of the book “The Prevention of Radicalization among Pupils and Young People” (Reference Letter of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. 16/T4-1672 dated 14 March 2026). As a result, the book serves as an important manual for law enforcement officers and trainees.

The scientific conclusions concerning Hizbut-tahrir’s categorical rejection of modern political systems and its interpretation of the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate as the termination of Sharia-based rule were used in the co-authored book “The Emergence of the Jihadist Extremist Movement: Its Aims and Objectives” (Reference Letter of the Prosecutor General’s Office of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. 3/3-798 dated 30 January 2025). As a result, the book serves as an important manual for trainees of the Law Enforcement Academy.

The findings concerning the preservation of social influence through positions established for women within the organization, the strengthening of women’s loyalty to the organization, penetration into the family environment through women, and the expansion of the network at the family level through the use of marital relations as an organizational opportunity were used in the development of Item 80 of the “Plan of the Committee for Family and Women of the Republic of Uzbekistan for the Second Half of 2026,” dated 19 January 2026 (Reference Letter of the Committee for Family and Women No. 02/02-591 dated 17 March 2026). As a result, the characteristics of penetration into the family environment through women and the expansion of the network at the family level were examined, and, on this basis, a mechanism of approaches was developed to facilitate the early identification of adverse social conditions among women and strengthen targeted preventive measures in mahallas.

The findings substantiating Hizbut-tahrir’s categorical rejection of modern political systems and its interpretation of the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate as the termination of Sharia-based rule, based on the claim that Sharia-based governance must continue uninterrupted from the time of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) until the Day of Judgment, as well as the findings concerning Taqi al-Din al-Nabhani’s rejection – on the grounds of his denial of any manifestation of the human factor in Sharia – of such Sharia sources as *istiḥsān* (الاستحسان), *maṣlaḥah al-mursalah* (المصلحة المرسلة), and *‘urf* (العرف), which have become established values and normative principles in Muslim society, were used in the development of Joint Resolution No. 4-QQ of 19 May 2025, adopted by the Committee for Religious Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Association of Mahallas of Uzbekistan, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Youth Affairs Agency of the Republic of Uzbekistan, and the Committee for Family and Women of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as Items 5, 7, 8, and 12 of the “Action Plan Developed on the Basis of the Principle ‘Stable Society – Stable State’ to Ensure Freedom of Conscience, Religious Tolerance, Civic Harmony, and the Stability of the

Socio-Spiritual Environment in Society” (Reference Letter of the Committee for Religious Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan No. 02-02/3387 dated 27 April 2026). As a result, the systemic cooperation mechanism aimed at strengthening religious tolerance, civic harmony, and socio-spiritual stability in society was further enhanced.

Approbation of the research results. The results of the research were presented and discussed at 6 scientific conferences, including 3 international and 3 national scientific-practical conferences.

Publication of the research results. A total of 15 scholarly works on the topic of the dissertation have been published, including 8 scientific articles in academic journals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Republic of Uzbekistan for publishing the main scientific results of dissertations, of which 5 were published in national journals and 3 in foreign journals.

Structure and volume of the dissertation. The dissertation comprises an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, a list of references, and appendices and totals 126 pages.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

In the introduction, the relevance and necessity of the dissertation topic are substantiated, and the aim, objectives, object, and subject of the research are defined. The correspondence of the research to the priority directions of the development of science and technology is indicated, and the scientific novelty and practical results of the work are set forth. The scientific and practical significance of the results obtained is disclosed on the basis of the substantiation of their reliability. Information is provided concerning the implementation of the research results, the approbation of the work, the published works, and the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter One of the dissertation is entitled "The Scholarly-Theoretical Foundations for Investigating the Activity of the Hizbut-tahrir Organisation." Its first section, entitled "The Socio-Political Situation in Muslim States in the Twentieth Century and the Causes of the Emergence of the Hizbut-tahrir Organisation," addresses the following.

The socio-political transformations that took place in the Muslim world in the early twentieth century were inextricably bound up, first and foremost, with the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, the consequences of the First World War, the intensification of colonial policy, and the redivision of the region on the basis of the Sykes-Picot Agreement. These processes laid the ground for the activation, within Arab societies, of the ideas of national self-awareness, Pan-Arabism, and Islamic revival (*al-Şaḥwah al-Islāmiyyah*). The political instability observed in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, and Jordan, the increasing influence of external political forces, and the acute contestation between religious and secular perspectives together accelerated the emergence of new ideological currents and groupings within society¹⁰. The situation prevailing at the beginning of the twentieth century intensified within

¹⁰ Pırl A. The Formation of Iraqi Nationalism under the British Mandate (1920-1932). - Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2009. – pp. 12-15.

Muslim societies not only national liberation movements but also approaches that construed Islam as a factor of political and social revival.

In such a historical and political milieu, movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn) came to the fore, advancing Islam as the principal ideological criterion for the reconstruction of society and the renewal of governance. The ideological and internal contradictions that subsequently emerged gave rise to the formation of new structures pursuing alternative orientations. Evidence is adduced to demonstrate that the appearance of Hizbut-tahrir does not constitute a continuation of religious activism as such, but rather emerged as a response to the political fragmentation of the Muslim world and to the abolition of the institution of the Caliphate.

