

Revitalization of Jihad and Khilafah: A Review for Political thought of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia

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Keywords: revitalization, jihad, Khilafah

Abstract: The effort to establish a Khalifah state has been threatening the unity of the Republic of Indonesia. In the last few decades, it has been recognized by various parties, and the mass organization like HizbutTahrir Indonesia which is trying to promoting the establishment of Khalifah state in Indonesia. It is as a result of a misunderstanding about the meaning of the Khilafah in the context of the nation and state in Indonesia. In order to anticipate thoughts and movements, so that it will not be massive in the future, the government of Indonesia issued a policy to dissolve HTI which previously had status as a legal entity. The dissolution of HTI based on Government Regulation in Law No. 2 of 2017 which amends Number 17 the Year 2013 Law, concerning social organization. The purpose of this study is to refrain from a misunderstanding that will occur about the meaning of the Khilafah state and the application of jihad. The study uses study is a qualitative method. As for the results of interim research, it shows that there has been a misunderstanding about the concept and implementation of jihad. The fundamental thing in the life of the nation and the state is the recognition of Pancasila.

1 INTRODUCTION

This study discusses the revitalization of jihad and Khilafah teachings which always appear in society from time to time. Jihad is considered an effort and means to build a Khilafah government in Indonesia. This is the agenda of Hizbu Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), and has fought it actively; they believe that the Khilafah government can solve various problems faced by the people of Indonesia. However, the actual effort to build a Khilafah government will bring greater mudharat (problem), namely the split disintegration of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). In detail, this study discusses some of the main issues among them; understanding Khilafah and jihad, the stigma of Islam as a terrorist religion, the motivation of jihad, HTI, and Jihad, effort to establish Khilafah in Indonesia.

2 UNDERSTANDING KHILAFAH AND JIHAD

The word Khilafah comes from Khalafa which means successor. In the context of Islamic political

thought, Khilafah is a term referring to the model of government built by the four Caliphs after the Prophet passed away, namely Abu Bakr, Umar ibn al-Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan, and Ali bin AbiTalib. In this context, al-Mawardi (364-450 H./975 - 1059 AD) one of the Islamic political thinkers stated that *Imamate* (leadership) is the subject of the Nubuwwah caliphate (the successor of Nubuwwah) that takes care of the religion, manages the social and political life (al-Hadhari, 1983). These four Caliphs built a government that became known as Khilafah. Thus, the caliph was a leader who succeeded the previous leader as a successor in leading the people, as Abu Bakr succeeded Prophet Muhammad. So did Umar bin Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan, and Ali bin Abi Thalib, although Umar did not like the title of Caliph, Umar preferred the title "Amir al-mu'minin." Umar argued that if Abu Bakr was called the Caliph of the Prophet, then when leadership turned to Umar, the title of khalifah should be called twice, that is khalifatu khalifah Rasulullah, and this is too long. This is how Uthman ibn Affan and Ali bin Abi Talib argued about the title.

The word Jihad is from jahada which means to all capabilities (bazdluljuhdi), and terminology

means to exert all effort and ability in order to defend Islam to reach Allah's blessing (al-Far, 1985). By this understanding, there are three ways of Jihad. First; Jihad with oral (jihad bil oral), i.e., through explanation with the utterance of the truth of Islam, and explaining about things that are not true. Second; Jihad with treasure (jihad bil mal). This is done by infusing property on the good things according to the Shari'a, and third is jihad with soul and body (jihad bi al-nafs). This is done in situations where Muslims are struggling with weapons in defending their homeland and religion from the attack of the enemy. In such a situation, it calls to help weak Muslims from the enemy threat. Under these circumstances warfare takes place in Islam, thereby fighting in this context with the army being jihad fisabilillah (al-Far, 1985).

3 STIGMATIZE ISLAM AS A TERRORIST RELIGION

This the notion of jihad as described above is very different from the concept of jihad conceived by HizbuTahrir, where the notion is more focused on war as if there is no jihad in any other way or form. It is as confirmed; Jihad is at war (*al-qital*) in God's way to keep God's sentences high and honorable (Hizb al-Tahrir, 1426/2005). This understanding is a misunderstanding because it will implicate the birth of extreme or radical acts. So it is true what is affirmed by one of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) leaders that the emergence of violence in the name of religion is due to an inadequate understanding of jihad. Jihad should not be interpreted only in the form of war, but also other things, such as eradicating poverty and ignorance (Turmundi & Sihbudi, 2005).

