

Review Article

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT AND MOVEMENT OF HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA (HTI)

FISHER ZULKARNAIN

UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, Indonesia

*Email: fisherzulkarnain@uinsgd.ac.id

Received: 16.11.2019

Revised: 12.12.2019

Accepted: 16.01.2020

ABSTRACT

In the global world, Hizbut Tahrir (HT) was established as an Islamic political organization that has the main vision of establishing Khilafah as a state system. To realize its political vision, Hizbut Tahrir infiltrated various Muslim-majority countries, including Indonesia under the name Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) since 1983. This paper discusses HTI's journey, HTI's thoughts and the movements it did in Indonesia until finally the HTI was dissolved by the Indonesian government in 2017. The research method used is a qualitative method with data collection in the form of literature reviews and interviews with HTI main figures. Data analysis is done deductively. The results showed that the Khilafah movement carried by HTI received a significant response, especially its da'wah activities in mass mobilization. While the Indonesian government considers the concept of Khilafah promoted by HTI contrary to the constitution in Indonesia.

Keywords: Political Thought, Da'wah Movement, Khilafah.

© 2019 by Advance Scientific Research. This is an open-access article under the CC BY license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>)
DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.31838/jcr.07.01.94>

INTRODUCTION

The Islamic movement that arose after the fall of the New Order regime was marked by two types: First, structural, marked by the rise of the establishment of Islamic-based parties, such as the Partai Bulan Bintang (PBB), Partai Keadilan (PK), Partai Kebangkitan Umat (PKU), Partai Nahdlatul Ummat (PNU), Partai Umat Islam (PUI), Partai Masyumi, as well as other Islamic parties which at that time surfaced. Second is cultural, which is marked by the proliferation of Islamic organizations or movements, such as the Front Pembela Islam (FPI), the Forum Komunikasi Ahlusunah wal Jamaah (FKASW), the Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI) and the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). The rise of the Islamic organization movement is also characterized by a variety of characters, namely formalistic, militant and radical (Zada, 2002).

Seeing the discourse and practice of understanding Islam developed by this second type of group, their orientation briefly rests on early Islamic practice as practiced by the Prophet Muhammad and his former friends. Even Oliver Roy (2005) mentions that militant Islamic groups tend to define Islam strictly, rigidly and textually in understanding the Koran and the Sunnah. In the public sphere, this group strives to formulate a model of society, economic and political systems, in the Islamic Shari'ah dimension as the only normative principle and Islam is a comprehensive political system. Among the ranks of this group are HTI who openly want to enforce the *Khilafah Islamiyah*, a form of Islamic government based on the laws of the Koran and the Sunnah in force in Indonesia.

In contrast to a number of mainstream Islamic organizations in Indonesia, such as Muhammadiyah (1912) and NU (1926), who are ready to adapt and assimilate culture in a multicultural society. Radical-militant Islamic groups actually want to reinforce the formalization of Islamic law in various aspects of community life. Thus, the existence of HTI is diametrically different from NU and Muhammadiyah that seeks to maintain the harmonization of local wisdom and does not emphasize the formalization of Islamic law.

In terms of political concepts, the presence of HTI is possible

similar to the Prosperous Justice Party (PKS). If PKS is a transmission from the Muslim Brotherhood founded by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt, then there is another group that is etymologically called a party namely the Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), which is part of the Hizbut Tahrir which was founded by Taqiyuddin Nabhani in Palestine. Both are political Islamic movements that have a mass base of cadres in their respective groups (Rahmat, 2007).

The Khilafah doctrine is recognized by HTI activists as an ideological antithesis that is ready to rival the position of the nation-state concept (NKRI) which is considered final in Indonesia. The Khilafah doctrine offered by HTI had made a number of prominent socio-religious organizations, accusing it of being a transnational organization that lives in a democratic society (Hilmy, 2011). The term transnational Islam which is attached to HTI has become a separate nomenclature which is generally understood as an ideology that crosses state lines (Aksa, 2017).