The second section, entitled "The Impact of the Radical Views of Taqi al-Din al-Nabhani upon Society", provides an analysis of the personality and activity of T. al-Nabhani, the formative factors of his religious and political views, the impact of these views upon society, and the process of the gradual radicalisation of the organisation's ideas. The personality of T. al-Nabhani was shaped by the political and ideological crisis that arose within the Muslim world in the middle of the twentieth century, forming him as the founder of Hizbut-tahrir. He was born in 1909 in the village of Ijzim in Palestine, received his primary education within the family, and graduated from Al-Azhar University in 1932¹¹. The formation of his radical worldview was influenced by the Western presence within the Palestinian educational system, his activity within the judicial-legal sphere, and the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. In his works published in 1950, the thesis was advanced that the revival of the ummah could be secured solely through governance grounded in Islam. Following his political failure in 1951, he adopted the course of establishing a strictly independent organisation. The initial organisational and political activity of Hizbut-tahrir commenced in 1952; although certain sources indicate 1953, dating the practical formation of the organisation to 1952 is scholarly considered more warranted. Initially disseminated through the distribution of leaflets, propaganda within mosques, mutual discussions, and ḥalqah study circles, this movement subsequently developed into an organisation founded upon internal discipline and a centralised ideological system.

The impact of the views of T. Nabhani upon society was manifested, first and foremost, in the construal of religious concepts not as instruments of education, but as instruments of political struggle and of the seizure of power. Within the ideology of the organisation, democracy, the secular state, constitutional governance, national values, and patriotism were repudiated and evaluated as systems incompatible with Islam. Hizbut-tahrir defined itself not as a religious, charitable, or educational body, but as a political organisation founded upon Islamic principles, and it envisaged the assumption of power through a three-stage model – the formation of a partisan (ḥizbī) organisation, the exertion of ideological influence upon society, and the seizure of governance. Under the leadership of ‘Abd al-Qadim Zallum and ‘Ata Abu al-Rashta, the movement expanded on both regional and international scales, employing

¹¹ Mukaramxonov N.A. Hizbut-tahrir. - Toshkent: Toshkent islom universiteti huzuridagi Islomshunoslik ilmiy-tadqiqot markazi, 2017. - B. 5.

clandestine and overt forms of propaganda in the Middle East, Europe, South-East Asia, and the territories of the former Soviet Union¹². The radical views of T. al-Nabhani engendered within society mistrust towards lawful political institutions and shaped a radical political consciousness.

The third section of the dissertation, entitled "Research on the Subversive Ideas of Hizbut-tahrir and Their Content", discloses, on a comparative-analytical basis, the substantive content of the organisation's ideas and the manner in which they have been treated in various scholarly studies.

In particular, Z. Baran analyses the ideological foundations of the organisation, its appeal among young people, and its capacity for adaptation to diverse political and social environments, construing its dissemination not merely as a doctrinal ('aqīdī) deviation, but as a phenomenon associated with political discontent and social instability¹³. F. Vali, for his part, elucidates the process of radicalisation within Hizbut-tahrir as a gradual process of ideological inculcation effected through the ḥalqah system. Such authors as S. Taji-Farouki, V. Rachinsky, E. Egorov, and A. Pozdnyakov have investigated the organisation's concept of the Caliphate, its media strategy, its adaptive activity in Western countries, and its organisational mechanisms. Local authors such as A. Khasanov, A. Zakurlayev, O. Khasanboyev, and K. Shermuhamedov have examined the operational methods of the organisation in Central Asia, and particularly in the conditions of Uzbekistan, as well as its threat to social stability, whilst scholars ('ulamā') such as Muhammad Sadiq Muhammad Yusuf and Abdulaziz Mansur have undertaken a critical analysis of its doctrinal ('aqīdī) and jurisprudential (fiqhī) errors on the basis of religious sources.

According to the analysis of the existing research, Hizbut-tahrir is assessed not as a movement operating under religious slogans, but as a closed ideological system that seeks, through religious concepts, to shape political consciousness and to seize power. Notwithstanding the diversity of approaches among scholars, the overarching conclusion is that the organisation, through the idea of the Caliphate, repudiates the existing political institutions. Economic hardship, religious illiteracy, political discontent, the political construal of religious concepts, and propaganda mechanisms adapted to specific social circumstances together enhance the efficacy of the organisation's ideas. It has been substantiated that the effort to counter Hizbut-tahrir must not be confined to legal prohibitions alone, but must be conducted in conjunction with a comprehensive understanding of its integral ideological system, the strengthening of social prevention, and the reinforcement of legal and ideological immunity among citizens.

The second chapter, entitled "The Reactionary Aspects of the Ideology of the Hizbut-tahrir Organisation", opens with the first section, entitled "The Organisation's Methods of Operation and Instruments of Influence", in which the organisational modalities of Hizbut-tahrir's activity, its mechanisms of exerting ideological influence, and its methods of penetrating the consciousness of various strata of society are subjected to analysis.

¹² Karagiannis E. The Activism of Hizb ut-Tahrir. In *The New Political Islam: Human Rights, Democracy, and Justice*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. – pp. 53-73.

¹³ Baran Z. Fighting the War of Ideas // *Foreign Affairs*. - 2005. -Vol. 84, No. 6. – P. 68.