Jihad means to achieve the goal of creating security and peace of life and be the final alternative if they do not meet the agreement through diplomacy. If the goal can be achieved without going through war, it is considered much better (Gunawan & Nasir, *Inspirasi Jihad Kaum Jihadis* (Telaah Atas Kitab-Kitab Jihad), 2017). Jihad aims to protect the homeland, the Muslims, the unbelievers *Zimmiy* and the people who get tyrannized. In the context of life in the modern era based on the observation of the jihad has become a single meaning that connotes violence as a manifestation of unbalanced competition in wars between Islamic groups when faced with Russia and America. This condition has spawned a group of

guerrillas who are pejoratively stigmatized as terrorists. The way to resist is by spreading terror to a society that is not on the right target. The inappropriate actions of these targets continue as if to legitimize the birth of terrorist methods as a legal part of the jihad strategy (Gunawan & Nasir, *Inspirasi Jihad Kaum Jihadis* (Telaah Atas Kitab-Kitab Jihad), 2017), including suicide bombings, whereas Islam has banned them.

Jihad in the sense of war against non-Muslims who are hostile to Islam at the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Moreover, his companions are pious deeds that will get Heaven's reward for those who are killed in the battlefield as martyrs so that in those days every Muslim with a passion and sincerity wants to involve himself in battle. However, this phenomenon is different, jihad appears in a single meaning and connotes violence, not inadequately improper, and a layman becomes a victim, resulting in a negative stigma; Islam is a terrorist religion always associated with acts of violence. Jihad is only used to kill people without feeling sorry for them. The facts show that in some parts of the Muslim world, such as in Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and including in Indonesia, there are often terrible bomb explosions and result in public places in addition to destroying charred property. Islam does not teach violent acts; Islam teaches the teachings of *rahmatan lil alamien*.

In addition to being suspected by a very literalist (literal) religious understanding, the emergence of jihadist groups in Tabah Airis also influenced by two important factors (Afadhal & al, *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*, 2005). First; The fragility of religious harmony. Second; there is an attempt to discredit the international world against Islam. The first factor is when the conflict between religions, as what happened in Ambon in 1999, the victims are mostly Muslims. It caused anger of other Muslims so that they formed supporting troops. The second factor is the tragedy of World Trade Center (WTC) in New York on September 11, 2001, in which Osama bin Laden was accused of involvement as his mastermind. Since then in America and Europe stigma appears that Islam is a terrorist religion, and also the world International voiced the dangers of the jihadist movement that became the seed of terrorism throughout the Islamic world, including Indonesia (Afadhal & al, *Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia*, 2005). It affects the inconvenience of some Muslims because Muslims feel cornered. The reaction of some Muslims who are radical to commit an act of terror, although his actions are, are considered as legal in the *Syari'at* law. Because,

first, they have spread fear to the public, second, their actions are harming innocent people.

4 MOTIVATION OF JIHAD

Use the spirit of jihad that appears in the Islamic world, at least triggered by three main things (Gunawan & Nasir, *Inspirasi Jihad Kaum Jihadis* (Telaah Atas Kitab-Kitab Jihad), 2017).

4.1 Opposition to Colonialism

Resistance to colonialism and perform acts that resulted in the suffering and poverty of society. This condition raises the spirit of opposition from the leaders and colonized communities. The goal is to expel the invaders from their homeland. From here born the fighters who are ready to perform jihad, expel the invaders to the life of the free people, and can manage their own lives.

4.2 Purification of Islamic Teachings

Religious life in Indonesia cannot avoid the acculturation so that the teachings of Islam mixed with local culture or foreign culture, such as beliefs of *khurafat*, *bid'ah* and so on; Islamic teachings are no longer displaying pure teachings. In the mid-century, the birth of Ibn Taimiyah brought jihadist views to revive a pure Islam, despite the influence of local cultures mixed with *khurafat* and *bid'ah*. Ibn Taimiyah mobilized his jihad activity through an authentic spirit of religious understanding (Taimiyah, 1392/1973). Ibn Taymiyyah in many respects criticized the problems of Muslims that he regarded as deviating from the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1701-1787 AD) followed Ibn Taymiyyah's efforts to do jihad. Like Ibn Taymiyyah, the jihad done by Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab was to invite the people to return to the normative way of religion and the opinions that purify the monotheism of the things that are *khurafat* and superstition.

