



Relation Between Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and Terror Group

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Abstract

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, one of the most controversial organization in Indonesia was long accused supporting radicalism and intolerant movement in society. With soft approach and persuasive skill they used, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia attract some people and groups to join with them. They promoting a better world under one Islamic Caliphate. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia had close relation with Hizbut Tahrir and Ikhwanul Muslimin in Middle East. They also adopted their propaganda and movement by spreading their ideology and targeting youth generation. However, their link with some violence and radical movement in Indonesia pushed them to being banned by Indonesian Government. As court got some evidence of their involvement on those activities, Indonesia Government officially banned and dismissed Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia in 2017.

Keywords : Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia; terrorism; radicalism; intolerant; caliphate

Abstrak

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, salah satu organisasi paling kontroversial di Indonesia telah lama dituduh mendukung radikalisme dan gerakan intoleran di masyarakat. Dengan pendekatan lunak dan keterampilan persuasif yang mereka gunakan, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia menarik beberapa orang dan kelompok untuk bergabung dengan mereka. Mereka mempromosikan dunia yang lebih baik di bawah satu kekhalifahan Islam. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia memiliki hubungan dekat dengan Hizbut Tahrir dan Ikhwanul Muslimin di Timur Tengah. Mereka juga mengadopsi propaganda dan gerakan mereka dengan menyebarkan ideologi mereka dan menargetkan generasi muda. Namun, hubungan mereka dengan beberapa kekerasan dan gerakan radikal di Indonesia mendorong mereka untuk dilarang oleh Pemerintah Indonesia. Ketika pengadilan mendapatkan beberapa bukti keterlibatan mereka dalam kegiatan tersebut, Pemerintah Indonesia secara resmi melarang dan memberhentikan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia pada tahun 2017.

Kata kunci: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia; terorisme; radikalisme; intoleran; Khalifah

History

Today the world is overwhelmed by threats posed by radical transnational movements that are often manifested in acts of violence and terrorism. When traced from the beginning of this movement, the movement actually emerged as a response from some thinkers in the Islamic world to the reality of global politics where it was felt that the Islamic world was dominated by the west, especially in the fields of politics, economics, culture, and military power. Awareness of this reality is associated with awareness that in the middle ages, where the Islamic world had reached its golden age (Golden Age of Islam). In that era, Islam dominated European countries, which were recognized by Western figures themselves that it was true that in that era Islamic civilization dominated European civilization. The most obvious example is Spain, where the Spaniards themselves admit that they have been under Islamic rule for 700 years. Physical evidence that became an icon is the construction of a place of worship called the Catedral Lemistica (Catedral Mosque), which until now stands firmly as a witness to the history of the glory of Islam in Spain.

The two phenomena above are important factors in the emergence of a movement with a desire to restore the glory of Islam, where this movement emerged from the thought of religious fundamentalism which is also often referred to as Political Islam. Thus, the transnational radicalism movement, now better known as a religious movement, is actually more a political movement.

According to Gus Dur and Buya Syafii Maarif in the book "The Illusion of the Islamic State", that radicalism in the name of religion actually originates from:

- 1) Claims religious truth for the group and blames the understanding of other groups
- 2) They feel that they understand the doctrines of the Islamic religion (the Koran and the Hadith)

As a feeling the most understanding of the teachings of Islam, they believe they have the authority to judge other people and groups who have different understandings.

According to senior scholars, who are positioned as the main reference in the interpretation of Islamic teachings in Riyadh, that political movements in the name of Islam, the substance is:

- 1) Understanding takfiri, namely understanding who likes to disbelieve people who understand differently.
- 2) Understanding extreme jihad, which means jihad is war and killing

According to Shaykh Hasan Al-Halabi, hadith expert from Jordan and Shaykh Najeeh Ibrahim (founder and leader of the Islamic Jama'at, military wing of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt). According to them that it turns out that radicalism and transnational movements are not solely sourced from understanding the teachings / doctrines of Islam, mainly due to failure to understand the reality of global politics, where every conflict that occurs in Arab countries, always confirmed as evidence of their intervention and efforts dominates Islamic countries.