However, it is not clear who first used the term transnational Islam in Indonesia. Muhammadiyah figure Ahmad Syafii Ma'arif, for example, specifically mentions HTI as a manifestation of transnational Islam (Ma'arif, 2009). While NU leader Hasyim Muzadi said that transnational ideology not only came from the Middle East, but also from the West. Groups such as the Mujahidin Council, Muslim Brotherhood, Al-Qaeda, HTI, are called Hasyim as a group that is categorized as a transnational ideology from the East. Whereas the Liberal Islamic Network (JIL), according to Hasyim Muzadi, a group that developed a transnational ideology from the West (NU Online, 05/15/2007). In the political context, HTI as the most consistent and foremost transnational movement carries the formalization of Islamic law and the Khilafah Islamiyah.

Hizb ut-Tahrir is an interesting phenomenon to study, considering its ideas and praxis are different from most other groups that have existed in Indonesia. So-called, because the political agendas championed by this movement are based on early Islamic traditions as was done during the time of the

Prophet, Khulafa al-Rashidin, Khilafah in the Muawiyah and Abbasid dynasties until the Ustmani Caliphate was overthrown by Mustafa Kemal Attaturk in 1924 (Jonkennedi, 2012).

This group lays the groundwork for the Koran and the Sunnah as well as other militant Islamic groups. Therefore, to apply Islamic law as a whole, Hizb ut-Tahrir must refer fully to the Koran and the Sunnah, moreover to fight for the formation of the Islamic Khilafah.

From the background above, the writer wants to formulate several problems, including: How are the thoughts of Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) and the political movement of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)? The purpose of this paper is to show academically the genealogy of HTI thinking and its political influence in Indonesia. Whereas, in practice, the authors highlight the Indonesian government's policy in dissolving HTI since 2017 which is considered to threaten the future of Indonesia's democracy.

METHOD

This study uses qualitative methods (Taylor et al., 2015; Patton, 1990; Creswel, 2009). Data collection was carried out through literature review techniques and in-depth interviews with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) figures. Data analysis is done deductively through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and verification (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. Root Genealogy of HTI

As a transnational movement, Hizb ut-Tahrir was first founded in 1953 in Al-Quds (Jerusalem), the old city that has been disputed by Israel and the Palestinian authority. The founder and first priest of Hizb ut-Tahrir were Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani (1909-1977). He came from the Bani Nabhan tribe which was part of the Arabian population of Padang Sahara in Palestine. An-Nabhani's father is a teacher of sharia studies at the Palestinian Ministry of Education. Under the guidance of his father, An-Nabhani was able to memorize the entire contents of the Holy Qur'an before reaching the age of 13 years (Rathomy, 2007).

Ms. An-Nabhani also mastered several branches of sharia, which she obtained from her father (Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani's grandfather from the mother's side), namely Shaykh Yusuf bin Ismail bin Yusuf An-Nabhani, who became qadhy (judge) as well as poet, writer, and wrong a prominent ulama of the Ottoman Daula (the last Caliphate of Islam) centered in Turkey. The family background of Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani, who was historically close to the Ottoman ruler, might have contributed to explaining his commitment to re-establish the Islamic caliphate system through the Hizb ut-Tahrir (Purwanto, 2015).

After the death of Sheikh Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani, the milestone of Hizb ut-Tahrir's leadership was replaced by Abdul Qadim Zallum. The views of these two figures can be seen in books published by Hizb ut-Tahrir through HTI Press. After the death of the second leadership in 2003, Hizb ut-Tahrir was led by Sheikh Abu Rostah until now.

In the thesis of Kurniawan Abdullah (2004), it was stated that Abdul Qadim Zallum (1924-2003), who later became the second imam of Hizbut Tahrir, put forward the idea in the 1950s. According to him, Muslims around the world need a decent governance concept to overcome the problems of the contemporary era. Then, a study group was born which examined the facts of the Muslim community, both the past and the vision of the future. This group then established the establishment of a Khilafah state as the only way to realize the Islamic system in life.

While An-Nabhani was previously active in the Muslim Brotherhood of Jordan. An-Nabhani once criticized the Pan-Islamism movement, which was the political understanding that was initiated by Jamaluddin Afghani as a movement to unite Muslims under an Islamic state. He also criticized Pan-Arabism, an ideology based on the spirit of Arab nationalism. An-Nabhani considers, Pan-Islamism and Pan-Arabism, to be pedantic polemic without producing conclusions and results (Abdullah, 2004).