4.3 Enforcing the Khilafah

Some Muslims are figures and thinkers, including Abul A'la al-Maududiy, Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Quttub, and others, want the Khilafah state to reinforce (Gunawan & Nasir, *Inspirasi Jihad Kaum Jihadis* (Telaah Atas Kitab-Kitab Jihad), 2017). Abul A'la al-Maududiy came up with his ideas to some extent affecting the development of Muslim

teachings, especially in India and Pakistan. al-Maududi argues that the state should have a monotheistic ideology of God's sovereignty and a universal system. It offers the Islamic state system with the new term, the democracy and Islamic theocracy (Al-Maududi, 1416/1996).

Hasan al-Banna also voices the struggle to establish the Caliphate. Hasan al-Banna in the Congress of the Muslim Brotherhood V stated in his keynote speech stated that the Brotherhood believes that the Khilafah Islamiyah is a symbol of Muslim unity, as well as a solid bond between Islamic countries, although this struggle in some countries in the Middle East failed, including in Egypt.

In Indonesia, two prominent jihadist figures are very hard to fight for the implementation of the Shari'a and the establishment of the Khilafah state, namely; Abu Bakar Ba'asyir (1938 AD) and Aman Abdurrahman (1972). In order to realize the mission implementation of Shari'a Islam and the enforcement of Khilafah, both of them campaigned the idea of "*thoghut*," that is, a person or group that does not practice Sharia. Indonesia embraces the democratic system and does not make Islamic Sharia as the basis of the country is considered a state of thoghut. Therefore, it should not be obeyed and must be resisted (Gunawan & Nasir, *Inspirasi Jihad Kaum Jihadis* (Telaah Atas Kitab-Kitab Jihad), 2017).

5 HTI AND EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH KHILAFAH ISLAMIYAH

Hizbu Tahrir (HT) came to Indonesia in 1983 brought by an Australian-based Hizbu Tahrir muballigh and activist, Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi. After experiencing developments in Indonesia Hizbut Tahrir obtained Legal Entity status on July 2, 2014, three months before Joko Widodo was sworn in as president. The development of Hizbu Tahrir in Indonesia is inseparable from Hizbu Tahrir found by Taqiuddin al-Nabhani in 1953 in al-Quds, Palestine as *harakah Islam* (Islamist Movement), and later became a political party. The purpose of the establishment of Hizbu Tahrir (HT) is to revive the political concept which is claimed to be an obligation in the Holy Book, the Sunna of the Prophet and has been manifested in the history of Islamic rule since the time of the Prophet Muhammad, until the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Hizbut Tahrir (HT) seeks a single unity for all Muslims in the world, an idea that breaks across

international geographical, cultural, and political boundaries.

In particular, the purpose of the establishment of Hizbu Tahrir in Indonesia was to continue the life of Muslims and carry out missionary (*dakwah*) mission. According to Hizbu Tahrir Indonesia, which then later called HTI, that to solve the problems of Muslims that are so complex is by returning Islamic Sharia law and upholding the Khilafah state (Ainun Rofiq: 2013). Therefore, at the beginning of its movement, HTI conducted *da'wah* on large campuses throughout Indonesia, so that in the 1990s HTI propaganda began to develop and spread to the community. This propaganda, besides being carried out on campuses, is also carried out in mosques, offices, and housing estates (Ainun Rofiq: 2013).

Furthermore, if viewed from the aspect of his ideas of political thought, HTI is a radical organizational movement, despite efforts made to achieve its goal of using peaceful means. Why HTI is said to be a radical organization. . ? because what is fought for by the organization's movement is to make fundamental political changes by way of totally destroying the nation state that has stood up to date and based on national consensus in 1945. And after the destruction, this country will be replaced by the form of the Khilafah state (Ainun Rofiq: 2013).

As mentioned above, HTI in carrying out its movement is not violent or frontal, unlike other radical organizations, such as the Indonesian Mujahidin Council (MMI). But HTI moves strategically and through stages. Therefore, even now there is no sufficient evidence to accuse HTI of committing acts of violence or terrorism. As for the stages carried out by HTI to achieve its political objectives, there are at least three stages as follows; 1. *Tatsqif* stage, which is the coaching and performance stage. This stage is done to recruit people so they can join HTI until they have the same political goals. This stage is the initial capital to form the framework of a party. 2. *Tafa'ul* stage or interaction. This stage aims to interact with the *ummah* to be able to develop Islamic *da'wah*, so that Muslims will make *da'wah* the main matter in their lives. By continuing to carry out *da'wah*, the community can be influenced more broadly. 3. The stage of *istilamul hukmi*, namely the stage of taking over power or government. If this power can already be taken over, HTI will be able to enforce Islamic law in total, and also be able to spread it to the whole world (Anzar Abdullah: 2016).

