

## CHAPTER I

### A. Problem Background

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is an Islamic organization which based on fundamental idea toward phenomenon in Islamic state and Middle East. This organization established with the main purpose is restore moslem from ruin. The others purpose are avoid Moslem from ideas, constitution and law whose made by kufr and relieve kufr's domination. For example in news paper and another media, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also did not escape from demonstration on roadway. When the member of Hizbut took to the streets to demonstration , they actually called by Jihad because these is one of obligated to defense the same moslem to government.

The birth of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia pioneer by many people and symphatizer whose direct brush with this movement in Middle East. Because, that is not wonder if name, characteristic, doctrin, ideology and the methods movement follow Hizbut Tahrir in Middle East. Also Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is the important branch in International and responsibility toward central Hizbut Tahrir in Yordania.<sup>1</sup>

This ideological factor unites all its activities despites their different such as race, ethnicity, nation and languange. This factors is based from character which reflected by the similarity of thought and felling This factor forms its basic

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<sup>1</sup> M Imdadun Rahmat Aris Baru Islam Radikal: Transmisi Revivalisme Islam Timur Tengah ke

character, which is reflected in the similarity of thoughts and feelings (kullun fikrun syu'uri). Therefore, Hizbut Tahrir in the entire world has the same concept (fikrah) and method (tariqah)<sup>2</sup>. The differences are the conditions, opportunities and challenges. Conditions, opportunities and challenges faced by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is certainly different from the conditions, opportunities and challenges elsewhere. The teaching whose mind by Hizbut Tahrir had characteristic one of form Ahl Sunnah Wal Jamaah Islamiyah<sup>3</sup> (A kind of organization) that bring thinker Ahl ah- Sunnah wa al Jamaah.

Their purpose focus in Islam unites Hizbut Tahrir around the world and its ideology. This ideological factor unites all its activities, despite their different race, ethnicity, nation and language. This factor forms its basic character, which is reflected in the similarity of thoughts and feelings (kullun fikrun syu'uri). Therefore, Hizbut Tahrir in the entire world has the same concept (fikrah) and method (tariqah)<sup>4</sup>. The differences are the conditions, opportunities and challenges. Conditions, and challenges faced by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is certainly different from opportunities the conditions, opportunities and challenges elsewhere.

Therefore, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also has its own uniqueness in accordance with its Indonesian context. In the context of Indonesian-ness, we know that Indonesia is a country full of tolerance and with this Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia faces a condition where the largest Muslim country that once colonized

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<sup>2</sup> The struggle of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia towards Khilafah (accessed on Monday, July 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008): gained from <http://rindusyariah.blogspot.com/2008/05/perjuangan-hizbut-tahrir-indonesia-html>

<sup>3</sup> ibid

<sup>4</sup> The struggle of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia towards Khilafah (accessed on Monday, July 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008): gained from <http://rindusyariah.blogspot.com/2008/05/perjuangan-hizbut-tahrir-indonesia-html>

by invaders infidel countries<sup>5</sup> during 3.5 centuries has not been entirely free from colonialism. Indeed, physically this country has been independent, but in other contexts has not.

Therefore, for Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia its Indonesian commitment is clear, releasing the largest Muslim country itself from the grip of colonialism.<sup>6</sup> This commitment has been evidenced through the intellectual activities of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia abroad. But, above all, this commitment is actually manifestation of its ideological consciousness. Consciousness that is built based on the Islamic faith (aqidah Islam) and the life system that was born from it. This consciousness forces Indonesia to see more clearly in viewing Indonesia that in fact is the largest Muslim country.

