

HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA: FROM PRESSURE GROUP TO POLITICAL PARTY (A CASE STUDY IN PEKANBARU)

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Abstract

This research is about Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia opportunities as a pressure group to political party. This research will produce a view of the strength of Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia and predict its desire to become a political party contestant elections in Indonesia in the future. The results of this research found a new theory about the metamorphosis of pressure groups into political parties. The presence of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is purely political. Almost all of his movements are political. All the problems that occur in this nation, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia always offer solutions with laws of shari'a or in accordance with Islamic's law and replace the existing power with the Khilafah Islamiyah. The political activities of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia can be assumed as an informal political party or an extra-parliamentary political party. Based on the concept of party system, Khilafah Islamiyah can be interpreted by the existence of a single party that controls in the country.

Keywords: *HTI, Metamorphosis, Pressure Groups, Political Party.*

INTRODUCTION

This research examines of change the pressure group into political party with recalculation case of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) in Pekanbaru. This research is a extension of reasearch M.Zainuddin about initiation of Social Movement with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's efforts to build a Social Movement in the Reform Order (Zainuddin 2013). This article examines about how Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia plans in the future. Many organization or pressure group that are metamorphosed into political party, such as Nahdatul Ulama, Sarikat Islam and Nasional Demokrat. HTI is a great organization with cadres scattered entire of Indonesia. Based on the case of great organization that metamorphosed into political party, the researcher have hypothesized that HTI certainly has an opportunity to metamorphose into a political party.

The hypothesis about metamorphosis into political party can also be analyzed from its name : Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia which means the Indonesian Liberation Party. It can be interpreted that today HTI is a pressure group, but in the right time, it has opportunity to be a political party, because on its name has already an element of its political party. HTI has oppurtunity to metemorphosis become part of political. Just the volition of internal HTI itself to position itself as part of elections system in Indonesia.

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is a part social separation in Indonesia. They have the characteristics, cadres, goals, and orientation of their own political movements. This has same case with Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS). Where, PKS is formed from the basis of social movement or social separation of its own to become a political party with their own separation social.

Based on the all description, itneeds to estimate and analyzed power of HTI and its anxiety to metamorphose become a political party. Because the mass, purpose, and orientation of the HTI movement is similar to that experienced by Sarekat Islam, Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah to become a political party or affiliated to a particular political party. It has same case, PKS in the beginning only a social movement of campus activists, but after they mapped the power then ultimately metamorphosed into a political party.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses qualitative approach. This approach is considered able to reveal deeply how the power of HTI, HTI's anxiety to metamorphose into a political party, and reveal the HTI strategy in an effort to change its movement becomes a political party.

This research was conducted in Pekanbaru City as a case study for other location. Informants were determined by using purposive sampling technique. Triangulation of data is conducted to recheck the data submitted by informants. After the data collected, the researcher tested the validity and reliability of the data before the analysis of existing data.

RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. Meaning of Pressure Groups and Political Party

In general organizations or pressure groups are different from political party. According to Pamungkas, there are two differences between pressure groups and political party. First, the main goal of a political party is to take of power or take part in a power seizure. Instead the pressure group does not seek power for itself, or take part in a power seizure, it only for give an influence to the government. Second, the basic of support for political party is large, while pressure groups represent only a limited number and have special concern (Pamungkas 2011).

The activities of political parties cannot be separated from concern associated with state management. Otherwise, pressure group is not directly related to the task. Even though, regardless of anything differences of gradual, political party and pressure group have an essential part insuring continuity of a political system (Amal 2012).

B. Genealogy Political Party

There is difference of opinion about inception of political party and parliament. It is about which is one come first political party or parliament? If viewed from the side of history, the beginning of the political party is preceded by the parliament. But today, political party precede parliament

According to Duverger, political party that grew up in intra-parliament started with mechanisms; the formation of parliamentary groups, followed by election committees, and the last developed into a permanent relationship between the two elements (Amal 2012). For political party formed in extra-parliamentary by pre-existing institutions and activities outside the electoral and parliamentary mechanisms. Political party formed outside parliament typically takes ideological oppositions to the government. There are an attempt to transform the political system (Pamungkas 2011).

Duverger's opinion applies to any country including Indonesia. In out line, there are several main approaches in understanding of the origins of political party. Such approaches are the institutional approach, the historical approach, and the modernization approach (Pamungkas 2011).