Hizbut Tahrir which was originally conceived in Palestine then expanded throughout the Middle East to countries in the world, including Indonesia. Since the beginning of its development, Hizbut Tahrir often clashed with the policies of the countries it entered. That often leads to the banning of this organization and its activists imprisoned. However, Hizbut Tahrir always asserted itself as non-violence. Russia, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan are some of the countries that have established Hizbut Tahrir as a banned organization. According to Kurniawan Abdullah (2004), Indonesia and the United Kingdom are countries which for Hizb ut-Tahrir are quite safe from pressure from the authorities.

The entry of Hizbut Tahrir into Indonesia is related to the role of an Australian citizen of Arab descent, Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi who is also a Hizbut Tahrir activist. In the 1980s, Abdullah bin Nuh, founder of the Al-Ghazali boarding school in Bogor, invited al-Baghdadi to stay in Indonesia. Since then, da'wah safaris have taken place to introduce Hizbut Tahrir to various pesantren and campus. Initially, there were only 17 activists (Chusna, 2014).

This movement extends to the al-Ghifari Mosque on the campus of the Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB). Halaqah-halaqah (study circle) was then formed to explore the ideas of Hizbut Tahrir and attract the attention of the academic community. When the New Order came to power, Hizb ut-Tahrir's activities became an underground movement. By the mid-1990s, the influence of Hizbut Tahrir had entered the middle-class environment so that it had grown in 150 cities throughout Indonesia. This movement has also published material, such as the Al-Islam bulletin and Al-Wa'ie monthly magazine since August 2000.

From this movement, Hizbut Tahrir in the Indonesian context came to be known as the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). The person in charge of the national area is called the Spokesperson, currently held by Ismail Yusanto. Whereas the National Chairperson is held by Hafidz Abdurrahman (Afadhal, 2005).

The Reformation era opened the faucet of freedom of speech. In 2000, HTI held a phenomenal event, the International Khilafah Islamiyah Conference in Senayan, Jakarta. Chusna noted, no less than 5,000 participants packed the location of the event. HTI also appeared in a rally in front of the US Embassy in Jakarta to oppose the US invasion of Afghanistan. Likewise, the US anti-invasion action against Iraq. Their mass at that time amounted to around 12 thousand people.

In the 2002 MPR-RI annual session, outside the HTI parliament conveyed the demand for the application of Islamic law. On February 29, 2004, HTI mobilized a mass of 20 thousand people from Monas to around the HI Roundabout, Jakarta. They voiced support for the enforcement of Islamic law and the Khilafah system in Indonesia. Hizb ut-Tahrir also aims to change the country's political system that it enters into the Khilafah Islamiyah system. Even on the official website www.hizbut-tahrir.or.id, HTI emphasized its form as a political organization.

Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political organization that intends to re-

create Muslims from a very severe decline, freeing Muslims from ideas, legal systems, and Kufr laws, and freeing them from the grip of Western domination and influence. In addition, the emergence of Hizbut Tahrir also intends to rebuild Daula Islamiyah on earth, so that government affairs can be carried out again in accordance with what Allah revealed (Tim Hizbut Tahrir, 2007).

In addition, as explained by Nabhani that the establishment of Hizbut Tahrir was caused by several things, including First, the Western World who envied and hated Islam and Muslims continued to attack the religion of Islam. On the one hand, they denounce Islam by inventing something that does not exist in Islam, while on the other hand, they are vilifying some Islamic laws, even though they are all laws that are unquestionable in solving the problems of life.

Secondly, as a result of the shrinking of the Islamic Khilafah because many Islamic countries broke free and submitted to the secular government, let alone followed by the collapse and disappearance of the Islamic Khilafah, then a Muslim image was created which made it impossible to re-realize the Islamic Khilafah following the re-implementation of Islamic law as the only law that must be applied. This is what causes them to be willing to simply accept other laws that are not from God (Abdullah, 2001).

According to HTI Spokesperson Ismail Yusanto (2017) initially, the presence of Hizb ut-Tahrir tried to re-establish Islamic life in the Arab countries. From there the goal to carry out Islamic life throughout the Islamic world naturally will be achieved, namely by establishing the Khilafah Islamiyah in one or several areas as the central point of Islam and as a seed for the establishment of a large Khilafah Islamiyah that will restore Islamic life, by implementing Islam perfectly in all Muslim countries, and carrying Islamic da'wah throughout the world.