Hizbut Tahrir in the entire world has the same concept (fikrah) and method (tariqah)<sup>7</sup>. The differences are the conditions, opportunities and challenges. Conditions, opportunities and challenges faced by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is certainly different from the conditions, opportunities and challenges elsewhere. From the beginning, between the early 1990s until the 2000s, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia has conveyed its view of this fact, but no one cared, moreover believe it<sup>8</sup>. When present to Indonesia, Hizbut Tahrir has done Tafa'ul that is Interaction toward society. They do Islamic propaganda as syiriah or from home to home

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<sup>5</sup> Dutch

<sup>6</sup> The struggle of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia towards Khilafah, Loc.cit

<sup>7</sup> The struggle of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia towards Khilafah (accessed on Monday, July 8<sup>th</sup> 2008). Gained from <http://rindusvariah.blogspot.com/2008/05/berjuangan->

from people to people and the last on 2000 is istalamu al-hukmi(acceptance power)in this stage the peoples can accept Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia.<sup>9</sup>

One way used by the West to inhibit the re-establishment of the Khilafah is malicious propaganda. In December 2004, The Nixon Center, a nonprofit research institution in the America founded by former USA president Richard Nixon, released a book called Hizb at-Tahrir: Islam's Political Insurgency, Zeyno Baran's work.<sup>10</sup>The study of this book intends to describe the extent of the views of the author of this book on Hizbut Tahrir, which is claimed based on a number of scientific research, and what needs to be criticized for those views. In the preface of this book, the President of the Nixon Center Dimitri K. Simes noted the importance of this book.

Then Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia known by people on 2000 but before 2000 Hizbut Tahrir still done missionary endeavour to uphold Khilafah,whereas in Middle State still conflict. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also do Jihad that demonstration small to invite ummah to join in Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia to defense Moslem being conflict especially in Palestine.

Beside of conflict a lot of victims which make the Palestine and Muslim peoples disappointed, the victims that are Solidarity demonstrations held by Palestinian citizens of Israel escalate into clashes with Israeli police and Israeli Jewish citizens. 13 Arab civilians (12 with Israeli citizenship) are shot and killed

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<sup>9</sup> Mengenal Hibut Tahrir dan strategi dakwah Hizbut Tahrir "metode dakwah Hizbut Tahrir"p.38-49

<sup>10</sup>HizbutTahrir is a global threat? (accessed on Monday, July 8<sup>th</sup>, 2008): gained from <http://rindusvariah.blogspot.com/2008/05/perijuangan-hizbut-tahrir-indonesia.html>

by Israeli police and one Jewish civilian is killed by an Arab citizen. In Hezbollah cross-border raid 3 Israeli soldiers are killed and their bodies kidnapped and Northern Israel is shelled in an attempt to ignite the Israeli-Lebanese border too, but Israelis decide on limited response. Then in 2002 occurred again in The Battle of Jenin, as part of Operation Defensive Shield, Israeli forces enter a Palestinian refugee camp in Jenin where about a quarter of suicide bombings since 2000 had been launched from. The battle cost the lives of 23 Israeli soldiers and 52 Palestinians, of which 30 were militants and 22 were civilians.

From This conflict understood as the process which moved from low level until high level, go to high level and more highly. The conflict generally take place followed one after another from one round to other round. Usually as long as happen of conflict, also as more ally or partner and also weapon etc<sup>11</sup>. Likewise in Palestine conflict the escalation conflict as long as increase whose that caused more and more victims, as explained by writer above.

From the statement above the Khilafah has the mission as follows:

1. Stages founding and cadre (tathqif) to birth the peoples whose believe fikrah Hizbut Tahrir and form a party.
2. Stages interaction (tafa'ul) with ummah to be capable assumed Islam missionary endeavour so that ummah will be making as the main case in life and apply in reality of life. This stage also called by thought revolution.

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<sup>11</sup> diabkei staff ugm ac id/file/Eskalasi.doc

3. Stages acceptance of power (istilam al-hukm) to apply Islam practically and comprehensive and disseminate Islam message to the world. This stage also called by revolution.

