



Fundamentalist Movement in Islamic Universities (Study: Movement Patterns and Cadreization Strategy of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Campus, Jakarta)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to determine the pattern of movement and regeneration strategies developed by HTI and to find out the symptoms of Islamic fundamentalism at the UIN Jakarta campus. This research was conducted through library research and interviews. The author found that the movement patterns and strategies of HTI regeneration in the UIN Jakarta campus were relatively intense and took several forms, including by utilizing various facilities, both internally owned by the organization and campus facilities, such as using campus media, Radio Da'wah and Communication RDK, Faculty of Da'wah and Communication. , SC Student Center worship facilities, affiliation with the Student Executive Board (BEM) and others. As for the internal means of HTI developing organizational resources such as the development of study groups such as SRIKAYA, Echoes of Liberation, Muslim Science Community MSC, Lisma HTI and others. The coaching process is taken through various stages such as the stage of coaching and cadre (al-tathqif), the stage of interacting with the people (marhalah al-taufiq ma'a al-umamah), and the stage of taking power (istilam al-hukm). Furthermore, related to Islamic fundamentalism, the author finds some similarities in the characteristics of HTI with the Islamic fundamentalism movement, such as HTI's attitude in responding to Western ideas, having strong political elements, ways of understanding religious doctrine and others. This argument is formulated through an analysis stage, namely by looking at the symptoms of HTI growth and analyzing the various activities carried out by activists and the HTI regeneration process at the UIN Jakarta campus. Besides that, The author tries to link several indicators attached to HTI with the characteristics of fundamentalism that have been classified by experts. The theoretical framework used in this thesis is Islamic fundamentalism, social movement theory and strategy theory.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is part of the many religio-political organizations that developed after the New Order (Jamilah, 2015). Historically, the existence of HTI in Indonesia can be traced from 1982-1983 on the initiative of a preacher from the Al-Ghozali pesantren, namely Abdullah Nuh. At

first, HTI's activities were only centered in the pesantren environment, but thanks to the continuous interaction of its activists, HTI's ideas continued to spread to the Al-Gifari Mosque at the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB). It was on this campus that HTI found its first momentum to come into direct contact with students (FIKRI, 2018).

When HTI was first introduced in Indonesia, the presence of HTI members was very limited. However, because HTI activists have great enthusiasm in carrying out Islamic da'wah missions, their movement quickly spread to other campuses in Indonesia. Quoting what has been written by M. Zaki Mubarak, the HTI Movement is widely spread on campuses in Indonesia such as the Bogor Agricultural Institute (IPB) (Murod, 2020), Padjajaran University (UNPAD), Malang IKP, Airlangga University Surabaya, Hasanudin University Makassar, University of Indonesia Depok and etc. These network nodes are also built evenly in many cities in Indonesia including Jakarta, Bandung, Bogor, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and others. The campuses were then used as centers to carry out HTI activities and regenerate its members (Rijal, 2011).

In addition to the campuses mentioned above, HTI activities have also grown at the Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta (UIN Jakarata). In this case, according to Aat Yuliawati, the first momentum of HTI on the UIN Jakarta campus was since 2001. In the first phase of HTI contact with UIN Jakarta, their movement was still taking exclusive steps and was limited to a few people. The scope of their movement is also still personal and only relies on ties of friendship. New members who are interested in HTI's ideas will be directly fostered using the halaqah am4 method (meetings or forums to discuss religious issues).

Furthermore, around 2002 HTI's da'wah activities began to be more neatly organized, then this year they also held several halaqah'am (meetings or forums to discuss Islamic issues) and training for organizational expansion. In 2003-2004 HTI began to expand to faculties around the UIN Jakarta campus. The pattern of movement they have built is by forming discussion groups, lesehan studies, simple recitations in mosques, regular member studies and seminars. One of the HTI seminar activities that received the most attention in the early phase of HTI was the Khilafah National Seminar with the title "Is the Enforcement of Islamic Sharia Relefant?...". The event was held in 2004 at the UIN Jakarta Student Center Hall. The speakers in the arts are: DPP HTI, namely Ust. Hafid Abdurahman and Ust. Abu Zaid (Muhammad, 2016).