First, the institutional theory that prioritizes the transformation that occurs in parliament. This theory is an extension of Duverger that explains that political parties are formed from two things, namely from within parliament and outside parliament.

Second, the historical theory, this theory emphasizes systematic crises related to the nation's development process. The existence of greater participation demands also relate to the formation of political party.

Third, the theory of modernization, experts argue the beginning of the formation of political parties resulting from industrialization. In modern society, political parties are formed to mobilize the masses, not for the revolution. With the existence of a political party aimed at mobilizing the masses toward forms of electoral participation that are routine, productive and reinforce the industrialization system.

C. Embryo and Development of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

Hizbut Tahrir is a group of Islamic ideological movements. Etymologically, Hizbut Tahrir means "Liberation Party", founded by Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani in 1953 in Jordan (Bubablo and Fealy 2005;

Rathomy 2007; Jurdi 2008). Before the birth of Hizbut Tahrir, an-Nabhani has published a book in April 1950 entitled *Risalatul Arab*, explaining that his character is very nationalist (Amin 2008). The book shows his passion for Arab land as a nation.

Hizbut Tahrir has pioneered his movement in Indonesia from 1982 to 1983 with name is Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, abbreviated as HTI (Kholil 2009). Base on the research Zulfadli explained that Hizbut-Tahrir entered Indonesia from Mustofa and Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi. Mustofa is the son of Abdullah bin Nuh, the manager of Pondok Pesantren al-Ghazali Bogor, he works as a lecturer at the Faculty of arts University of Indonesia (Zulfadhli).

As a movement of Islamic revivalism, Hizbut-Tahrir was formed to awaken Muslims from a severe downturn, freeing people from ideas, legislation and laws that did not originate from Islamic teachings, and freed them from the domination and influence of the state -West Country. HT's main goal is to rebuild the Islamic caliphate system and enforce Islamic law in the reality of life (Rahmat 2005).

The actions taken by HTI are propaganda and massive of ideology. Almost all activities of social political movement carried out by HTI well without any violence. HTI conducts propaganda in various ways such as peaceful demonstrations, writings and discussions in various media, influencing public opinion, scientific studies and the doctrine of its members.

Ismail Yusanto (HTI spokesman) explained to the public about the political parties for Hizbut Tahrir, while they did not participate in the election in Indonesia. Yusanto on his website wrote about HTI entitled 'The Diversity of Islamic Groups: Comparative Study of HTI with Other Groups' mentions that:

Although HTI does not follow the election, HTI actually has 4 functions as a political party as Sigmund Neuman has said, such as: First, the aggregation function, which combines and directs the public, will of the still messy. Second, the function of education, the function of party for educate the public to understand politics and have awareness based on party ideology, in this case Islamic ideology with HTI container. Third, the function of articulation, formulating and voicing the interests of the community into a policy proposal submitted to the government to serve as a public policy. Fourth, recruitment functions, recruitment in politics such as putting party cadres into parliament that will carry out the functions of legislation and into government institutions, and recruitment to attract people to become new party cadres. All of the functions, only the recruitment function has not been maximally implemented, due to limitations in party recruitment (looking for new cadres), not political recruitment. HTI only implemented political recruitment if the Khilafah Islamiyah is really established, because HTI does not want to be contaminated with the democratic system (<http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/main/php?page=jubir&id=29>).

Hizbut Tahrir wants as a container that has two functions at once, as a political party and ideological social movement. According to Yusril is islamic political parties differ from ideological movements. Both cannot be unified and function at once. The mention of the two functions at once in one container is a mistake and academic misdirection. Political parties are pragmatic-realistic in solving problems faced, while the ideological movement is more emphasis on the aspect of movement idealism (Mahendra 1998).

D. Membership of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

Membership, HTI actually accepts every Muslim or Muslim to become a member, both male and female. Each HTI member is required to use the existing ideology and system within Islam (An-Nabhani 2004). HTI does not question the tribe and its membership school, but HTI only sees its members as Muslims and runs everything that has a legal basis in Islam regardless of the difference of sect. HTI only unites Muslims from the differences that exist in Islam.