Yusanto explained that all activities carried out by HTI were political in nature. He believes that HTI is very concerned about community affairs in accordance with Islamic laws and shari'a solving because politics is managing and maintaining community affairs in accordance with Islamic laws and solutions.

Of course, the birth of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Indonesia refused to join the existing political system because Indonesia adheres to a political system that is not in accordance with Islamic law such as democracy and so on. In Indonesia, the rapid development of HTI can be seen from the number of its members and the intensity of HTI activities in public spaces, namely in the form of marches, seminars, public discussions, and media publishing in various regions in the country (Yusanto, 2017).

HTI's political struggle is evident in opposing the rulers in Indonesia. HTI also launched criticism, control, and correction of the government while trying to change the state system. Especially if the government does not carry out its obligations towards Muslims. Next Ismail explained: HTI activities are not only on religious aspects. Likewise, his appeal is not only advice and instructions. However, its activities are political, by expressing the views of Islam and its laws to be implemented, and realized in the reality of life and government.

Meanwhile, according to Afif and Khalish (2002), HTI carries out political propaganda so that Islam can be implemented in life so that Islamic law becomes a constitutional basis. Because Islamic law is a political basis that emits rules that can solve the overall human problem, both in the political, economic, educational, social and other fields.

B. HTI Political Thinking and Movement

For Hizbut Tahrir, striving to uphold Islam is a must for

Muslims, because the Prophet has succeeded in establishing Islam and expanding its influence for about ten years in Medina and at that time Muslims had a lot and the territory of the Prophet centered in Medina had expanded and almost covers all Arabia. The City of Medina building is based on three pillars namely thought (fikriyah), politics (siyasiyah) and non-violence (la maaddiyah). The success of Rasulullah in building people above religious pluralism in Medina is a concrete representation of how Islam can provide the safest, peaceful alternative for all humanity (Team HTI, 2003).

In developing its organization HTI members are required to hold fast to the Qanun Idari (Administrative Law). This Qanun contains principles of thought, ideology and movement strategies. This Qanun is extracted from various books written by Hizbut Tahrir figures. These books become references in the insights, attitudes, and actions of Hizb ut-Tahrir activists around the world. Each region must be in contact with the Central Leadership Council which is headed by an amir or General Chairperson. Regional administrators must also take responsibility for international management. All this process is done through virtual relationships. There is no direct meeting mechanism such as congress or conference (Zada and Arafat, 2004). In fact, cadre and management meetings were held in the Khilafah conference arena as occurred in 2000 and 2007.

According to HTI's belief, Islamic law is impossible to be implemented perfectly except with the existence of a Khilafah (Islamic state) and a caliph who will apply Islam to Muslims is based to be heard and obeyed his orders on the basis of the Koran and al-Sunnah. Restoring Islamic life and developing Islamic da'wah is a limitation of the purpose of HT (Rodhi, 2012).

As a political movement with Islamic ideology, HTI has thoughts, goals, and activities. HT explained that every thought conveyed by HT was adopted from a number of thoughts in activities aimed at restoring Islamic life and carrying out the Islamic da'wah by establishing the Khilafah. HT aims to return Muslims to the dar al-Islam and Islamic community. In other words, all life affairs are carried out in accordance with Sharia laws under the auspices of the Islamic State; a country led by a caliph who took the oath of allegiance to impose laws based on the Koran and the Sunnah and carry the message to the whole world with jihad (Rodhi, 2012).

According to HTI, a country that does not practice Shari'a norms and uses any type of government model outside the Khilafah is a kufr state which in political matters must be disputed. This model state will implement sovereignty in the hands of the people or authorities, therefore it is very contrary to the principle of God's sovereignty as the Islamic state is embraced. Hizbut Tahrir forbids a parliament that does not uphold Islamic Sharia, and elects people's representatives by using general elections, he said as something that can change and become haram if there are cases that deliver it (Afif and Khalish, 2002). Democracy in Indonesia is the most obvious example of the destruction of democracy because in a government based on democracy there is competition to favor the interests of each group.