Since the first minute of their arrival at the UIN Jakarta campus until now, HTI activists are still consistent in carrying out movement activities. This assumption can be proven by the existence of several HTI activities which are still ongoing, as seen in the HTI activities in 2012. Towards 2012 HTI activists held regular halaqah with the theme "Islam: Aqidah, and Sharia, Solutions to the Problems of the Ummah 2012", which took place in mosques around campus such as the Al-Mukhlisin, Baiturrahmah, Fatullah, al-Mugirah mosques and others. . According to Andriansyah's statement in an interview with the author, he stated that (Fauzan, 2019).

As explained above, the seminar is one part of HTI UIN Jakarta's strategy to expand their influence in the UIN Jakarta campus environment. Apart from going through halaqah'am, HTI also uses the media and small writings as instruments for its da'wah, such as making web sites www.uinjakartamenukhilafah.or.id, www.hizb-tahrir.or.id, making pamphlets, bulletins (Al-Islam, Gema Liberation of UIN Jakarta), magazines (al-Wa'ie), pamphlets, newspapers (people's media) and they are also involved in electronic media, namely Radio Da'wah and Communication (RDK) at the Da'wah and Communications Faculty of UIN Jakarta (Nurfitriyanti, 2016). Another pattern of movement carried out by HTI UIN Jakarta is to utilize organizational resources. Utilization of organizational resources is manifested in the form of expansion of subsystems in the organization's internal, such as the creation of small groups that have direct relations with HTI. These groups were formed apart from intellectual development, but also aimed at introducing HTI ideas to students. Some of these sub-organizations include the Echoes of Liberation discussion group which has a regular agenda once a week, LISMA discussions for HTI women, HTI Muslim women, Muslim Science Community (MSC), SRIKAIA (Series of Studies and Analysis), and others (Sulistiyowati & Alfiani, 2019). Thanks to this movement pattern, HTI UIN Jakarta became easily recognized by students on the UIN Jakarta campus. Another thing that is important to note regarding the development of the HTI organization is the regeneration strategy. In conducting regeneration, HTI has a different strategy from internal campus organizations in general, such as

the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII), Indonesian Student Association (HMI), Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK) and others. In HTI, prospective cadres will not find regeneration processes such as LK (Cadre Training) at HMI or MAPABA (New Member Cadrement Period) at PMII. In general, either at PMII or at HMI, every student who wants to become a cadre is enough to follow MAPABA or LK, after they are finished they can be declared as cadres .

In HTI, the regeneration process is divided into several stages that must be passed by prospective cadres. After the cadres are declared to have finished following the predetermined stages, only the students/members are declared to be HTI cadres. The first stage is usually known as halaqah,,am (simple recitation for early participants). This halaqah,,am was held eight times with a maximum duration of eight weeks. After the cadres take part in the halaqah,,am, usually darsins (participants who have status as reviewers of HTI ideas in halaqah,,am) are offered whether or not they agree with HTI's ideas, if they agree, then Darisin is eligible to follow the next stage and if not, then regeneration process is stopped (MADA SUKMAJATI & Pol, 2012).

This portrait is what makes HTI different from other organizations in general. In addition to having a special movement pattern and strategy, HTI is also famous for the presence of consistent, militant and critical activists/cadres who are ready to fight for their ideology. The contributions made by activists to the organization have a great influence on the development of the organization. In the perspective of social movement theory, the issue of mass or members is classified within the framework of the concept of resource mobilization, which is one of the social capital for social movements. The existence of members is very important for social movements because they will play a role in mobilizing, regenerating, and spreading organizational ideas through an interactive process (Sulasmı, Sibuea, Eriska, & AirLangga, 2020).

To photograph the involvement of activists/members in mobilizing, it can be seen during preparations for the 2013 HTI Khilafah Mukhtamar at Gelora Bung Karno Senayan Jakarta. In an effort to mobilize the masses, almost all HTI activists at UIN Jakarta were involved in socializing, recruiting participants, and organizing the event. According to the statement of St. Zen mentions:

In this caliphate congress, HTI UIN Jakarta is targeting around 700 more participants to be handled by HTI UIN Jakarta. And this morning there were already several buses that had been dispatched, namely special buses for sisters. The total number of buses that have been provided is about 20 buses for the Ciputat area and HTI UIN as the person in charge.