Differences to other Islamic movement organizations, HTI never issued a membership card (KTA) for its cadres. Therefore, HTI never counts mathematically how many of its members. HTI only claims its members if someone has participated in the activities held by HTI, whether in the form of discussions, seminars or actions took to the streets. Administratively, HTI only has a list of participants who are committed and interested in HTI. The differences between the two categories (cadres and participants) are HTI treatment in the cadre process.

The problem of HTI membership is divided into two categories, namely: First, membership in the form of actual cadre for HTI. This type of membership is for those who participate in intensive coaching or regeneration system that exist in the HTI, and then willingly take the oath to declare joining HTI.

Second, HTI claims (participant) membership only. Membership like this is actually just a claim from HTI that someone declared a HTI member has participated in HTI activities but did not participate in intensive development of the HTI cadre system. HTI also considers as a member for anyone who has the same understanding of the ideology present in the HTI as well as agrees with the movements it undertakes.

E. Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan as Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia Affiliate

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is one of the transnational Islamic movements in Indonesia as well as through the method of spreading ideology by forming affiliate movements. At the student level, HTI has a student movement organization called the Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan abbreviated with Gema Pembebasan. Informally Gema Pembebasan is part of HTI. This can be seen from the regeneration system and political attitude (Rathomy 2007). According to the Coordinator of the Gema Pembebasan University of Riau, the cadre of Gema Pembebasan in Pekanbaru is the same as the Pekanbaru HTI cadre.

In membership, Gema Pembebasan does not oblige (but) every member to be appointed or cleared as a HTI member. Gema Pembebasan does not participate with his party but come with his ideology. However, basically all members of the Gema Pembebasan are HTI cadres, and not all HTI students are incorporated in the Gema Pembebasan. Gema Pembebasan only embrace and manage HTI students who do not join in other student organizations. Gema Pembebasan Pekanbaru is an affiliate or operational organ of HTI Pekanbaru. Gema Pembebasan always infiltration movements to other organizations such as Indonesian Muslim Students, Islamic Students Association - Assembly Rescue organization and Muhammadiyah Student Association. In addition, they take part in managing intra-campus organizations.

In this research, the researcher found it difficult to reveal the governance structure of the Gema Pembebasan in Riau Province and the underlying hierarchical structure. There is a fear or trauma of activists Gema Pembebasan to openly reveal the structure and personnel management of the Gema Pembebasan in Riau. It because of the trauma of Soeharto's presidency that always storms and intrigues the whole student movement. Apparently, the trauma is proven by the freezing of HTI and its affiliates by the Government of President Joko Widodo in 2017. In addition, revealing a lot of data about the Gema Pembebasan will be able to inhibit their movement to expand recruiting students to join with them.

The movement and spread of ideology undertaken by Gema Pembebasan always take action down the streets, free speech in the campus area and use various media to share their thoughts in writing. Gema Pembebasan also focused on three main activities (Zulfadhli), namely: First, strengthening the spread of Islamic thought. The spread of this idea is done in many ways as mentioned above. Second, cadre building and network strengthening with the goal of ideological Islamic ideology among student movements. Third, to prepare the resistance against the Indonesian government politically, so as to establish the Khilafah Islamiyah.

F. Political Strength and Chance of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

The rationalization of views within a movement or pressure group to a political party can be found in the perspective of political opportunity. This approach not only focuses on the internal conditions of pressure group organizations, but also gives more systematic attention to the political environment and the institutions in which the pressure group engages. This is what McAdam calls and is widely known for the concept of "*political opportunity structure*" (Adam 1996). The priority focus of this approach to political opportunity structure is the relation between actors within political institutions in other side and the pressure groups on the other. The success of pressure groups is determined by the opportunities and obstacle within a particular political system and the wider environment (Manalu 2009).

Tarrow describes the mechanism of this structure of political opportunity specifically: First, pressure groups arise when access to political institutions is open (in line with what Eisinger mentions). Secondly, when the balance of politics is being divided while the new political balance has not yet been established. Third, when political elites experience major conflicts and these conflicts are used by actors of change as opportunities. Fourthly, when the actors of change are hooked up by the elite within the system to make changes (Tarrow 1998). For the condition of Indonesia post-reform is in the first mechanism of the Tarrow.

Reformasi in Indonesia provides political opportunity for Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia to metamorphose. But, HTI does not use it as other pressure groups exploit the situation of the Indonesian state during the reforms, as has been done by the National Democrats who metamorphose into the National Democratic Party. Until finally HTI dissolved by the government because of the suspicion of the government against the HTI movement that will change the basic state of Indonesia from Pancasila into an Islamic ideology or a territorial infinity without territorial so-called khilafah islamiyah.