Although the organisation presents itself as a political entity operating on the basis of the Qur'an, the ḥadīth, and other Islamic sources, in practice its activity is characterised less by religious proselytisation (da'wah) than by the pursuit of the seizure of power¹⁴. The organisation advances the idea of uniting Muslims within the framework of a single Caliphate, whilst repudiating democracy, secular governance, and the values of national statehood, and construing these as systems incompatible with Islam. Within the organisation, ḥalqah study circles, ideological instruction inculcated in successive stages, strict internal discipline, and centralised governance occupy a particular place. The principal aim of the organisation consists not in the reform of existing state structures, but in their repudiation and in the establishment of a political-legal order corresponding to its own construal.

The instruments of influence employed by the organisation are likewise subordinated to this strategic objective and include the following: methods of clandestine communication, an encoded lexicon, an internal structure founded upon strict subordination, printed and digital propaganda channels, as well as mechanisms for engagement with women and young people. New adherents are as a rule recruited through persons within their immediate circle and are thereafter ideologically shaped by means of the ḥalqah system. In order to ensure secrecy, the organisation employs multi-tiered internal supervision, restricted communication, and coded terminology. Endeavouring to disseminate its views widely through the internet, leaflets, and other communicative means, the organisation exploits cyberspace as a secure vehicle of propaganda, particularly in territories subject to intensive political pressure. The particular attention accorded to the activity of women is likewise subordinated to the organisation's interests, and women are enlisted in precisely targeted propaganda campaigns¹⁵. It is set forth that the methods of operation and instruments of influence of Hizbut-tahrir are to be evaluated as a distinct ideological and political mechanism.

The second section, entitled "The Essence of the Views Concerning the Structure, Form, and Governance of the State within the Political and Ideological Doctrine of Hizbut-tahrir", provides an analysis of the substantive content of the organisation's views concerning the model of the state founded upon the Caliphate, the form of governance, and the political order.

Within the political and ideological doctrine of the organisation, views concerning the structure, form, and governance of the state occupy a central place and are directly bound up with the idea of the Khilāfah. In the conception of the organisation, the Caliphate is regarded as a model of the state uniting all Muslims within a single political space and operating under the governance of a caliph (khalīfah); it is asserted that it is precisely through such an order that the social, economic, and political problems of Muslim societies may be resolved. The organisation endeavours to substantiate this model historically by associating it with the statehood of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs (al-Khulafā' al-Rāshidūn), the Umayyads, the Abbasids, and the Ottomans, and construes the abolition of the

¹⁴ Karimov A. O'zbekistonda faoliyat yuritayotgan norasmiy oqim va guruhlar. - Toshkent: Movarounnahr, 2005. – B. 14.

¹⁵ Rusen C. "The Rise and Fall of Turkish Hizb ut-Tahrir" // The Challenge of Hizb ut-Tahrir: Deciphering and Combating Radical Islamist Ideology / ed. Zeyno Baran. - Washington, D.C.: The Nixon Center, 2004. – P. 37-40.

Caliphate in 1924 as the principal cause of the political fragmentation of the Muslim world. The organisation has elaborated a political programme for the prospective state system, encompassing questions concerning the form of governance, the economic order, the social order, and the military structure. Explaining the governance of the state through the concept of the "apparatus of state" (jihāz al-dawlah), the organisation designates the caliph as the holder of central authority, to whom the following organs are subordinate: the deputies (mu'āwinūn), the judicial system (qaḍā'), the Council of the Ummah (Majlis al-Ummah), and the commander of jihad (amīr al-jihād).

In the present section it is set forth that the liwā' (لواء) and the rāyah (راية) are employed as the principal symbols of the caliphal state: the liwā' — a banner of white colour bearing the shahādah, "Lā ilāha illā Allāh, Muḥammad rasūl Allāh" (لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ، مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ) — represents the ascendancy of the caliphal state and the primacy of religious and moral values; the rāyah, by contrast, is black in colour and constitutes the banner denoting military operations and combat units. These symbols are held to serve the purpose of ensuring religious unity¹⁶.

The third section of Chapter II, entitled "A Critical Analysis of the Jurisprudential Foundations of the Organisation's Ideology", sets forth that although the organisation claims to expound its views on the basis of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, in practice it departs to a certain extent from the doctrinal and jurisprudential approaches developed within the traditional Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah. In particular, this is manifested in its position that āḥād ḥadīth cannot serve as authoritative proof (ḥujjah) in doctrinal ('aḳīdī) matters, and in the influence of the Mu'tazila and Qadariyya currents discernible in its interpretations concerning the punishment of the grave ('adhāb al-qabr), the Antichrist (al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl), and questions of guidance (hidāyah) and misguidance (ḍalālah). The organisation confines ijmā' essentially to the era of the Companions (ṣaḥābah) and repudiates istiḥsān, maṣlaḥah mursalah, and 'urf.

Certain of the fatwās issued by the organisation elicit serious objections not only from a religious standpoint but also with regard to ethical and communal values. In particular, its approaches permitting the shaking of hands with, or the kissing of, a non-maḥram woman; the viewing of nude images; the mitigation of penalties pertaining to incest; the recognition as permissible of the membership of non-Muslims in the Shūrā Council; and the assertions concerning the suspension (sāqit) of the prayer (ṣalāh) and the fast (ṣawm) under certain circumstances stand in contradiction with the fundamental principles of Islamic jurisprudence. It is set forth that Hizbut-tahrir, in pursuit of its own ideological objectives, likewise engages in selectivity in the choice of jurisprudential sources and in the derivation of rulings therefrom.