The information described above is quite a resounding achievement for the mobilization effort. How could it not be, in a not too long period of time, HTI activists were able to mobilize a relatively large number of people. HTI's success in mobilizing the masses cannot be separated from the role of activists who are consistent and have high loyalty to the organization. Apart from mobilizing, the activists are also involved in various HTI activities such as halaqah"am, lectures on lectures, and socialization of HTI ideas either through oral or written.

The great mission of HTI is to build a global society that is governed by Islamic law. For HTI, an Islamic social order will be realized if it is supported by the existence of an Islamic political structure. Therefore, HTI offers the political structure of the Khilafah Islamiyah as the only political system that can create an Islamic order, the Khilafah system is also believed to be a system that is sourced from the Qur'an and Sunnah.

HTI's acceptance of the caliphate institution in total is part of the indicator that they understand the religious text or religious doctrine scripturally (Santoso, 2015). Apart from the political dimension, HTI is also very careful in responding to all kinds of Western ideas. This exclusive attitude is expressed in the form of their rejection of ideas from the West, such as democracy, communism, materialism, capitalism, pluralism, liberalism and other isms (Heywood, 2017).

HTI's attitude which rejects Western ideas and tends to be textual in understanding religious doctrines has become a distinct character for this group. Therefore, some socio-religious scholars group HTI into the conceptual framework of the Islamic fundamentalist movement (Rohimah, 2017).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The method used by the author in compiling this thesis is library research and observation. The library research is a research method that uses data collection techniques by utilizing various

library sources related to research problems, both from books, mass media, or journals, which talk about the intended subject. by being directly involved in the field in several HTI activities and the author conducted interviews with several respondents who were considered representative of the research that the author did.

This research on social movements is also qualitative in nature, departing from empirical generalizations or historical social realities. These realities are described and analyzed comprehensively. Phenomenal aspects are also described and critically studied. Qualitative research is a research procedure that produces descriptive, spoken or written data, and observable behavior from the subject itself. This approach shows directly from the setting as a whole. The subject of the study, whether in the form of organizations, institutions, or individuals, is not narrowed down to separate variables or hypotheses, but is seen as part of a whole.

This qualitative method with analytical descriptive discussion technique aims to describe the pattern of the Indonesian Hizb ut-Tahrir movement and the factors supporting their movement at the UIN Jakarta Campus. Then the writing in this thesis is adjusted to the standards of scientific work (thesis, thesis, and dissertation) published by the Center for Quality Development and Assurance (CeQDA) UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. The writing technique used is referring to the thesis writing guidelines, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta 2011. In addition, the author also interviewed a number of HTI organization administrators, especially those included in the HTI organizational structure within UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta. In this case, The author will ask about movement patterns and factors that support HTI in the UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta campus. The answers from the HTI management will be used as a reference source for analysis data to add references in this thesis. The author at least interviewed the chairman or members who have strategic positions in the management of HTI at the UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta campus.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Mosque Leadership as an Instrument for Development of the Social Network of HTI UIN Jakarta (Illustration of Fatullah Mosque and Baiturrahmah Legoso Mosque)

The study of tools or resources is crucial in social movement theory in order to understand the supporting infrastructure needed for social movements. In the theoretical chapter the study of these tools is known as resource mobilization or the structural mobilization approach. This section will describe the mobilization "tools" that HTI UIN Jakarta uses to seek support and develop its organization.

In the theory of social movements, the types of organizational resources take various forms, such as income movement funds, communication networks, moral commitment, ideological justification, leadership capacity, strategy, and other tools. From the various forms of organizational resources above, this paper will highlight the mosque as an instrument for network development and an instrument for carrying out organizational activities to attract sympathizers.

The mosque is the main institution for religious practice in Muslim societies, and is often used as a special religious mobilization structure by various Islamist groups. Within the physical structure of the mosque, Islamists organized sermons, lectures, and study groups to spread the message of the movement, organize collective action, and recruit new members. Mosques also offer organic and national networks that connect activist communities in various places.