One of HTI's goals, namely establishing ad-daulah al-Islamiyah with the Khilafah system is to make it easier to preach amar makruf nahi munkar. Da'wah done by the authorities will be more effective than those who do not have power. The ruler has the power to compile laws or dustur or qanun can be compiled based on the Koran and as-Sunnah, even Islamic law can be implemented in people's lives. Moreover, in every law will be accompanied by sanctions for those who do not obey them. This is an opportunity to be able to carry out the teachings of Islam kaffah and preach

throughout the world.

Hizb ut-Tahrir implements the operationalization of da'wah which according to him was exemplified by the Prophet. Da'wah is divided into three stages, namely: First, the stage of taqif (guidance and cadre formation). At this stage, da'wah is done by inviting people to come to the house, and at other times coming to the people to the house, inviting them to Islam, building faith and understanding the meaning of kalimah tahlil. Second, the stage of tafa'ul (interacting) with the ummah, so that the ummah will implement the teachings of Islam well in their lives. At this stage, there was a political struggle, because it was confronted with the Quraysh infidel leader who was sociologically established in society, and theologically had his own beliefs. Third, the stage of istilamu al-hukmi (acceptance of power), to implement Islam practically and comprehensively and preach the message of Islamiyah to the whole world (HTI Team, 2008).

This stage of da'wah by HTI was also applied in stages to gain power. Then preaching is only a way or political strategy. The da'wah of HTI to be able to influence people to follow their thoughts and strategies is carried out in the following forms: (1) Al-Wa'ie Magazine, a magazine published once a month with the full name "Political Media & Al-Wa'ie Da'wah Building Awareness of the Ummah". (2) Tabloid Media Umat for the Life of Islam, this issue is published twice a month. (3) Weekly Bulletin called "Al-Islam". This bulletin is published regularly every week, distributed by HTI activists, especially on Fridays in mosques, and every publication is printed as many as 1,000,000 (1 million) copies. The three publications, according to Ismail Yusanto, have the intention, in order to build awareness of Muslims to re-embrace Islam in aspects of ruhiyah and politics. Indeed, if you look at it, the title in the bulletin, for example, the 2017 issue, is a response to national problems and issues that are currently actual, which can be mapped into several themes, both political, economic, cultural, and the theme of propaganda.

Other political strategies pursued by HTI to uphold the Khilafah al-Islamiyyah are by demonstration, as a media for forming public opinion, with the aim of influencing government policy or providing input to the government in making political, economic, and policy related to the lives of many people. Besides the demonstration by mobilizing the masses in order to show their existence as a movement that is swift, fast, and responsive to the problems being faced by the people and nation. For example, the Century Bank case which caused a public uproar in 2009. HTI appeared to voice what had been fought for. According to HTI the Century Bank Case is a capitalist game, and this case will not appear in the Islamic economic system under the Khilafah al-Islamiyyah.

Between 2016-2017 HTI demonstration activities reached its peak. This year HTI often staged demonstrations against DKI Jakarta Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, which was held in Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, and Palembang for alleged blasphemy. According to HTI the blasphemy by Basuki was because he mentioned the content of the surah Al-Maidah verse 51 interpreted as a lie, then by HTI Basuki's statement was haraam and included the defamation of the Koran. However, in this period, after Ahok was convicted as a blasphemy suspect, HTI also faced a deadlock in the form of the dissolution of its activities by the Indonesian government.

C. HTI Dissolution

Another thing that was highlighted was the discourse of the unilateral disbanding of HTI organizations by the government. According to the Chairman of the DPP HTI Rokhmat S Labib, the dissolution of mass organizations is the worst face of democracy because it contradicts the values of democracy itself. Although there are restrictions, it should be the last attempt of the

government as part of law enforcement. Dissolution cannot be based solely on speech but must be proven through a fair trial process.

For HTI, for the blasphemy case by Basuki Tjahaja Purnama or Ahok, the government still uses the trial route. While for HTI, the government immediately took steps to dissolve.

Rokhmat assesses that the government is more concerned about the fate of Ahok than a mass organization that has many members. It is known, Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Ormas is officially dissolved by the government. The HTI recorded at the Ministry of Law and Human Rights No. AHU-00282.60.10.2014 was revoked on Wednesday 19 July 2017.