Of the three stages, HTI made efforts to popularize the Khilafah state. Therefore, in the struggle to establish the Khilafah state, HTI does it from below, starting from recruiting members, the cadre process, preaching to the community, disseminating information through mass media, famlets, seminars and other strategic steps. Another thing to note is that HTI in its struggle is always using and favoring the glory of the Muslim community of the past, so that this is the motivation for the struggle of this movement organization (Anzar Abdullah: 2016)

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is a fundamentalist movement that flourished in Indonesia. Islamic fundamentalist movement in Indonesia does not only carry the idea of formal application of Shari'a Islam on the level of life of nation and state, but also seek toward the establishment of an Islamic state or Islamic Caliphate. The emergence of this thought is not surprising because there has been a movement that emerged and championed by Kartosuwijo, namely DI / TII (Darul Islam / Army of Islam Indonesia). In the post-reform era, this thought reappeared in varied forms and underwent its revitalization with the presence of several new groups that have the idea of establishing an Islamic Caliphate that can accommodate all Muslims from various nations. The essence of this idea is only limited to the form of the spark of thought because the people who carry this idea have not discussed in detail (Turmudi & Sihbudi, Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia, 2005). However, Hizbu Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) strongly emphasizes the importance of the role of the state (*al-daulah*) or Caliphate as a means of application of Islamic Sharia. Sharia, for this group, must be supported by the power of the state. Therefore, HTI carries the idea of the need to re-establish the Islamic Caliphate (Turmudi & Sihbudi, Islam dan Radikalisme di Indonesia, 2005).

6 REVIEW HTI'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

The affirmation of the meaning of Khalifah as stated by Abdul Qadim Zallum (second leader after Taqiuddin al-Nabhani) is a general leadership for all Muslims in the world (Zallum, 2002). This assertion is, in fact, contradictory to the meaning of the Khilafah, prevailing in the days of the companions of the Prophet, namely the Khulafa al-Rashidin; Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khattab, Uthman ibn Affan, and Ali

bin Abi Talib. The Khilafah is interpreted as a model of leadership or the successor government of the Prophet Muhammad. After the passing away of Prophet Muhammad SAW, as successors of Prophet Muhammad, Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khattab, Ustman ibn Affan, and Ali bin Abi Talib, modelled Khilafah as the socio-political life management for the followers of the Prophet in maintaining the religion. This understanding does not indicate a single leadership for all Muslims in the world. This idea is also very utopian in the context of socio-political life in the contemporary era as it is today because Muslim countries have formed their respective territorial boundaries. So that it is no longer possible to be united in a single leadership for the entire Islamic world.

Apart from that, the form of government is something that can change from time to time in accordance with the changing times, the situation and circumstances of the community in question. This is because Islam does not specify by default the form of the state or system of government. Nevertheless, Islam only establishes its basic principles, such as the principles of trust, deliberation, equality, upholding justice, pluralism (Sirojuddin Aly: 2018). This is in accordance with Munawir Sjadzali's assertion (1993) that the basic principles of social life provided by the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet are not directly related to statehood. Therefore on this basis, the state does not have to be in the form of Khilafah and its leaders are called Caliphs, because Islamic teachings can be divided into two main parts. First; Teachings that are permanent (*al-tsabat*) and cannot be changed or amended until at any time and by anyone. The teachings which in this first category, such as regarding the obligation to pray five times, the obligation to pay tithes (*zakat*) based on what has become a decree, the implementation of the obligations of Hajj in Arafat, Mina, and Mecca, the obligation of fasting in the month of Ramadan. These teachings cannot all be changed at any time and by anyone, because they are fixed (*tsubut*). Second; Teachings that can change from time to time are in accordance with the changing times and places. This second part is a part of Islamic teachings which in Islamic political thought is called *murunah* or flexible. In general, the teachings of this second part are related in a way or technical, so the method or technique can be different and change from time to time according to human differences and changes in times and places. The teachings included in this second part, such as the form of the state and the system of government.