Chapter Three of the dissertation, entitled **"Issues Concerning the Struggle against the Ideology of the Hizbut-tahrir organization"**, opens with the first section, entitled "Problems Encountered in Countering the Ideological Propaganda of the Hizbut-tahrir Organisation", in which the organisational, legal, and socio-psychological complexities arising in the course of countering the ideological

سيف الله ح. تحولات مقاومة الشباب: مشهد الموسيقى البديلة والسياسة الإسلامية في إندونيسيا ما بعد الاستبداد: أطروحة دكتوراه في الفلسفة. — 16
..جامعة مردوخ، ٢٠٢٢. — ص ٨٩.

propaganda of the said organisation are subjected to analysis.

The problems encountered in countering the ideological propaganda of Hizbut-tahrir arise from the fact that it does not constitute an ordinary religious da‘wah group, but rather an organisation that advances political objectives under the guise of Islamic slogans and possesses a carefully elaborated internal structure and mechanisms of influence. Confining the effort to counter it to religious refutation, legal prohibition, or general preventive-educational work does not yield sufficient results. The organisation conducts its propaganda on the basis of a planned, gradually implemented system: initially selecting trustworthy individuals and preparing them ideologically, and thereafter pursuing the attainment of power through the exertion of influence upon public consciousness. This activity manifests itself, in its initial stage, not in the form of overt violence or legal transgression, but through terms bearing an ostensibly positive connotation, such as “intellectual education”, “the raising of political consciousness”, and “the rectification of religious understanding”¹⁷. Its detection at the early stage, the timely adoption of measures of intervention, and its legal evaluation therefore prove difficult.

The organisation's adaptability within the information environment further compounds the difficulties encountered in this domain. Propaganda formerly disseminated through leaflets, pamphlets, and personal meetings has today assumed a form adjusted to specific audiences and conducted covertly through the internet, social networks, and diverse digital platforms. In particular, propaganda materials prepared in a distinctive style and content for young people, women, students, and socially discontented strata are constraining the scope of influence of traditional official communications. It is set forth that the organisation does not deny the actual social, economic, and political problems existing within society, but on the contrary construes them to the advantage of its own ideology, advancing the idea of the Khilāfah as the sole remedy to all such problems.

The second section, entitled “International Experience in Ensuring Ideological Security against the Ideas of the Organisation”, provides, on a comparative-analytical basis, an examination of the approaches adopted by various states in ensuring ideological security against the ideas of Hizbut-tahrir.

The international experience of countering the ideas of Hizbut-tahrir demonstrates that a single method or an isolated instrument does not yield effective results against this threat. The organisation's claim concerning the restoration of the Islamic Khilāfah engenders, in various states, the intensification of mistrust towards the prevailing political order, the instrumentalisation of religious concepts for political ends, and the formation of currents of discontent. The experience of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan indicates that, at the initial stage, the vacuum within the religious sphere, the weakness of state oversight, and the shortage of qualified religious personnel created favourable conditions for the dissemination of radical ideas; at the subsequent stage, priority was accorded to prohibition, prompt supervision, and the reinforcement of security measures. The cases of Azerbaijan and

¹⁷ Syamsul R. Indoctrinating Muslim Youths: Seeking Certainty Through An-Nabhanism // *Al-Jami‘ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*. 2011. Vol. 49. No. 2. – P. 261-264.

Türkiye demonstrate that the regulation of the religious sphere under state oversight, the strengthening of moderate religious education, and the consistent inculcation of the ideas of national statehood and patriotism have constituted significant factors in restricting the diffusion of radical views. The experience of Bangladesh and Indonesia, for its part, confirms that the organisation seeks to exploit the ideological vacuum existing particularly among young people, students, and the elite stratum, and that countering it necessitates legal prohibition, reforms within the educational system, cooperation with local religious organisations, and the reinforcement of alternative sources within the information environment.

In the United Kingdom, an approach founded upon prolonged surveillance, political assessment, and restrictive measures has predominated over an extended period, whereas in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia a coordinated combination of legal sanction, ideological refutation, and rehabilitation measures has been employed. It is set forth that the work directed at the religious, psychological, and social reintegration of individuals affected by radical ideas, conducted through penitentiary institutions and specialised rehabilitation centres (Munāṣaḥah), merits particular attention.

The third section of Chapter Three, entitled “Enhancing the Effectiveness of Measures against the Influence of Extremist Ideas in the Republic of Uzbekistan”, provides an analysis of the legal, preventive, and educational mechanisms of countering individuals affected by extremist ideas within the country, together with matters pertaining to the activity of the Rehabilitation Groups (Qaytaruv guruhlari).

The enhancement of the effectiveness of measures directed against individuals affected by extremist ideas in the Republic of Uzbekistan is, in the first instance, contingent upon a correct understanding of the factors underlying the penetration of this threat into the territory of the country. Extremist views were disseminated in the context of the complex socio-ideological situation that arose during the final stage of the Soviet period and the initial years of independence, amid economic hardship, the weakening of social protection mechanisms, and the ideological vacuum prevailing among young people. The penetration of the ideas of Hizbut-tahrir into the territory of Central Asia – and, in particular, of Uzbekistan – was effected in gradual stages, through external contacts, individuals who had received education abroad, and the activity of local intermediaries. It is set forth that this process was subsequently reinforced by the illicit importation of the organisation's literature, its translation, and its dissemination through clandestine cells (ḥalaya) and propaganda networks, as well as by attempts to expand the circle of adherents under the guise of the provision of social assistance.