The transnational radicalism movement began with the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood (Islam Brotherhood) in 1928 in Egypt, which was initiated by Hasan Al-Bana. This movement is also intended to sensitize Muslims that Muslims have been dominated by the west, then linked with religion so that it is concluded that Muslims have been colonized by the system, infidels. It is

these infidels who are being pushed for the spirit against the infidel's domination. As long as these infidels are dominating and in power, then the goal of the struggle to achieve the glory of Islam, namely establishing a khilafah based on sharia to replace the kafir system, is impossible. It is this narrative which in its development triggers the spirit to carry out acts of resistance / hostility that are not limited to propaganda. The missionary effort was good, but it was considered insufficient because the process took a long time, and in practice the figures who had the spirit of establishing the khilafah turned out to be collaborating with secular political leaders so that various 'fragments' of radicalism emerged which took the path of armed violence to achieve purpose. That is why, the Muslim Brotherhood whose initial enthusiasm was to take the path of peace, then it turned out that some radical splinter groups were involved in acts of violence and terrorism until the coup attempt / takeover of power. In its development, radicalism movements that spread to various corners of the world, many who prioritize the way of violence rather than methods of propaganda so that in the activities of preaching were more encouraging / inspiring operational groups in the field to carry out violence and terrorism to the coup attempt .

One fragment of radicalism that emerged in Jerusalem by Taqiy-Al Din Al-Nabani, was preceded by dissatisfaction with the Muslim Brotherhood movement which was considered to have been cooperative with the secular government.

Globally, transnational terrorism and radicalism are understood as political ideological motivated movements aimed at establishing the Khilafah based on Islamic law as the only way to regain the glory of Islam.

Hibut Tahrir itself both in foreign countries (Arab countries and other countries) and Indonesia, is understood globally as a political party with the ideology of Islam (not mass organizations, etc.). To achieve these objectives, the HT will make various resistance efforts to fight Western domination, even

The author believes that the action taken by the government is appropriate, and even tends to be soft because it does not make arrests of HTI figures. The government also needs a legal instrument that ensures that these figures are punished, because many Indonesians are inspired by these figures, especially if we look at the current reality where radicalism has been adopted by politicians in power hunters. This can be seen in the jargon explicitly echoed in their political movements, which is clearly seen that political activities to gain power have utilized and mobilized mass groups that consciously or did not foment radicalism.

To understand more clearly what radicalism is currently actual, the author needs to quote the views of Shaykh senior scholar Dr. Muhammad Tahir Al-Qadri explained in detail the following:

- 1) Believe their views as a true representation of Islam
- 2) Other Muslims who do not agree, all Muslim rulers do not conform to Islam
- 3) Government is a combination of renegade, disbelief and polytheism or heresy (thagut)

Democratic institutions and elections as an embodiment of disbelief. For this reason, Jihad must be fought against it. In jihad, killing government bureaucrats and the people who support it is permissible

- 1) In any jihad it is permissible including suicide bombings, massacres, acts of violence
- 2) They think that they are the only group that has been given guidance, while the salaf scholars of the previous generation are org jahiliyah, shirk and bid'ah

The above explains in detail what radicalism is. This unfortunately has begun to spread in a society that is developing in places of worship, campuses / universities, and religious schools. The survey results show that radical understanding has penetrated the scope of our nation massively and broadly. In other words, the threat to the life of the nation and state based on Pancasila is being seriously threatened and therefore if we are committed to maintaining the Unitary Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila, then now is not the time for us to remain silent anymore. All elements of the nation must rise up, unite, especially in the educational environment, must join hands with our moderate scholars. The state must facilitate this effort if we want the Republic of Indonesia and Pancasila to remain victorious.

Current government efforts have shown efforts to improve the welfare of society, will fail if we are not successful in stemming this radicalism movement. Achievements achieved by Indonesia internationally as an investment destination country, as well as public trust in our President who is currently recognized internationally, will be eroded if we do not really focus on taking firm steps in this direction.

The birth of the Muslim Brotherhood made the movement in the fight against western hegemony increase. Various ways they do to end the domination that has been held for too long by the west. From the nonviolent way to the way they are violent. It was not only the West that was their target, but their fellow groups who were considered to support / pro the West they made them enemies. This movement is considered successful in making trouble for the interests of the West, especially in the Middle East, so that Western dominance is slowly diminishing in the region.