From the mission Hizbut Tahrir desire recruit of people so defence of Islam with many victims in Middle East state. In this position, Islam loosed by western imperialism. In this condition, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia impossible to sent volunteers to Palestine because many weapons in Israel, and it will endanger the volunteers Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia for Jihad in Palestine, so that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia ask government to sent army to Palestine.

United Nation also already tried many ways to stopped this conflict, but Israel still reckless to seizure land. Israel believes that United States still protect it, then Israel continuously attack state in Middle East. Here, the writer feel this conflict didn't finishing until Islam will unity, although with many resolution and agreements.

## **B. Reseach Question**

Based on the explanation of background clearly and widely above, it can take the problem formulating as follow : How perspective of Hizb-ut Tahrir Indonesia toward Israel Palestine conflict on 2000-2009 conflict?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

This theory used by writer well born from conflict theory that is conflict ethnic. This ethnic conflict consists of three issues which explain about a kind of conflict that are:

### **1. Issue primordialist**

This view sees the identity of ethnic cultural religion race etc. Is stable, fixed, ascribes, unchanged, and if it changes it only happens for a relatively long term. This is the essentialist view of ethnicity in which groups are taken as givens. According this view, the identity of ethnic group is rooted to primordial sentiment, a cultural consciousness that internalized by members of community through the basic and primary institutions such as family, clan, belief groups, neighbourhood, locality etc. In which individuals are born and grew.<sup>12</sup>

The primordial sentiment as such is a core identity, basic identity, which exist prior to the order identity such as personal identity, class, political parties, citizen of nation, etc. It attached to the consciousness of the member of communities that primordial sentiments always influence peoples behaviour, the associational form of communal membership, and its relation to the other community, including conflict relations. The

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<sup>12</sup> See Harold R. Isaacs, "Basic Group Identity : The idols of Tribe". In Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds), *Ethnicity, Theory and experience* (Cambridge :Harvard University Press 1975), pp. 20-52. *The Making ethnic & Religious Conflicts in Southeast Asia Cases and Resolutions*".

ethnic conflict happens. According to this issue and view, because of the difference of the tribal and religious characteristics. It is rooted in the prejudice, stereotype, and attitude of member of the ethnic and religious community toward one another that pertained to cultural identity that are relatively permanent owned by a group.<sup>13</sup> Conquest power of land Israel want to move to Palestine which Palestine is the district of Israel long time ago or The God Land, till happen war in Israel Palestine.

And for example from history Israel Palestine Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also show that many victims killed by Israel army, because this aspect caused by brotherhood war which seizure land Palestine. And this is essentialist view of ethnic group is rooted to primordial sentiment, a cultural ase attack Palestine it consciousness that internalized by members of community through the basic and primary institution such as family, clan, belief groups, neighbourhood, locality etc. In which individuals are born and grew.

## **2. Issue Instrumentalist**

This Issue or view understand cultural identity as a product of manipulation and mobilization of certain political elites for their political purposes. As Paul Brass Notes, " Ethnic communities are created and transformed by particular elite in modernizing and in post industrial

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<sup>13</sup> See Robin E. Cohen, " The Making of ethnicity: A Modest Defense of Primordialism". In Edward Mortimer and Robert Fine (eds), *Op.Cit.*, pp.3-11. *The Making ethnic & Religious Conflicts in Southeast Asia Cases and Resolutions*" Ed Lambang Triono, 2004, p 29



societies undergoing dramatic change."<sup>14</sup> From this point of view, the cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic groups become political resources for elites to compete for political and economic power.

This especially happens as politicians take the advantages of the significant number of ethnic groups that can be mobilized for their benefits, thus, according to this view ethnic and religious conflicts occur as consequences of ethnic mobilization or their ethnically oriented domination in the political economic sphere of political elites for their interests.

In this conflict when Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia views with the manipulation from Israel where though there is resolution etc but Israel still exists to achieve its desire and Israel also uses veto from the United States and elite politics in the United Nations, and from Al Waie also comments that the western imperialism has to be destroyed by Muslims because all can attack Muslims if western imperialism is as close to us. This is very profitable to Israel and Palestine that have no ally injured by western and Palestine caused interest economic and land.