The existence of a mosque in the UIN Jakarta campus is an important instrument for HTI to develop an organizational network. In addition, the mosque is also often used as a place by HTI to carry out various organizational activities that aim to introduce HTI's ideas. In the authors' observations, the mosques that are often used as places for HTI activities are the Fatullah Mosque and the Al-Mukhlisin Mosque, the Baiturrahmah Mosque, the Al-Mugirah Mosque, and at the mosque on the UIN Jakarta campus (Strudent Center).

HTI's involvement with these mosques began with the emotional relationship between HTI activists and the mosque's administrators. Departing from this relationship, HTI activists have been able to more easily carry out their organizational activities such as seminars, halaqah'am, small discussions, dissemination of opinions through writing and others. In terms of disseminating

opinions, HTI activists at UIN Jakarta are very intensive in distributing regular writings through the Al-Islam bulletin which is given after every Friday prayer.

According to Haris (Chairman of the Fatullah Mosque Youth Association) who was interviewed by the author, he stated that "Long before I served as chairman of IRMAFA, HTI activists had an emotional relationship with our seniors at IRMAFA. As for the dissemination of Islamic opinion, in the Al-Islam bulletin, it has been done since the first and regularly every Friday. In fact, sometimes we from IRMAFA help them distribute bulletins to the congregation for Friday prayers."

In addition to distributing bulletins, HTI also often collaborates with the administrators of the Fathullah Mosque in seminar programs and their activists also often participate in recitation programs held by mosque administrators. Haris further stated, "Since the beginning of 2013, HTI activists have invited cooperation in a weekly seminar program with the theme "Aqidah, and Sharia, the Solution to the Problems of the People". And so far, as far as I know, they have held about 15 such weekly seminars. As for before, I don't know for sure because at that time I had not been involved in the management of IRMAFA."

Haris' various statements are the same as those given by Adriansah (Baiturrahmah Legoso Mosque Manager), he said: "The activities that have been carried out by HTI here are weekly seminar programs with the theme "Aqidah, and Sharia, Solutions to People's Problems", as I recall. they held seminars this year about 15 times and I've seen around 15-20 members per meeting. In addition, they also often hold halaqah'am here, even almost every week.

3.2 Utilizing Personal Relationships (Friendships and Family

Social movements are rooted in complex networked groups that tend to prefer informality over formalized institutions. Many Islamic social movements are more likely to make use of strong association networks of personal relationships. Even Islamic organizations of the caliber of the Muslim Brotherhood are formed by dynamic networks that go beyond the parameters of the formal organizational scope that connect activists with friends, family, and other colleagues.

The pattern of the network that is built actually makes it difficult for research because the network that is formed is rooted in personal interactions and social relationships. In order to gain access to these networks the author had to be willing to do fieldwork which took up a considerable amount of time. In addition, the author must also try to ensure trust, build friendships and continue to do repeated interactions in order to get optimal results.

In the analysis that the author has done so far on HTI at UIN Jakarta, personal relationships, both friendship and family, have a great influence on the availability of members to be involved in HTI at UIN Jakarta. The pattern of approach taken by HTI to students usually takes various forms. As explained by Zakiyatun Nufus during a dialogue with the author, he said:

"In the past I have entered several extra-campus organizations such as PMII, IMM, HMI, which were offered by students in campus lobbies. At that time, I did not know HTI at all. At HMI, PMII and others I know the organization myself, because their recruitment pattern is relatively open to the public and is widely distributed in faculties. Then, while at HMI and PMII, I did not find any difference, these two organizations in my opinion are almost the same, they are very active in campus politics. Then, my initial contact with HTI was first established in 2010, at that time I attended a seminar that my friend forgot about, but the seminar was held at the Student Center of UIN Jakarta. There I had a dialogue with Novi, a student from the Tarbiyah Faculty. From the chat, I was introduced to various things related to Islam and women. At first we didn't mention HTI, but Novi is very good at connecting women's actors with Islam. His critical thinking and broad knowledge of Islam made me interested in having a relationship with him. From there, I was invited to have several small discussions on campus, and there I was introduced to HTI Muslim women from various faculties. At HTI I found differences with other organizations, for me HTI was quite consistent in promoting Islamic da'wah. That was the beginning of my contact with HTI, and until now our friendship is very good, even though we rarely see each other because Novi is currently finishing her college degree." but Novi is very good at connecting women's roles with Islam. His critical thinking and broad knowledge of Islam made me interested in having a relationship with him. From there, I was invited to have several small discussions on campus, and there I was introduced to HTI Muslim women from various faculties. At HTI I found differences with other organizations, for me HTI was quite consistent in promoting Islamic da'wah. That was the