In the modern and contemporary era, the form of the state and system of government can be different and change according to the results of consensus and collective agreements of the people of the country concerned, it is okay to use a monarchi (kingdom) state or democratic republic. Therefore, Indonesia could use the model and system of republican and democratic government. Nevertheless, in the implementation of the democratic system in Indonesia, not one hundred percent copy and paste from the West. This is because the implementation of the democratic system in Indonesia has undergone changes and adjustments to the culture based on the wisdom of the Indonesian people. Therefore, in the implementation of the government system it does not have to use the Khilafah system. In addition, the Khilafah system has no guarantee whether it can solve the problems faced by the Indonesian people or not. . . . A strong reason is based on the fact that the struggle of ISIS in Syria and Iraq which fought the Khilafah system up to now does not give birth to the good of the people of the two countries, but the opposite is true, namely giving birth to endless destruction and suffering for the people of the two countries.

They argue that the ideology of Pancasila is not in line with Islamic principles although according to them, the ideology of Pancasila appears to be spiritually Islamic. The content of the Pancasila does not accommodate the essence of Islam teachings. Therefore, according to this group, Islam must be presented and become the ideological religion through the Islamic state (*daulah Islamiyah*) with its (Gunawan & Nasir, Inspirasi Jihad Kaum Jihadis (Telaah Atas Kitab-Kitab Jihad, 2017). This thinking has geopolitically opposed the reality of politics in Indonesia, because Indonesia has a multi-ethnic or plural population, consisting of various adherents of a religion, tribe, nation, and language. Pancasila is the media to keep the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Sirojuddin Aly: 2017).

Basically, HTI has denied the general principles that apply to all social organizations based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The denial of HTI is carried out through structured, systematic and massive efforts to replace the state base of Pancasila with the Khilafah system for life, nation and state. Some facts, the denial of HTI can be conveyed as follows (Kemenkumham, Defendant's Answer Document: 2017);

1. HTI registers as a community organization. Whereas HTI it self is a political organization that aims to seize power, because etymologically the

word hizb means party, while the tahrir is liberation. So, Hizbu Tahrir means the liberation party.

2. HTI has similar political objectives with all political organizations of Hizbu Tahrir in several countries, namely dissolving the nation states that already exist, including the republic of Indonesia to become part of a world-level Khilafah.

3. HTI has adopted, translated and published the Draft Islamic Basic Law of Hizbu Tahrir (*al-dustur al-Islami*) written by Sheikh Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani.

4. HTI has adopted, translated, and published the book "Rules of Life in Islam" written by Sheikh Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani.

5. HTI has repeatedly carried out activities in various regions that are contradictory and even want to replace the Pancasila ideology.

6. HTI held a conference of the Khilafah on June 2, 2003 at the Bung Karno Stadium.

7. HTI openly held an International Conference on 12 August 2007 at Gelora Bung Karno, this International Conference was attended by thousands of participants.

8. In its Articles of Association, HTI includes the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, but in its activities HTI denies the existence of the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution.

As mentioned above, HTI always conducts doctrine to the public through various media and forums, such as preaching, seminars, recitation, book publishing, and demonstrations that contain political ideology. In submitting the doctrines of its political ideology, HTI always raises issues of socio-political conditions from the negative side only as a form of government mistakes, positive law (laws and regulations below), constitution, and the basis of the state of Pancasila. Everything is considered a product of *darul kufr* which is contrary to the teachings of Islam. The doctrine carried out by HTI aims to eliminate public trust in the state base (Pancasila) which is ideologically internalized into the thinking of each cadre and candidates for HTI cadres.

HTI does not recognize the state system of the Republic of Indonesia. According to him the NKRI as *dar al-kufur* (an infidel state) and *dar al-harb* (a country that must be fought), and intends to uphold the understanding of the Khilafah to replace the state basis of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the State along with its entire legal system which according to HTI is a *thaghut* system (Kemenkumham, Defendant's Answer Document: 2017). Pancasila which has been included in the Articles of Association of HTI, but in reality it is not

in accordance with its implementation, this is a violation of the principles of social organization and is a form of thought and intention that has existed since the social organization was registered (Kemenkumham, Defendant's Answer Document: 2017).

HTI considers that Islamic Law is one of the positive laws of the Republic of Indonesia. But actually the statement conveyed by the HTI contains the logic of wrong thinking and manipulative thinking. Because Islamic Shari'a law is a law that clearly and expressly applies only to Indonesian citizens who are Muslims. While HTI wants to establish the Khilafah Islamiyah as the foundation of the state and impose Islamic Sharia for all citizens without exception (Kemenkumham, Defendant's Answer Document: 2017).