In recent years, in Uzbekistan the task of ensuring ideological security has been addressed in connection with the safeguarding of freedom of conscience, socialisation, and the formation of a sound civic disposition. The gradual consolidation of the national legal framework, together with the adoption of laws, decrees, and strategic documents pertaining to the effort to counter terrorism and extremism, has given rise to a comprehensive state policy in this domain. At the same time, in practical terms, priority has come to be accorded not to punitive measures alone, but to the restoration of individuals who have, through misguidance, fallen under the influence of a radical milieu to a sound way of life, to their resocialisation,

and to their integration into a sound social environment. The comprehensive programmes conducted under the principle of “Enlightenment against Ignorance” (Jahālatga qarshi maʼrifat) and the activity of the Rehabilitation Groups (Qaytaruv guruhlari) constitute the practical embodiment of this approach. In Uzbekistan, the effectiveness of measures directed against individuals affected by extremist ideas is manifested not in punishment and prohibition alone, but in the operation of prevention, enlightenment, social support, and resocialisation measures as an integrated system; this experience may be assessed as a distinctive practical model and provides the basis for its scholarly and practical substantiation, in the future, at the level of the “Uzbekistan Model”

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the dissertation research undertaken on the subject “The Reactionary Nature of the Ideological and Doctrinal (‘Aqīdī) System of the Hizbut-tahrir organization”, the following conclusions have been arrived at:

1. The political and territorial transformations that took place in the Muslim world at the beginning of the twentieth century – the decline of the Ottoman state, the colonial policy pursued in the aftermath of the First World War, and the fragmentation engendered by the Sykes–Picot order – served as the ideological wellspring for religious and political movements. The divergences that arose within the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn) after 1949 constituted, rather than mere personal disagreements among particular individuals, an internal stage of transition from religious reformism to a more resolutely political-ideological orientation. The formation of Hizbut-tahrir, likewise, does not represent a simple continuation of general religious activism, but was constituted as an ideology directed at overcoming the political disintegration of the Muslim world through the idea of the Khilāfah..

2. The impact exerted by the views of T.Nabhani upon society was manifested not through the intensification of religious activism, but through the transformation of religious concepts into an instrument of political struggle. The ḥalqah system of Hizbut-tahrir, its internal oath (bayʼah), its gradualist model of the seizure of power, and its posture of repudiation towards democracy, the secular state, national values, and patriotism jointly consolidated the principal objective of the organisation - namely, not the spiritual reform of society, but the establishment of a single ideological model of governance predicated upon the rejection of the existing political order. The impact of al-Nabhani's radical views is manifested not so much in the dissemination of particular religious tenets, but rather in the engendering, within society, of mistrust and currents of discontent directed at lawful political institutions.

3. The analysis of the scholarly literature devoted to Hizbut-tahrir demonstrates that, notwithstanding the divergences in the approaches of different researchers, their common conclusion is that at the centre of the organisation's activity stand the idea of the Khilāfah and a stance predicated upon the repudiation of existing political institutions. This body of scholarship indicates that it is insufficient to explain the dissemination of the organisation's ideas by any single factor – such as economic

hardship, religious illiteracy, or political discontent – taken in isolation. The studies examined demonstrate that the organisation's appeal is formed as a result of the need for group belonging, the political construal of religious concepts, and propaganda adapted to specific socio-political circumstances. It follows that effective countermeasures against the organisation must not be confined to legal restrictions alone, but must also encompass social prevention, the enhancement of legal awareness and legal culture among citizens, and measures directed at the consolidation of societal stability.

4. It has been established that although the methods of operation and the instruments of influence of Hizbut-tahrir outwardly manifest themselves in the form of religious da‘wah, in practice they serve to orient the consciousness of society, in gradual stages, towards specific political objectives. The organisation endeavours to substantiate its claims by recourse to the Qur'an, the ḥadīth, and the intellect (‘aql); yet within their inner content the principal emphasis is directed at the question of power and at the repudiation of the existing political order. The ḥalqah system, the methods of clandestine communication, the strict internal discipline, the oath (bay‘ah), and the coded lexicon are to be assessed not as discrete organisational features standing apart from one another, but as constituent elements of an integrally interconnected ideological and political structure.

5. The views of Hizbut-tahrir concerning the structure and governance of the state are to be assessed as a project directed at consolidating centralised authority upon a shari‘ah-based foundation. Although the organisation presents the Khilāfah as a form of governance uniting Muslims and establishing justice, within its model political and legal structures are constituted not as institutions operating independently, but as instruments of governance subordinated to a single central authority. In its conceptions concerning the caliph (khalīfah), the delegated deputy (mu‘āwin al-tafwīd), the commander of jihad (amīr al-jihād), the judicial system (qaḍā’), and the Council of the Ummah (Majlis al-Ummah), the tendency towards absolutisation predominates over any mechanism of restraint upon authority. Its negative posture towards Mu‘āwiyah (may Allah be pleased with him) likewise does not furnish an impartial scholarly evaluation of the historical figure, but rather elevates the Rightly-Guided Caliphate (al-Khilāfah al-Rāshidah) to the status of an ideal political norm and construes the subsequent governance as a deviation therefrom, thereby serving to legitimise the organisation's own political conception..