beginning of my contact with HTI, and until now our friendship is very good, even though we rarely see each other because Novi is currently finishing her college degree.” but Novi is very good at connecting women's roles with Islam. His critical thinking and broad knowledge of Islam made me interested in having a relationship with him. From there, I was invited to have several small discussions on campus, and there I was introduced to HTI Muslim women from various faculties. At HTI I found differences with other organizations, for me HTI was quite consistent in promoting Islamic da'wah. That was the beginning of my contact with HTI, and until now our friendship is very good, even though we rarely see each other because Novi is currently finishing her college degree.” and there I was introduced to HTI Muslims from various faculties. At HTI I found differences with other organizations, for me HTI was quite consistent in promoting Islamic da'wah. That was the beginning of my contact with HTI, and until now our friendship is very good, even though we rarely see each other because Novi is currently finishing her college degree.” and there I was introduced to HTI Muslims from various faculties. At HTI I found differences with other organizations, for me HTI was quite consistent in promoting Islamic da'wah. That was the beginning of my contact with HTI, and until now our friendship is very good even though we rarely see each other because Novi has now finished her college degree.”

Nufus' experience has similarities with Munawir's. Munawir is an early semester student at the Islamic Religious Education Study Program, Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training, UIN Jakarta. On the sidelines of his conversation with the author, he mentioned his personal experience when he first came into contact with HTI. In Munawir's statement, he admitted that he knew HTI from friendship in the boarding houses where he lived. Where he lives, he gets to know Gustar, an HTI activist and a student of the Arabic Language and Literature Study Program, Faculty of Adab and Humanities. Since his friendship with Gustar, Munawir has often been invited to participate in HTI activities. In an interview with the author mentioned:

“We were invited to have weekly discussions with HTI friends at Gema Liberation. From the first time I entered UIN Jakarta, the only external organization I was involved in was HTI. At HTI I can learn a lot about Islam and others. I am interested in Islam because my educational background is public school. while at UIN Jakarta I was required to learn about Islam. At HTI, I facilitated to know and study Islam. Currently, I still follow the HTI halaqah'am which is held once a week”.

Some of the information presented above clearly shows that friendship relations are very effectively used by HTI activists in recruiting and introducing HTI ideas to students. As explained in the previous chapter, every activist and student who attends education at HTI is given the responsibility to spread HTI's ideas to others. This strategy is very effective for social movements to expand their influence and strengthen the number of members. McAdam mentions that individuals are attracted to participate not only because of individual ideas or even attitudes, but because of their entrenched in the networks that make them structurally available for activity. In addition to utilizing friendship relations, family factors or family networks also encourage expansion into HTI members. To strengthen this assumption, Faisal Fikri (HTI Member from the Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training at the Islamic Education Study Program) said:

“For me, the HTI organization is not a foreign organization or new to me. In Pandeglang I grew up in a family with close ties to HTI activists. My sister is an HTI activist at Matlaul Anwar University, Banten. When I was studying at Madrasah Aliah, my brother often invited me to seminars on campus, but at that time I didn't have time to take part in the official HTI halaqah. In the family, we often discuss with parents about Islam and politics, there I have been provided with knowledge about the caliphate. Furthermore, after I studied at UIN Jakarta, I was immediately introduced to HTI with the help of a network from my brother who happened to have many friends with HTI at UIN Jakarta.”

This is the pattern that I found in the field while I was involved in HTI activities at UIN Jakarta. Family networks and friendship relations have an important role for HTI to expand HTI's ideas to the community. From some of the data and facts that the authors found, it shows that the family and friendship network strategy has been quite successful by HTI at UIN Jakarta.

3.3 Forming Study Groups and Utilizing Campus Facilities

In an effort to maximize a movement, social movements usually utilize various organizational resources, so that the process of delivering messages and recruiting members can run optimally. The form of utilization of organizational resources is divided into various variants such as making mobilization forums, developing networks, utilizing actors and members, division of labor, affiliation with external institutions and so on.