The Director-General of General Law Administration of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Freddy Harris explained that the government has administrative legal authority in the rules of ratification and association, as well as to revoke the administration of mass organizations. HTI's aggressiveness in playing Islamic political propaganda to achieve the goal of enforcing the Daulah Islamiyah was later banned by the government of the Republic of Indonesia. In fact, Hizb ut-Tahrir is generally banned in Central Asian Countries, which in fact are Muslim-majority countries or place Islam as a constitutional basis.

The government considers HTI as an organization that contradicts Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Decisions made by the government are considered in the context of caring for and maintaining the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia. In a press conference at the Menkopolkam Office, Wiranto emphasized 5 reasons for the disbanding of HTI namely:

1. As a legal entity organization, HTI does not carry out a positive role to take part in the development process in order to achieve national goals.
2. Activities carried out by HTI are strongly indicated to have been contrary to the objectives, principles, and characteristics based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, as stipulated in Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Mass Organizations.
3. The activities carried out clearly have caused conflicts in the community, which can threaten the security and order of the community, as well as endanger the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.
4. Paying close attention to the above considerations, and absorbing the aspirations of the people, the government needs to take firm legal steps to dissolve HTI.
5. This decision was taken not to mean that the government was against Islamic organizations, but only in the context of caring for and maintaining the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia.

This Government Decree was rejected by the HTI Central Board. According to HTI Spokesperson Ismail Yusanto (2017), HTI is a legal organization that is legally incorporated and has carried out missionary activities in this country for 25 years in an orderly manner and has never clashed with applicable laws in Indonesia. The HTI DPP even asked those who mentioned anti-Pancasila HTI to prove their statement. The HTI Central Leadership Council believes in accordance with the Statutes and by-laws that HTI is not contrary to the law of community organizations.

But is the issuance of Perppu the right step? Considering that the making of Perppu must meet the elements of urgent or emergency conditions. In addition, making a Perppu is similar

to making a law in which the provisions apply to the public and are not intended for one case. So the policy to issue Perppu cannot be said to be the right choice (Syahayani, 2017).

In a democratic country which is at the same time a constitutional state, like Indonesia, the principles of the rule of law and the principles of a democratic state must be carried out simultaneously. That would then give birth to the concept of a democratic rule of law. The rule of law limits and regulates how popular sovereignty, as the main principle of democracy, is channeled, carried out and administered. Instead, the law must reflect the interests and feelings of justice for the people. Thus in the concept of a democratic rule of law the meaning of democracy is regulated and limited by the rule of law so that freedom does not occur. While the legal substance itself is determined in democratic ways based on the Constitution (Syahayani, 2017).

However, in the context of the case of the dismissal of HTI, the policy does not apply even though HTI has several times made a defense. The case began when Menkumham dissolved HTI in 2017 based on the Ormas Law. HTI did not accept and sued PTUN Jakarta. On May 7, 2018, the Jakarta Administrative Court rejected the HTI lawsuit. The verdict was upheld by the Jakarta High Court in September 2018. HTI did not accept and submitted an appeal to the Supreme Court (MA). As a result, in February 2019 the Supreme Court (MA) rejected the appeal of Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and declared it a prohibited organization.

CONCLUSIONS

The movements launched by HTI always contain opposition to the systems that they consider kufr, such as the democratic, liberal, socialist systems. In addition, they also voiced sharp opposition to the constitution owned by a democratic country, as in Indonesia, HTI voiced its disproportionation towards the constitution owned by Indonesia. HTI's aggressiveness in playing Islamic political propaganda to achieve the goal of upholding the Daulah Islamiyah was later banned by the government of the Republic of Indonesia. In fact, Hizb ut-Tahrir is generally banned in Central Asian Countries, which in fact are predominantly Muslim-populated countries or put Islam as a constitutional basis.