6. The organisation, whilst designating the Qur'an and the Sunnah as its principal sources, accepts ijma‘ and qiyās solely within the confines of the era of the Companions (ṣaḥābah) and disregards the ijtihād of the scholars (‘ulamā’) of subsequent generations. Its repudiation of such supplementary jurisprudential sources as istiḥsān and maṣlaḥah mursalah likewise narrows the range of methods available for the resolution of jurisprudential questions. Furthermore, its doctrinal positions – namely, the advancement of human volition as the determining factor in matters of guidance (hidāyah) and misguidance (ḍalālah); the restriction of the doctrinal probative status (ḥujjah) of āḥād ḥadīth; and the assessment of belief in the punishment of the grave (‘adhāb al-qabr) and in the Antichrist (al-Masīḥ al-Dajjāl) as a transgression – are to be evaluated as a doctrinal model following the Qadariyya and

Mu‘tazila currents. This demonstrates the presence, within the doctrine of the organisation, of positions drawn from the history of Islamic sects (al-Firq al-Islāmiyyah) recast in a form adapted to the conditions of the twentieth century. The presentation of T.Nabhani and ‘Ata Abu al-Rashta at the rank of mujtahid muṭlaq rests not upon their general recognition within the field of Islamic scholarship, but rather derives from the organisation's imperative to preserve its internal ideological cohesion and to elevate its own views to the status of absolute truth..

7. The challenges encountered in countering the ideological propaganda of Hizbut-tahrir at the transnational and international levels arise, first and foremost, from the divergent assessments of the organisation's activity across different states, as well as from the fact that such assessments are inextricably bound up with political contradictions and geopolitical interests. Effective countermeasures cannot be confined to individual national approaches, but require, in addition, sustained practical cooperation between states. The transnational nature of the organisation is manifested in its adroit exploitation of contemporary technologies, its systematic dissemination of radical ideas, and its instrumentalisation of legal lacunae. It is essential that measures directed against the organisation's propaganda be pursued along legal, political, social, and educational lines; that oversight be established over its activity on the internet and social networks; that educational and enlightenment work aimed at preventing radicalisation among young people be conducted on a consistent basis; and that a comprehensive approach directed at the consolidation of societal stability be adopted.

8. The international practice of ensuring ideological security against the ideas of Hizbut-tahrir has not developed in accordance with any single template. Each state has approached this issue on the basis of its own political order, religious environment, legal policy, and social conditions. The experience of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan demonstrates that, at the initial stage, the vacuum within the religious sphere, the weakness of state oversight, and the shortage of qualified religious personnel created favourable conditions for the diffusion of radical ideas, whilst at the subsequent stage priority was accorded to prohibition, oversight, and security measures. The cases of Azerbaijan and Türkiye demonstrate that the regulation of the religious sphere within the framework of state and societal interests, the strengthening of moderate religious education, and the inculcation of the ideas of statehood and patriotism have served as significant factors in restricting the diffusion of radical views. The experience of Bangladesh and Indonesia, for its part, illustrates the manner in which radical structures exploit the ideological vacuum arising within the milieu of young people and students. In the practice of the United Kingdom and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, measures of surveillance, legal assessment, ideological refutation, and rehabilitation have been employed in diverse forms; nevertheless, all such measures have been directed at restricting radical influence over the long term. It has become evident that effective countermeasures against the ideas of Hizbut-tahrir cannot be confined to a single instrument or a single line of action. Religious education, moderate ideological alternatives, active resistance within the information environment, and social rehabilitation measures yield discernible results only when conducted in mutual coordination. It is essential that the ensuring of ideological security be pursued not through punitive measures alone, but through the

simultaneous elimination of the political, social, educational, and psychological factors that sustain radical ideas.

9. In Uzbekistan, the effectiveness of counter-measures directed at individuals affected by extremist ideas is ensured not through punitive and prohibitive measures, but through the operation of prevention, educational influence, social support, and resocialisation as an integrated and mutually interconnected system. Since the penetration and dissemination of extremist views within the country arose in connection with the ideological vacuum that emerged during the transitional period, as well as with the influence of external forces, responding to this threat within the framework of security measures alone is not considered sufficient. The consolidation of the national legal framework, the state policy directed at preventing the dissemination of destructive ideas, and the work undertaken on the basis of the principle of “Enlightenment against Ignorance” (*Jahālatga qarshi maʼrifat*) attest to the formation, within the country, of a practical approach oriented not towards repression, but towards the affirmation of stability through enlightenment. The results attained in Uzbekistan, as the dissertation demonstrates, may henceforth be assessed not solely within the framework of domestic requirements but may be recognised as an independent practical model. Within this process, the activity of the Rehabilitation Groups (*Qaytaruv guruhlari*) has become one of the foundational elements of the said model, functioning as a mechanism of prevention, deradicalisation, and resocialisation. Accordingly, the priority task for the future consists not merely in the further study of international experience, but in the systematic generalisation of the experience and institutional approaches formed within the country and their presentation on the international stage as the “Uzbek Model”.

On the basis of the results and conclusions obtained, the following recommendations have been formulated:

1. It is proposed that the International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan prepare a monograph devoted to elucidating, for specialists engaged in the religious and educational sphere, the ideological views of Hizbut-tahrir, its jurisprudential (*fiqhī*) foundations, and their impact upon the ideological security of society.