As a social movement, HTI is also involved in utilizing its organizational resources. At UIN Jakarta, various organizational resources used by HTI take various forms, including forming social networks, making public opinion, affiliation to various institutions, empowering activists, study groups and so on.

Associated with study groups, HTI at the UIN Jakarta Campus has formed several study groups that aim to develop intellectually for members and non-members. As stated by Gustar, there are several study groups formed and owned by HTI at UIN Jakarta, namely the Gema Liberation discussion group, LISMA HTI, Muslim Science Community (MSC), Muslimah HTI and others. held erratically or in other words is conditional. However, in one week there is always at least one event, sometimes even more. Gustar's description is the same as that of Ust. Fadlan he says:

At HTI, friends are not only invited to learn practical organization, but HTI members will be invited to participate in activities aimed at intellectual development which are usually held by HTI discussion groups, such as Gema Liberation, LISMA for HTI Muslim women, Jalasamuna, and even specialized in the Faculty of Science and Technology they make MSC (Muslim Science Community). In addition to study groups, we (HTI) also often conduct discussions in the form of seminars, by collaborating with organizations on campus. Regarding the location and members who took part in the discussion at HTI, the participants were not divided or sectarian, meaning that this discussion was open to anyone who wanted to join the discussion. For HTI, the involvement of discussion members from outside will actually give a different nuance during the discussion. As Hanif said that:

"The discussion that we have carried out can be anywhere, whether it is in the lobby of the campus, in boarding houses, in class, in mosques, even in food stalls. I remember that on April 10th, the Muslimah HTI Chapter of UIN Jakarta also held an interactive dialogue: with the theme: "Answering Questions About the Khilafah", which was held at the Bambu INA restaurant. Well, that's part of the event held by HTI UIN Jakarta. And in the implementation of the discussion, we sometimes invite fellow students, both those who have joined the organization and those who have not. In fact, we are happy if we involve representatives from other organizations such as from HMI, PMII, IMM, because with them the discussion will be more interesting."

In the author's experience while participating in HTI activities at UIN Jakarta, HTI discussion activities that do not involve people outside HTI are only the Jalasamuna (sit in a circle) agenda which is held once a month. In addition to discussing certain themes, Jalasamuna is also used as an evaluation platform for organizational activities. In this agenda, all HTI activists are still in status. Mudaris and those who have become official cadres are both expected to attend. According to Ust. Fadlan:

"The jalasamuna agenda at HTI is carried out at least once a month and this agenda is used as a gathering place for HTI cadres and activists as a whole. Then, in this jalasamuna, we evaluate the organizational activities that have been carried out and formulate the next agenda to be carried out. In the jalasamuna, we did not involve Hizbu Tahrir activists from muslimah. As for women, they have special activities attended by Muslim women."

From the various explanations above, it can be found that the pattern of movement carried out by HTI at UIN Jakarta does not only have one form of activity, but they use various ways to realize their big agenda. Therefore, the existence of study institutions is an important instrument in the HTI organization at UIN Jakarta, because starting from this small group, HTI can more easily disseminate ideas and spread their influence to students.

3.4 HTI Cadreization Strategy at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta

HTI is an organization that has a global mission, namely the creation of an Islamic order under the political structure of the Islamic caliphate. HTI activists realize that to realize this great mission

is not an easy matter, especially now that people generally accept modern political concepts such as the nation-state, compared to centralized leadership called the caliphate. Although this fact is acknowledged by HTI, this does not dampen the enthusiasm for carrying out its movements. To realize its obsession, HTI has designed strategic steps for social movements which are divided into several stages. Some of the stages that HTI usually practice is not only a movement strategy, but because in these stages there is a curtailment to educate cadres,

a. Stages of Guidance and Cadre (Al-Tahqif)

The development of HTI at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta also started with al-tathqif. In the previous chapter, it has been stated that HTI entered UIN around 2001 and the pattern of movement used by HTI is still exclusive. Therefore, the halaqah'am activities that HTI activists usually carry out are also very limited. Halaqah itself is part of the mandatory activities carried out by HTI activists to foster prospective HTI cadres so that HTI cadres have high capacity and loyalty to the organization.