HTI insists that the understanding of the Khilafah according to him does not conflict with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution and can still be debated or discussed. In this case, there are two very important things to consider (Kemenkumham, Defendant's Answer Document: 2017), namely;

1. The contradiction between the position of the Khilafah and the concept of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution is truly real, because;

- The concept of the state adopted by HTI is a religious state, not a legal state. This principle is affirmed by Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani; "*Therefore, it is mandatory for you Muslims to uphold the Islamic State, because Islam will not come into being with an influential form, except with the existence of a state*".

- The basic law in the *daulah Khilafah Islamiyah* system is not the 1945 Constitution, but the Islamic faith. This is as confirmed in the *Daulah Islamiya*; "*Islamic faith is the basis of the state. Everything related to state institutions must be built based on Islamic faith*".

- Understand the Khilafah does not know the division of power; Executive, Legislative and Judiciary. This is as affirmed by Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani; "*The Caliph legalized certain Syara laws which were used as the constitution and the laws of the state, and what has been ratified by the Caliph became Syara law, and we must be obeyed by every individual*".

- HTI states that the concepts of democracy and human rights are pagan. This is as affirmed by Taqiyuddin al-Nabhani; "*For now, all ideas or ideas that are Kufr creeds must be opposed and explained by their falsehoods, for example; secularism, pluralism, and liberalism are ideas that must be*

opposed. So is the idea of democracy, human rights, gender equality and others".

- The principle of the Caliphate is contrary to the principle of equality before the law, because the right of Muslims is greater than that of other religious people, as stipulated in the constitution of the Hizbu Tahrir Khilafah.

2. MUI fatwa resulting from the Ulama of the Third Indonesian Fatwa Commission in 1430H / 2009 M. in Padang Panjang on 24-26 January 2009, namely the fatwa on *masail asasiyah wathaniyah* (national strategic issues) states, among others, as follows (Kemenkumham, Defendant's Answer Document: 2017);

- The agreement of the Indonesian people to form the Republic of Indonesia with Pancasila as the nation's philosophy and the 1945 Constitution as a constitution, is an effort to maintain the nobility of religion and regulate shared prosperity, where this agreement binds all elements of the nation.

- The Indonesian nation is a pluralistic nation, both ethnic, racial, cultural and religious, therefore, the Indonesian people agreed to idealize this nation as a pluralistic one with the slogan "Unity in Diversity".

- Islamic Unmat as the largest part of this nation must continue to maintain the national consensus.

- In the context of nation and state, after the proclamation of independence in 1945, Islam views the position of religious people as part of the nation's citizens who are bound by national commitments, so they must coexist peacefully with the principle of mu'ahadah (peace agreement) and muwatsaqah (mutual trust), and not the position of muqatalah (war).

Therefore, the understanding adopted, developed, and disseminated by HTI, in fact will pose its own danger for the life of the nation and state, because it raises the tendency of physical violence and the potential to create horizontal conflicts, because HTI in achieving its goals will make raises conflicts, including (Kemenkumham, Defendant's Answer Document: 2017) as follows;

- There is a call for the military to take power and hand it over to the plaintiff.

- The existence of rejection from other elements of society towards understanding that is disseminated, thus causing friction (conflict) in the midst of society.

- The fact that there are radical figures, both those who have been convicted, or those who have not undergone legal proceedings, they have the same understanding and will be affiliated with HTI.

If the ideology of Khilafah replaces Pancasila as the basis of the state, it will result in division among the society. If there is division, then there is no peace and tranquillity of life, which is the destruction of the country that led to the beginning of misery for all Indonesian people. Thus, government policy should take action to dissolve HTI, as it is based on Government Regulation in Lieu of Law No. 2 of 2017, amends Law No. 17 of 2013 on social organization.

7 CONCLUSION

The understanding of the Khilafah, if referring to its origin, means a substitute, as Abu Bakr was the successor of Prophet Muhammad in leading and managing the socio-political life of the people. The question form and system of government in the modern and contemporary era can be appropriate to the concern of the community; the most important is the commitment to follow the divine command. In the context of political life in Indonesia, the Khilafah is not a complete solution to solve the problems of this country. It is based on the geopolitical reality of Indonesia, where its people are coming from different cultures and religions. Therefore, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution are the fittest ideology to be the basis of the state to defend the sovereignty and unity of the Republic of Indonesia.

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