2. It is proposed that a scholarly and methodological manual be prepared, in cooperation with the Imam al-Maturidi International Research Centre under the Cabinet of Ministers, presenting the authentic meaning and correct interpretation of the Qur'anic verses and ḥadīth which the organisation employs in order to portray its views as "religiously grounded" before the public, and demonstrating, by means of concise and precise commentary, the manner in which such texts are misapplied.

3. In view of the absence, within the institutions under the Department for the Execution of Punishments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan, of a defined mechanism enabling an impartial and scholarly assessment of the degree to which members of Hizbut-tahrir have genuinely renounced the organisation's ideology, it is proposed that a “Disengagement Mechanism” (*Qaytaruv Mexanizmi*) be elaborated with a view to identifying the attitudes of convicted persons towards the organisation's ideas and effecting their disengagement from the Hizb-affiliated ideology.

**НАУЧНЫЙ СОВЕТ DSc 15/27.12.2025.IsI/Tar.01.01 ПО
ПРИСУЖДЕНИЮ УЧЕНЫХ СТЕПЕНЕЙ ПРИ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ
АКАДЕМИИ ИСЛАМОВЕДЕНИЯ УЗБЕКИСТАНА**

**МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ ИСЛОМОВЕДЕНИЯ
УЗБЕКИСТАНА**

ЭЛМИРЗАЕВ ФАРРУХ ЙУЛЧИБОВЕВИЧ

**РЕАКЦИОННАЯ СУЩНОСТЬ ИДЕОЛОГИЧЕСКИХ И
ДОКТРИНАЛЬНЫХ ОСНОВ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ «ХИЗБУТ-ТАХРИР»**

24.00.03 – Учение фикха и калама. Теология

**АВТОРЕФЕРАТ
ДИССЕРТАЦИИ ДОКТОРА ФИЛОСОФИИ (PhD) ПО ИСЛАМОВЕДЧЕСКИМ
НАУКАМ**

ТАШКЕНТ – 2026

Тема диссертации на соискание учёной степени доктора философии (PhD) по исламоведческим наукам зарегистрирована в Высшей аттестационной комиссии Республики Узбекистан за номером B2022.2.PhD/Isl96.

Диссертация выполнена в Международной академии исламоведения Узбекистана.

Автореферат диссертации на трёх языках (узбекском, английском, русском (резюме)) размещён на веб-странице Научного совета (www.iiu.uz) и на Информационно-образовательном портале «Ziynet» (www.ziynet.uz)

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Защита диссертации состоится «___» октября 2026 года в ___ часов в виде онлайн/офлайн заседания Научного совета DSc. 15/2025.27.12.Isl/Tar.01.01 при Международной академии исламоведения Узбекистана (Адрес: 100011, г. Ташкент, ул. А.Кадыри, 11, Тел: (99871) 244-00-56; факс: (99871) 244-00-65; e-mail: info@iiu.uz).

С диссертацией можно ознакомиться в Информационно-ресурсном центре Международной академии исламоведения Узбекистана (зарегистрирована за № 297). (Адрес: 100011, г. Ташкент, ул. А.Кадыри, 11. Тел (99871) 244-00-91; факс: (99871) 244-00-65; e-mail: info@iiu.uz).

Автореферат диссертации разослан «___» сентября 2026 года.
(реестр протокола рассылки № 2 от 15 сентября 2026 года)

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ВВЕДЕНИЕ (аннотация диссертации доктора философии (PhD))

Цель исследования состоит в раскрытии реакционной сущности идейно-богословской доктрины организации «Хизбут-тахрир».

Объектом исследования является деятельность организации «Хизбут-тахрир».

Предметом исследования выступают идейно-доктринальные основы и политические установки организации «Хизбут-тахрир», а также научные и практические аспекты обеспечения идеологической безопасности в противодействии её влиянию.

Методы исследования. В работе соблюдались принципы научной объективности и историзма. В качестве методологического инструментария применялись методы анализа и синтеза, системного, сравнительного и историко-логического анализа, метод научных обобщений, а также синергетический подход.

Научная новизна исследования заключается в следующем:

доказано, что в вербовочной и пропагандистской деятельности организации «Хизбут-тахрир» происходит смещение от традиционных кружковых занятий (حلقة) к широкому использованию социальных сетей, где социально-бытовым проблемам придаётся религиозная окраска, а доверие граждан используется посредством предложения ложных решений с последующим применением в отношении них практики так называемой «цифровой ловушки» на этапе межличностного общения;

раскрыто, что институциональное совершенствование звена «мушриф» (مشرفة), образующего женское крыло организации, в сочетании с трансформацией брачно-семейных связей в инструмент идеологического сплочения выступают в качестве целенаправленной стратегии систематической радикализации женской аудитории;

обосновано, что идеологическая доктрина организации отвергает современные политические системы, пропагандируя установление правления, основанного на строгом соблюдении норм шариата, а на основе утверждения о «более чем вековом пребывании общества в состоянии джахилии из-за отсутствия халифата» применяет такфир в отношении своих оппонентов;

доказана эффективность комплексного механизма дерадикализации лиц, подпавших под влияние идей организации, основанного на системном диалоге с привлечением членов семьи, ресоциализированных экс-членов структуры и квалифицированных экспертов, а также на применении аргументированного богословско-правового и политико-правового опровержения экстремистских догм.