According to the statement of St. Fadlan, that the pattern of movement carried out by HTI at UIN Jakarta in the early phase was to do halaqah'am in a closed manner, but at this time HTI's halaqah'am activities are more open, even almost every day. This activity is the obligation of HTI activists, especially those who are already in the senior category.²² With this system, every HTI member has a fostered member, this even applies to the category of cadres who are still at the mudaris level (people who are still learning about HTI).

In the statement of St. M. Gustar, one of the HTI activists at UIN Jakarta, said that at this time halaqah'am was carried out anywhere, the most important thing was that there was an agreement between the builder and the mudaris. As for the category where halaqah'am activities are usually carried out around campus, especially in mosques. The material that is usually given is still general in nature, such as about aqidah, da'wah, Islamic law, mab'da (ideology), and ta'rif (HTI). such as the study of democratic politics. The method of delivery is in the form of discussion, where the presenter first conveys the Islamic political system, then compares it with the concept of democratic politics.

The initial target of halaqah'am was to inspire someone to be interested in HTI's ideas. Thus, it can be said that halaqah'am was the initial activity to recruit HTI members. To do halaqah'am, HTI activists use various methods. One of them is by taking advantage of friendship relations. In the statement of St. Hanif stated that:

"The way HTI spreads its ideas is done anywhere, including in boarding houses, on campus, in class, in mosques and so on. From there, HTI members will invite dialogue and discuss with their friends, usually we have discussions by raising general themes which are then compared with HTI's ideas. For anyone who is interested in our ideas, we will invite them to HTI activities on campus and off campus."

According to HTI activists, this method is considered very effective in spreading HTI ideas on the UIN Jakarta campus. Munawir admits this. According to him, he was introduced to HTI for the first time by an unnamed friend, then he was invited to HTI events and from there he began to follow HTI halaqah'am until now.

The next Mudaris is Izudin, a fourth semester student of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the Political Science study program, UIN Jakarta. Izudin's socio-religious background is interesting to reveal. In a closed interview with the author, Izudin admitted that he grew up in a nahdiyyin family, even though his father was an administrator of the NU branch (Nahdatul Ulama) in Madura. Apart from family factors, Izudin also grew up in the NU educational environment, namely the Nurul Islam Islamic Boarding School. But after continuing his studies at UIN Jakarta he began to know HTI and there began to be a shift in his thinking. Izudin's interest in HTI is because HTI is considered to have different teachings and views in understanding Islam. The Islamic education materials provided by HTI during their participation were different from their previous experiences.

"I am interested in HTI because HTI provides Islamic insight that is different from my previous experience. In pesantren, people generally study the yellow book, after worship and theology, in a way that I find boring. But when I came into contact with HTI, I began to realize that Islam is not only about worship, but Islam covers the whole. I at HTI get a lot of new knowledge that I didn't get in Pesantren. As for the way HTI provides Islamic education, it provides its own satisfaction and is

not boring. For me, HTI is quite consistent in fighting for Islam, and until now I have not found any groups or organizations that can be consistent with the Islamic struggle.

Although Izudin is still a student at HTI, Izudin has been given the mandate to become a mushrif builder in halaqah'am. In practice, halaqah'am is held for a maximum of eight meetings and the number of members being fostered should not exceed five people. Limiting the number of halaqah'am members is intended so that the mushrif can carry out intensive coaching and know the development of halaqah members in depth.

The strategy to introduce HTI's ideas and recruit new members through halaqah'am has been carried out since HTI first entered UIN Jakarta in 2001. In a simple chat the author had with Ust. Gustar, he mentioned that at this time almost every night on campus there are HTI activists who do halaqah'am, while the location and location are conditional. In the rules, after the halaqah'am participants have completed the coaching stage, the participants will be offered their readiness to take part in the next tathqif, namely murakkaz tathqif, on condition that members must agree with HTI's ideas. If participants do not agree with HTI's ideas, they are invited not to proceed to the next stage (tathqif murakkaz).

b. Stages of Interacting with the Ummah (Marhalah Al-Taufiq Ma'a AlUmmah)

As an organization that is structured and has a global parent organization, the HTI strategies practiced by HTI generally have similarities to one another. In the stage of interacting with the people of all HTI organizations wherever they are, they will exhibit the same movement steps, including at UIN Jakarta.