Reflecting on the 'success' of the movement carried out by the Muslim Brotherhood in countering western hegemony, it inspired several groups who were also fierce about Western domination to do the same. By using a shield to uphold the true Islam, they began propaganda. The propaganda carried out succeeded in bringing up organizations that resisted the West and upheld Islamic Sharia, one of which was Hizb ut-Tahrir which emerged as a result of Taqiy-Al Din Al-Nabani's rejection of the monarchy system in Jordan and the Pan-Islamism movement

Hizb ut-Tahrir is an international pan-Islamic political organization, which claims to be an Islamic ideology and has the aim of reforming the "Islamic Khilafah (Khilafah)" or Islamic state. The new Khilafah will unite the Muslim community (Ummah) in the form of "superstates" from Muslim-majority countries that include Morocco in North Africa to the southern Philippines in Southeast Asia. The proposed country will impose Islamic Sharia law.

This organization was founded in 1953 as a Sunni Muslim organization in Jerusalem by Taqiuddin al-Nabhani, a law scholar and appellate court judge (Qadi) from Palestine. Since then Hizb ut-Tahrir has spread to more than 50 countries, and has members from the beginning of tens of thousands to around one million people. Hizb ut-Tahrir is very active in Western countries, especially in the UK, and also in several Arab countries and Central Asia, although it is prohibited by some governments. Its members usually meet in small private study circles, but in countries where

the group is not illegal (such as Europe). They are active in conferences and demonstrations.

Hizb ut-Tahrir is classified as a “controversial” organization, so that in mid-2015 this organization was banned in Germany, Russia, China, Egypt, Turkey, and all Arab countries except in Lebanon, Yemen and the UAE.

Although in its home country, Palestine, Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political party organization, in Indonesia Hizb ut-Tahrir is a legal entity organization registered Ministry of Politic and Human Rights.

Hizbut Tahrir entered Indonesia in the 1980s when the leader of the Bogor Al-Gazhali School KH Abdullah bin Nuh met with Hizb ut-Tahrir activists in Sydney, Australia, Shaykh Abdurrahman al Baghdadiy. Abdullah was interested in the lecture delivered by Abdurrahman about the obligation of the unity of the people and the obligation to uphold the khilafah in order to fight the hegemony of world colonization.

Abdullah who is a cleric from Cianjur then invited Abdurrahman to Indonesia to preach together. HTI developed through propaganda on large campuses, then extended to the community and mosques in housing to the company.

There are 3 stages of da’wah implemented by Hizb ut-Tahrir :

First, the stages of coaching and cadre carried out to form cadres who believe in the ideas and methods of Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Secondly, the stages of interacting with the Ummah are aimed at making the Ummah share the obligation to preach Islam, so that the Ummah makes Islam as its main problem, so that the Ummah struggles to realize it in the reality of life.

Third, the stage of acceptance of power carried out to implement Islam as a whole and carry the message of Islam to the entire world.

Hizb ut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) on its website mentions that the development of the Da’wah mission is growing steadily. Initially there was only one HTI city with dozens of cadres. Then in 1990 to 2000 HTI had expanded throughout Indonesia. By the middle of the third year, HTI’s preaching had spread to 33 provinces, in more than 300 cities and districts. Even some of them have penetrated far into remote areas.

HTI also held an International Khilafah Conference (KKI) 2007 on August 12 at Gelora Bung Karno. KKI was attended by 100 thousand participants and was considered an extraordinary conference because of the large number of participants and the theme it carried was quite provocative namely “Time for the Khilafah to Lead the World”.

HTI is often involved in various actions. For example, on February 5, 2017 HTI held an ulama defense action with the theme ‘Action of Care for Jakarta People’ which was attended by thousands of people at the Horse Statue, Monas, Jakarta.

On April 4, 2017 HTI held a long march with the theme “Khilafah of the Shariah Obligation, the Path of Awakening of the Ummat” in Surabaya. This action was disbanded by the police because

they did not have permission.

HTI has also reaped many cons. A number of mass demonstrators refused HTI and asked for HTI to be dissolved. The reason was that they rejected the idea of the Khilafah which was considered to be in conflict with Pancasila and threatened the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. In July 2017, the Indonesian government officially banned HTI in Indonesia.