Внедрение результатов исследования.

На основе результатов научного исследования реакционной сущности идейно-вероучительной идеологии организации «Хизбут-тахрир».

научные выводы о применяемых организацией «Хизбут-тахрир» механизмах психологического воздействия на молодёжь с целью

формирования радикальных настроений и чувства групповой принадлежности – выражающихся в сочетании традиционных кружковых занятий (حلقه) и инициирования в социальных сетях искусственных дискуссий по социально-политическим вопросам, придании им религиозной окраски, выявлении эмоционально уязвимых лиц и их последующей индивидуальной вербовке в ходе личного общения – были использованы при подготовке и издании пособия «Профилактика радикализации среди учащихся и молодёжи» (справка о внедрении Министерства внутренних дел Республики Узбекистан № 16/Т4-1672 от 14 марта 2026 года). Названное издание применяется в качестве научно-практического пособия в образовательном процессе и деятельности сотрудников и слушателей правоохранительных органов;

научные выводы о категорическом неприятии организацией «Хизбут-тахрир» современных политических систем и трактовке упразднения Османского халифата как момента прекращения шариатского правления были использованы при подготовке опубликованной в соавторстве монографии «Возникновение экстремистского течения джихадистов: цели и задачи» (справка о внедрении Генеральной прокуратуры Республики Узбекистан № 3/3-798 от 30 января 2025 года). В результате данное научное издание используется в качестве учебного пособия и методического руководства для слушателей Правоохранительной академии Республики Узбекистан;

результаты исследования о механизмах расширения структуры организации в семейной среде за счёт специальных функциональных ролей для женщин, направленных на сохранение социального влияния, укрепление деструктивной лояльности, проникновение в семейную сферу и трансформацию брачно-семейных отношений в организационный ресурс, были использованы при разработке пункта 80 Плана мероприятий Комитета по делам семьи и женщин Республики Узбекистан на II полугодие 2026 года (справка Комитета по делам семьи и женщин Республики Узбекистан № 02/02-591 от 17 марта 2026 года). Внедрение названных положений позволило глубоко изучить специфику деструктивного воздействия на женскую и семейную среду, на основе чего был разработан научно обоснованный механизм раннего выявления факторов риска и усиления адресных профилактических мер на уровне махалли;

научные выводы о категорическом неприятии организацией «Хизбут-тахрир» современных политических систем, обосновании ею интерпретации упразднения Османского халифата как момента прекращения шариатского правления (исходя из концепта о необходимости непрерывного существования шариатского государства после пророка Мухаммада вплоть до Судного дня), а также результаты анализа позиции Таки ад-Дина ан-Набхани по отрицанию таких фундаментальных источников и принципов мусульманского права, как *истихсан*, *аль-маслаха аль-мурсала* и *урф*⁴ (вследствие неприятия им человеческого фактора в нормотворчестве), были использованы при разработке пунктов 5, 7, 8 и 12 Совместного

постановления № 4-qq от 19 мая 2025 года Комитета по делам религий Республики Узбекистан, Ассоциации махаллей Узбекистана, Министерства внутренних дел Республики Узбекистан, Агентства по делам молодёжи Республики Узбекистан, Комитета по делам семьи и женщин Республики Узбекистан, а также при формировании «Плана мероприятий на основе принципа “Стабильное общество – стабильное государство” в целях обеспечения гарантий свободы совести, религиозной толерантности, межгражданского согласия и устойчивости социально-духовной среды в обществе» (справка о внедрении Комитета по делам религий Республики Узбекистан № 02-02/3387 от 27 апреля 2026 года). Внедрение названных результатов способствовало усовершенствованию механизмов системного межведомственного взаимодействия в сфере укрепления религиозной толерантности, гражданского согласия и социально-духовной стабильности;

Апробация результатов исследования. Основные положения и выводы исследования апробированы на шести научно-практических конференциях, в том числе на трёх международных и трёх республиканских.

Публикация результатов исследования. По теме диссертации опубликовано 15 научных работ, в том числе 8 статей в научных изданиях, рекомендованных Высшей аттестационной комиссией Республики Узбекистан для публикации основных научных результатов диссертационных исследований, из них 5 – в республиканских и 3 – в зарубежных научных журналах.

Структура и объём диссертации. Диссертация состоит из введения, трёх глав, заключения, списка использованной литературы и приложений. Объём диссертации составляет 126 страниц.

E'LON QILINGAN ISHLAR RO'YXATI
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Avtoreferat «Jamiyat va boshqaruv» jurnali tahririyatida tahrirdan o'tkazilib, o'zbek, rus va ingliz tillaridagi matnlar o'zaro muvofiqlashtirildi.

Bosmaxona litsenziyasi:



9338

Bichimi: 84x60 $\frac{1}{16}$. «Times New Roman» garniturası.
Raqamli bosma usulda bosildi.
Shartli bosma tabog'i: 3,5. Adadi 100 dona. Buyurtma № 46/26.

Guvohnoma № 851684.
«Tipograff» MCHJ bosmaxonasida chop etilgan.
Bosmaxona manzili: 100011, Toshkent sh., Alisher Navoiy ko'chasi, 36 uy.
Tel: +99894-600-44-07