### **3. Issue constructivism**

Constructivism or sometimes called realist, emphasizes that community members and political elites work together in making ethnic

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<sup>14</sup> See Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and Nationalism, Theory and Comparison* (New Delhi: Sage Publication 1991) *The Making ethnic & Religious Conflicts in Southeast Asia Cases and*

conflicts. The awareness of myths, history, locality, tradition, and cultural symbolism among the member ethnic and religion group identity that is then used by elite groups to create or reconstruct a new communal identity suitable with their imagination.

According to this view, ethnic conflict is a dynamic social process of social construction of community as a whole, the community members and elite group all together.<sup>15</sup> They all together produce conflict as objective reality, internalized by member of community, institutionalized through their practiced and then become stock of knowledge for people to do with conflict.

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia look should this conflict finished by resolution or revolution but this conflict could not finished by that so Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also do Jihad but In Indonesia only do action like demonstration in front of government build. The ethnic conflict happens from this point view the cultural forms, values and practices of ethnic group become political resources for elites to compete for political and economic power. This especially happens as politicians take the advantages of the significant number of ethnic group that can mobilized for their benefits, thus according to this view ethnic and religion conflict occur as consequences of ethnic mobilization or their ethnically oriented domination in the political economic sphere.

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<sup>15</sup> See Richard Ashley, "Living on Border Lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War". In James Der Derian and Michael Shapiro.(eds) International Intertextual Relations (Lexington Books,1989), pp 250-277. Quote by: "The Making ethnic & Religious Conflicts in Southeast Asia Cases and

#### **D. Hypotesis**

Based on background and theoretical framework, the hypothesis of the research is Hizb-ut Tahrir Indonesia criticize to Zionist Israel. Israel always attack Palestine which Israel have link toward United States and United Nations and Palestine always be injured by Zionist Israel. Perspectives of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia toward conflict are Khilafah and unity of Moslem in the world.

#### **E. Purpose of Research**

In general, this research purpose to find out what of perspective Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia towards the Israeli-Palestine conflict on 2000-2009. This research is also an attempt richer empirical study of International Relations of the relationship between Islamic organizations and the Hizb-ut tahrir Indonesia . In particular research aims as a writer of intellectual effort to do after a period study in the Department of International Relations University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, as well as a prerequisite for finishing undergraduate education.

#### **F. Reseach Methodology**

To arrange the research, the writer uses the library reseach methods, to collect the data method using Literatures, from books, newspapers, journals, magazines, internet and other sources Literatures. The collecting data will from be analyzed using theoretical framework and explaining the problems as well as

## **G. Range Research**

Coverage of writing in a study is needed. This is to avoid any deviation discussion and justification of the hypothesis and the principal issues that have been proposed. For further research in order to be clear and specific, so the discussion does not widen the discourse.

In this study, the authors will restrict the study of Hizb-ut Tahrir of Indonesia perspectives on Indonesia Foreign policy perspective toward Israel-Palestine conflict 2008-2009 with the othe possibility, and the author corelatin both of them , but the author did not rule out the possibility to add data from the years has the author mentioned.

## **H. Thesis Outline**

### **Chapter I :**

This chapter explain about introductory and theoretical framework of thesis. Those are consist of the reason choose the title, background, research question, theoretical framework, hypothesis, purpose of reseach, methodology, range research, and thesis outline.

### **Chapter II:**

The Author will describe of the coming of Hizb-ut Tahrir Indonesia and the Dynamic of Hizb-ut Tahrir Indonesia.

### **Chapter III :**

The author will describe how the Dynamic of Israel-Palestine conflict from 2000 until 2009.

Chapter IV :

This chapter seek the perspective Hizb-ut Tahrir Indonesia on that conflict and seek solution finishing that conflict.

Chapter V :

Conclusion and suggestion for whole thesis