The Relation Between Hti And Al-Muhajirun

The movement of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the Middle East underwent a transformation of activity. Since Hizb ut-Tahrir was officially banned in Saudi Arabia, the Hizb ut-Tahrir's movement became limited and could no longer carry out activities openly. Get around of this, a prominent Hizb ut-Tahrir who is a Syrian scholar named OMAR BAKRI then took the initiative to establish a new organization called AL-MUHAJIRUN (ALM) as the wing of the Hizb ut-Tahrir organization. This strategy was quite successful because All Muhajirun succeeded in capturing the young generation of Saudi Arabia who participated in Al-Muhajirun activities in various campuses. Because Al-Muhajirun is the wing of the Hizb ut-Tahrir organization, this organization naturally adopts all the teachings and struggles carried out by the Hizb ut-Tahrir. However, with many militant young generation, Al-Muhajirun gradually began to use a different strategy from Hizb ut-Tahrir, because Al-Muhajirun was more concerned with accelerating in achieving his goals, namely through a frontal movement, even Al-Muhajirun had begun to mingle with the people jihadist.

On its way, OMAR BAKRI with its Al-Muhajirun was rejected by the central Hizb ut-Tahrir, thus forcing OMAR BAKRI to migrate to England in 1986. In Britain, OMAR BAKRI tried to develop Al-Muhajirun. This effort was successful, so Al-Muhajirun developed quite rapidly in England, and gave rise to several Al-Muhajirun figures in England such as ANJEEM KHOUDARY and ABU IZZEDIN.

ANJEEM KHOUDARY which is more militant, seeks to develop Al-Muhajirun widely. Through a website, www.paltalk.com, ANJEEM KHOUDARY spreads the teachings and propaganda of Al-Muhajirun through the internet. Through this website, M.FAHRI first got to know AL-MUHAJIRUN and ANJEEM KHOUDARY. Through a series of discussions and discussions, finally M. Fahri who became more familiar with ANJEEM KHOUDARY expressed his intention to develop Al-Muhajirun in Indonesia. M. FAHRI then began to develop Al-Muhajirun in Indonesia, one of which was through the media www.al-mustaqbal.net and he also created several chat room channels on Yahoo Messenger and several other messengers.

The relation between ANJEEM KHOUDARY and Al FAHRI, made ANJEEM KHOUDARY come to Indonesia and held a roadshow in Indonesia in 2013. ANJEEM KHOUDARY also attended a meeting at IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah which was attended by:

- 1) ANJEEM KHOUDARY
- 2) HENDRO FERNANDO
- 3) BHRUMSYAH
- 4) M. FAHRI

ANJEMM KHOUDARY after the meeting at IAIN continued the roadshow to Cianjur (meeting with Ncep Hernawan, leader of GARIS) after that to Bandung to meet Munir Kartono, and SHARIIM ABDUL MATIIN.

Before the event at IAIN, ANJEEM KHOUDARY held around 3 meetings in Pamulang which also discussed the declaration and support of ISIS. With ANJEEM KHOUDARY roadshow to Indonesia, Al-Muhajirin Indonesia then carried out several consolidations by bringing two agendas:

- 1) General Agenda: A description of the situation in Syria and its support of ISIS
- 2) Special Agenda: Specifically the maturation and unification of local jihadist groups to support ISIS and dispatch people to Syria

Following up on this, after conducting various consolidations and maturations, including by having a discussion between M. FAHRI and OMAN ABDURRAHMAN, ZAENAL ANSHORI, and ROMLI, the agenda and struggle of Al-Muhajirin who adopted the Hizb ut-Tahrir concept were then brought to a large meeting in Batu, Malang in November 2015 which united the vision and mission of the Daulah struggle through JAD. This concept was later matured by several JAD officials. In its development, Al-Muhajirin increasingly attached to various acts of terror in Indonesia, using the concept / ideology and the spirit of Hizb ut-Tahrir. In fact, M.FAHRI is also known to be associated with BAHRUNNAIM, a terror figure from Indonesia who is presumed to be in Syria.