The stage of interacting with the people is a continuation of the first stage which lasted for three years. In this second stage, HTI interacts with the community to convey Islamic messages to the community. The target to be achieved in the second stage is that HTI hopes that Islamic thought that has been set by HTI can be accepted as widely thought. If HTI's thinking can be widely accepted, then HTI's struggle to re-establish the Islamic caliphate can be carried out.

In order for this stage to successfully meet the target, HTI carries out strategic activities such as tathqif murakkaz (intensive coaching). In this training, every HTI activist is obliged to conduct a cadre that begins with recruiting new members. This murakkaz tathqif is a coaching forum for halaqah'am members who have committed and agreed with HTI's ideas. Tathqif Murakkaz's goal is to produce cadres who are capable of realizing HTI's ideals.

Cadreization is one of the important elements in organizational life. Without the regeneration process, an organization will experience extinction, because there is no regeneration. The Golkar Party, as a party that has a lot of experience, has a cadre pattern that has been structured and traced. It is rare to find cadres in the Golkar Party, which many people call "karbitan" cadres, because they suddenly appear without their track record being known. Almost all Golkar Party cadres had to move from the bottom, to be able to occupy a position above it. This is as stated by Akbar Tandjung regarding the question of the pattern of recruitment and regeneration in the Golkar Party:

"While serving as chairman of the Golkar Party in the critical political phase of the early transitional era, Akbar Tandjung tried hard to instill motivation in party officials and cadres so as not to be discouraged or democratized, and remain confident in the face of such political pressures. hard".

Akbar Tandjung's professionalism and commitment was also shown when he stated that he was not willing to be proposed as a presidential candidate from the Golkar Party. This was done in order to avoid division within the Golkar Party. Akbar Tandjung also made efforts to maintain the integrity and avoid division of the party, and in the interest of the nation, when he declared that he was resigning from his candidacy for vice president at the 1999 MPR SU (general session).

An important moment that should be noted was during the Golkar National Conference on 9-11 July 1998, which Akbar Tandjung used as a strategic momentum to organize the Golkar Party's organizational system by giving birth to what he called a new paradigm concept. The essence of the new paradigm includes: expecting Golkar to be built with new values in line with the demands of reform; make Golkar an open, independent, democratic, moderate, solid, rooted, and responsive party to the problems of society, nation and state – by consistently carrying out the functions of political parties.

4. CONCLUSION

The initial association of HTI at the UIN Jakarta campus began in 2001. At this time the pattern of the HTI movement was still exclusive and the organizational structure of HTI was not so solid, so this affected the effectiveness of the delivery of their ideas in the campus environment. Starting in 2002 until now in 2013, HTI activities are increasingly well organized, this can be proven by the existence of several activities organized by HTI activists such as halaqah'am in mosques around campus, namely the Fathullah Mosque, Masjid Al- Mukhlisin Legoso, Al-Muhgirah Mosque, and others. HTI's involvement in establishing affiliations with mosques is not without reason. In addition to places of worship, mosques are central to the gathering of students, so this is considered an ideal instrument for conveying HTI ideas to the congregation, especially UIN Jakarta students. In addition to other pattern mosques built by HTI to convey its message, namely utilizing personal relationships of friends and family, forming study groups in the campus environment such as study groups (LISMA HTI, Gema Liberation, SRIKAYA, Muslimah HTI etc.), and being involved in framing issues both religion and non-religious.

The pattern of movement by utilizing friendship and family relationships is used as a way to influence students to be interested in HTI ideas so that it will be easier for them to become HTI members. This can happen because in some discussion activities HTI usually invites students who are not cadres to be involved in discussions, in other words the discussion is open to the public. The final pattern is the framing of issues. In the process of framing this issue, HTI is involved in constructing the meanings presented in developing popular issues. The transformation of the results of this framing is conveyed in various forms such as direct interaction, demonstration, opinion delivery, making SMS messages and others. In relation to the regeneration of HTI, it develops a tiered coaching regeneration system. In HTI each candidate for cadre will be trained intensively before becoming a cadre. Several stages must be passed by prospective HTI cadres, namely stages and cadre (al-tathqif), stages of interacting with the people (marhalah al-taufuq ma'a al-umamah), stages of taking power (istilam al-hukm).

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