The movement carried out by HTI has sociopolitical implications. Certain bases such as mosques, educational institutions, other Islamic mass organizations, legislatures and executives have been heavily dominated by HTI, although not yet fully controlled and still clashing with other communities. The mosque is considered strategic as a container for HTI ideology growth, because the mosque is a gathering place of Muslims from various social classes.

Movements by HTI certainly have socio-political implications. Certain bases such as mosques, educational institutions, other Islamic mass organizations, legislatures and executives have been heavily dominated by HTI, although not yet fully controlled and are always in conflict with other communities. The mosque is considered strategic as a place to grow HTI ideology, because the mosque is a gathering place for Muslims from various social classes.

The campus as a gathering place for intellectuals and egalitarians became an effective means for HTI to spread the idea of the Islamic Caliphate and Islamic law through students and lecturers. The result almost every campus in Pekanbaru become the target of HTI struggle. The support of influential intellectuals indicated that the mobilization of HTI cadres was able to construct the power that transformed into an effective and strategic cultural capital (Zulfadhli).

Dilemma occurs when the desire of some HTI cadres to participate in the election as an effort to formalize the legislature formally. When HTI participates in the election, it is possible that support to the already flowing HTI will slowly disappear. Because according to the author, HTI model movement is considered unique, because HTI in the same time can be a political party and social movements. HTI is the only ideological Islamic political party that operates extra parliament.

Law will be an indicator that the idea of HTI is accepted by many people. With the existence of shari'a legislation is a process of officially Islam in the context of the life of nation and state starting from grassroot (Tarrow 1998). Although at the national level has not been accommodated well, but at the regional level has been very strong desire to implement Islamic law. It is still gaining resistance from the nationalists who always want the law of the troubled Lawlaw to be reviewed, whether in accordance with the state constitution or not.

To support the expectations of the HTI struggle strategy through the village theory of besieging the city beginning with Islamic Law, it can be seen from the survey results. Roy Morgan Research survey (June 2008) showed 52% of Indonesian people demanded the application of Islamic law. The results of PPIM UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta (2001 and 2002) survey show that 67% (2002) of respondents believe that the government based on Islamic law is the best for the Indonesian nation.

In fact, the previous survey results (2001) only 57.8% of respondents who agree with such opinion. Similarly, the results of the Indonesian National Student Movement survey on major campuses in Indonesia (2006) showing that 80% of students want the application of Islamic law in Indonesia (Thalib 2010). If the survey results are supported by politicians and the government, it will cause many regional regulations that shaped Islamic law in Indonesia. This is an important indicator of the desire to formalize Islamic law in state institutions at the national level, so that the Khilafah Islamiyah is also not an illusion or imagination impossible as some liberals think. The challenge is

sure, not only from among non-Muslims, but also from within the Muslim community itself is anti with the formalization of Islamic law.

The HTI strategy for establishing the Khilafah Islamiyah through a persuasive approach by influencing and doctrinization ideology can be referred to as a political activity to gain power. This is in line with Kholil's conclusion of two expert opinions about the political meaning of Deliar Noer and Miriam Budiardjo. Kholil states that politics is essentially human behavior or group of people, both in the form of activity and attitude, which aims to influence or maintain the order of a society that can be used with power (Kholil 2009).

The Indonesian government through President Jokowi has stopped the existence of HTI. This should be a passion for HTI to reconstruct its organization from a pressure group to a political party that keeps fighting for the Islamic idea or khilafah islamiyah in secret. It seems that the thinking of the HTI elite will be like that if it wants to defend its ideology in Indonesia. Ideology will be difficult to survive if not accompanied by having power.

CONCLUSION

Initially its existence, HTI is a pressure group. However, when viewed from the side of activities and efforts undertaken, then HTI can be grouped as an extra-parliamentary political party. Mass or cadre of HTI more and more. If you learn from the historical experience of pressure groups in Indonesia, HTI is predicted to become a new political power in the political system of Indonesia in the form of political parties. This is reinforced efforts to establish an Islamic caliphate by HTI has been threatened by the government. Therefore, the only thing that must be done by HTI to maintain its existence is by following the flow and democratic system in Indonesia.

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