Based on information from Munir Kartono, a former HTI who was also involved in Al-Muhajirin, in general the HTI and Al-Muhajirin movements in Indonesia are as follows:

- 1) HTI has a strategy to seize the power of a government in a legitimate way and to further realize the establishment of an Islamic State
- 2) Tends to blend in with the jihadist movement in achieving its goals namely the formation of an Islamic state
- 3) Al Muhajirin (who uses the concept of HTI) was adopted by MUH FAHRI and ROMLI in Indonesia
- 4) Based on the statement of Munir Kartono who has long joined HTI (around 7 years), it is confirmed by 25 suspects and other former terrorist prison who have joined HTI, that HTI will enter and embrace government officials such as the TNI / Polri and other government employees.
- 5) They conduct many studies in government-owned mosques.
- 6) Mosques that are known to have been entered by HTI include:
 - a. Bank of Indonesia Mosque
 - b. DKI Regional Government Mosque
 - c. Indonesian National Police Headquarters Mosque

Here's the similarity and difference between HTI and terror group

1. Similarity

	HTI	TERROR GROUP
RESPOND TO OTHERS	DEMOCRACY IS KUFFAR	TAKFIRI (OTHERS THAN THEM IS KUFFAR)
GOALS	KHILAFAH	KHILAFAH / DAULAH
DESTINATION	HIJRAH	HIJRAH
METHODE	COUP D'ETAT	COUP D'ETAT

	HTI	TEROR GROUP
APPROACH	SOFT APPROACH	HARD APPROACH
ENEMIES	DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY	ANYONE WHO HAVE DIFFERENT GOALS WITH THEM
ACTIVITY	COVERED ACTIVITY	OPEN ACTIVITY
METHODE	RECRUITED EVERYBODY	FIGHT AGAINST THE OTHERS AND NOT COMPROMISE

2. Difference :

The other facts that make relation between HTI and terror group were the terrorism case suspect involved in HTI as listed below:

INDONESIA TERRORIST RELATED TO HTI :

- 1) KURNIA WIDODO, ST
- 2) FAKHRI RIZQI RAFSANJANI
- 3) JUNAEDI
- 4) JAKA MULYANTA S.E
- 5) ROMELAN
- 6) GIGIH RAHMAT DEWA
- 7) MUNIR KARTONO
- 8) LEONARDO HUTAJULU
- 9) RIO PRIYATNA WIBAWA
- 10) EEP SYAIFUL BAHRI

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- 11) SYAFII
 - 12) SUMARNO
 - 13) AGUS TRI MULYONO
 - 14) YOKI CANDRA
 - 15) GILANG NABARIS, A.Md bin NARAWI

Foreign Terrorist Fighters From Indonesia Related to HTI :

- 1) FIRMAN FITRIALNEDI
- 2) AMBAR SURAJEM LESTARI
- 3) AFANDI ARIFIN
- 4) SYAEFUL ROHIM alias ABU FATUR alias ASEP
- 5) TATOK SUGIARTO alias TATOK
- 6) YESI OKTAVIA KRISWATI alias MBA JESSI
- 7) ADE IRMA SURYANI
- 8) MUH RAHMAT EKA S
- 9) ANWAR UDIN @ABI DAFFA
- 10) BUDI MASTUR

Analysis

Dissolution of HTI by the government greatly impacts the activities carried out by HTI. With the government's decision, HTI activities in any form from now on are declared prohibited.

As a legal organization, of course, legal decisions must be obeyed by HTI. HTI on the "surface" appears to comply with the decision by closing a number of offices in various places in Indonesia. However, the question is, are HTI activities really dead?

This is where the HTI cleverly exploits the momentum of various religious actions that are rife in Indonesia, especially in Jakarta. Starting from the action known as the 212 action to the Palestinian defense action yesterday, if observed carefully, it can be ascertained that HTI has a role and role in these actions. In various actions, there were Islamic war flags (some black and some white) that had a couch with the HTI flag symbol, but not the HTI flag so that the authorities did not have the authority to confiscate because the flag was not a HTI symbol.

However, with the existence of the Islamic war flag, HTI has cleverly carried out covert activities, namely arousing the spirit and psychological of Muslims who take action to "struggle" about the

concept of khilafah, the aim of HTI so far. Even in the Palestinian defense action yesterday, found a banner that read “Palestinian Solution only 2: Khilafah and Jihad”.

From this, it can be concluded that the dissolution of HTI only has an impact “on paper” only, because HTI may no longer carry out activities legally. However, in reality HTI still exists and still conducts activities by merging with various kinds of religious actions and activities. This is very dangerous if not anticipated, especially in various religious actions that have taken place, besides HTI there are also various other elements, both the political opposition government, radical groups and intolerance, even terror groups / networks. Anticipatory efforts and preventive measures are needed, because if this is left unchecked, they will be able to attract broad sympathy and support from the community. If they have received great support, it will be very difficult to stop their activities.

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