REFERENCES

1. Abdullah, K. (2003). Gerakan Politik Islam Ekstraparlementer: Studi Kasus Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. *Depok: Universitas Indonesia*.
2. Abdullah. (2001). Mafahim Hizbut Tahrir. *Jakarta: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*.
3. Afif, A., & Nur Khalish, N. 2002. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia: Mengenal Hizbut Tahrir Partai Politik Islam Ideologis. *Jakarta: Pustaka Thariql Izzah*.
4. Aksa. (2017). *Gerakan Islam Transnasional: Sebuah Nomenklatur, Sejarah dan Pengaruhnya di Indonesia*. Historical Studies Journal, 1(1).
5. An-Nabhani, T. (2001). *Mafahim Hizbut Tahrir*. Jakarta: HTI Press
6. Chusna, A. (2014). *Konsep Jihad Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) dan Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI): Studi Perbandingan* (Doctoral dissertation, UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya).
7. Creswel, J. W. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Los angeles: *University of Nebraska-Lincoln*.
8. Hilmy, M. (2011). Akar-akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). *ISLAMICA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman*, 6(1), 1-13.
9. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. (2003). *Dakwah Islam Tanpa Kekerasan*. Jakarta: HTI.
10. <http://www.hizbut-tahrir.or.id>, accessed July 14, 2017.
11. HTI Spokesperson Interview Muhammad Ismail Yusanto, at the HTI South Jakarta DPP Office, August 7, 2017.
12. Jonkennedi, J. (2012). Gerakan Hizbut Tahrir dan Raelitas Politik Islam Kontemporer di Indonesia. *KOMUNIKA: Jurnal Dakwah dan Komunikasi*, 6(1).
13. Ma'arif, A. S. (2009). *Islam dalam Bingkai keindonesiaan dan Kemanusiaan: Sebuah Refleksi Sejarah*. Bandung: Mizan Publika.
14. Miles, M. H., & Huberman, A. A. (1984). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Beverly Hills.
15. Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. SAGE Publications, inc.
16. Purwanto, J. D. (2015). *Ide dan Aksi Politik Hizbut Tahrir (Studi Ihwal Kemunculan Pemikiran dan Gerakan Politik Khilafah Islamiyah)* (Doctoral dissertation, Universitas Gadjah Mada).
17. Rahmat, I. (2009). *Arus Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke Indonesia*. Jakarta: Erlangga
18. Roy, O. (2005). *Genealogi Islam Radikal*. Yogyakarta: Genta Press.
19. Tim Hizbut Tahrir. (2007). *Mengenal Hizbut Tahrir dan Strategi Dakwah Hizbut Tahrir*. Bogor: Thariql Izzah.
20. Tim Hizbut Tahrir. (2009). *Manifesto Hizbut tahrir untuk Indonesia: Indonesia, Khilafah dan Penyatuan Kembali Dunia Islam*. Jakarta: HTI Press.
21. Turmudzi, E., & Sihabudin, R. (2006). *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*. Jakarta: LIPI Press.
22. Rodhi, M. M. (2012). *Tsaqofah dan Metode Hizbut Tahrir dalam Mendirikan Negara Khilafah*. Bogor: Al-Azhar Fresh Zone Publishing
23. Syahayani, Z. (2017). *Apakah Pembubaran HTI Melanggar Hukum dan Demokrasi?* In www.theindonesianinstitute.com, accessed May 15, 2018.
24. Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource*. John Wiley & Sons.
25. Turmudi, E., & Sihbudi, M. R. (2005). *Islam dan radikalisme di Indonesia*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
26. www.hizbut-tahrir.or.id, Mengenal "Hizbut Tahrir", accessed June 8, 2017.
27. www.nu-online.com, accessed May 15, 2017.
28. Zada, K., Arofah, A. R., & Durori, K. (2004). *Diskursus Politik Islam*. Lembaga Studi Islam Progresif (LSIP): Yayasan Tifa.
29. Zallum, A. Q. (2002). *Sistem Pemerintahan Islam*. Bangil: Al Izzah.
30. Karle Pravin P, Dhawale Shashikant C. "Manilkara zapota (L.) Royen Fruit Peel: A Phytochemical and Pharmacological Review." *Systematic Reviews in Pharmacy* 10.1 (2019), 11-14. Print. doi:0.5530/srp.2019.1.2
31. Khalili, M., Alimohammadi, N., Narges, K. Iranian nurses' ethical challenges in controlling children's fever(2018) *International Journal of Pharmaceutical Research*, 10 (1), pp. 337-340. <https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-85056993661&partnerID=40&md5=c5462f618e1e4563e8892cda3aebdc63>