

THE BATTLE OF STUDENT IDEOLOGY AT STATE ISLAMIC HIGHER EDUCATION: Activism of Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan and Student Element Resistance

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Abstract: This paper seeks to analyze the ideological battle between Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) through Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan (Gema Pembebasan; the Liberation Student Movement) and intra-campus (DEMA; Student Executive Council) and extra-campus student associations at State Islamic Higher Education (PTKIN). The main article's objectives are what issues often propagated by HTI activists are; and what the reactions and resistances of opposite student activists towards HTI's ideology are. The research method used is qualitative, with a multi-case design. Data collection was carried out directly by observing and in-depth interviewing informants from various elements of the student movement; HTI activists, student presidents of DEMA and other administrators, as well as student activists either through direct or phone interviews. The results of the study showed that Gema Pembebasan activists as the underbow of HTI had militancy and high discipline to promote ideology and struggled to uphold the caliphate. HTI activists campaigned the *Khilafah Islamiyah* ideology and concept through various media and intellectual activities. In propaganda scheme, HTI activists always make tag line campaigns such as "Democracy is Haram", "Khilafah Islamiyah is the solution", and "Stop the Secular System". This article also concluded that the provocative actions of Gema Pembebasan activists have generated a number of resistance from the opposite activists. The intra-and extra-campus organizations attempt to fight HTI's ideological propaganda through various strategies, such as intellectualism and intimidation. However, the resistance power was no longer found since HTI was dissolved by the Government.

Keywords: Gema Pembebasan; HTI activists; DEMA; extra campus organizations; PTKIN.

Abstrak: Tulisan ini bertujuan mendiskusikan pertarungan ideologi antara aktivis Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) melalui Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan (Gema pembebasan) dengan organisasi mahasiswa intra kampus (DEMA; Dewan Eksekutif Mahasiswa) dan ekstra kampus di Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri (PTKIN). Pertanyaan utama artikel ini adalah isu apa saja yang sering dipropagandakan aktivis HTI; dan apa saja reaksi serta resistensi aktivis mahasiswa yang kontra dengan ideologi HTI. Metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kualitatif, dengan rancangan multikasus. Pengumpulan data dilakukan secara langsung dengan mengamati dan mewawancarai secara mendalam informan dari berbagai elemen gerakan mahasiswa; aktivis HTI, presiden mahasiswa DEMA dan pengurusnya, dan aktivis mahasiswa baik secara langsung maupun *via handphone*. Hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa aktivis Gema Pembebasan sebagai sayap organisasi (*underbow*) HTI memiliki militansi dan disiplin tinggi untuk mempromosikan ideologi dan perjuangan menegakkan khilafah. Aktivis HTI mengkampanyekan ideologi dan konsep *Khilafah Islamiyah* melalui berbagai media cetak maupun kegiatan intelektual. Dalam aktivitas propaganda, aktivis HTI selalu membuat *tag line* kampanye seperti "Demokrasi itu Haram", "Khilafah Islamiyah Solusi", dan "Hentikan Sistem Sekuler". Artikel ini juga menyimpulkan bahwa tindakan provokatif aktivis Gema Pembebasan menuai banyak reaksi resisten dan perlawanan dari aktivis penentang HTI. Aktivis organisasi intra dan ekstra kampus mencoba melawan dakwah ideologi HTI melalui berbagai cara seperti cara intelektualisme bahkan intimidasi. Namun, daya resistensi tidak ditemukan lagi setelah HTI dibubarkan oleh Pemerintah.

Kata kunci: Gema Pembebasan; aktivis HTI; DEMA; organisasi ekstra kampus; PTKIN.

Introduction

Using Antonio Gramsci's theory, Battle Ground, Ronald Lukens Bull discussed various forms of ideological resistance in Islamic Higher Education Institutions,¹ especially after the transformation into State Islamic University (Universitas Islam Negeri/ UIN). The form of battles, for example between Western alumni vs Middle East alumni; traditionalist vs modernist.² However, Lukens Bull did not discuss the battle ground in detail among the intra and extra campus of State Islamic Higher Education (Perguruan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam Negeri; PTKIN) student activists.

The existence and development of the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) is sufficient to provide dynamics of ideological battles among student activists who can usually be classified so far: leftist student activists (nationalists) and Islamic student activists (nationalists). HTI, with its onderbow called the Liberation Student Movement (Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan/ Gema Pembebasan) colored the ideological battle with the concept of transnational Islam (*Khilafah Islamiyah*).

Gema Pembebasan was established on February 28, 2004 in the Auditorium of the Center for Japanese Studies, University of Indonesia (UI) which later spread in Indonesia with the structure of the Central Executive, Regional Administrators, and Commissariat Administrators.

As a part of HTI, Gema Pembebasan claims to be a campus missionary network throughout Indonesia that campaigns for Islam as a solution to social and political change.³

Slowly but sure, HTI activism is starting to be felt and seen and followed by PTKIN campus residents, ranging from students to lecturers. In a pre-position civil servant lecturer, there was a case of a civil servant lecturer candidate from HTI activists refusing to respect the red and white

of national flag.⁴ Meanwhile, among students, ideological debates often occur in discussing a topic between lecturers and student activists of HTI activism or with activists from extra-campus organizations such as Indonesian Muslim Students Movement (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia/ PMII); *Islamic Students Association* (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam/ HMI); *National Front of Indonesian Muslim Students* (Kesatuan Aksi Mahasiswa Muslim Indonesia/KAMMI), and the Indonesian National Student Movement (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia/ GMNI).⁵ It is usually makes lecture halls to become ideological battles used by HTI activists to carry out *Khilafah Islamiyah* (the Islamic Caliphate) propaganda even though they continue to receive responses and resistance, but the militancy of HTI cadres is quite tested to face it. HTI activists who are militant are not only strong in arguing with fellow students, but also have the courage to criticize and are ready to argue with lecturers, even though HTI activists are intimidated and must get low college grades.⁶

HTI activism through the organization of Gema Pembebasan looks very progressive in conveying the propaganda of *Khilafah Islamiyah* establishment in Indonesia, of course HTI's stance is a statement rejecting the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia/NKRI). HTI activism creates conflicts among student activists based on Islamic ideology (nationalists). Intra-campus organizational resistance cannot be separated from the influence of extra-campus organizations. It is usually makes the student government to take part in the influence of the extra-campus organizational network such as The Student Executive Council (Dewan Eksekutif Mahasiswa/ DEMA). Therefore, in this article, the informant who governs the campus (DEMA) is also an extra-campus activist, so that student government policy is the attitude of the extra-campus organization.

In the period of June-July 2017 the national and local mass media were very intensively reporting on the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia organization

¹ Ronald Lukens-Bull, *Islamic Higher Education in Indonesia: Continuity and Conflict*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

² Mastuki HS, "Meneguhkan UIN/IAIN menjadi Jendela Islam," *Kemenag.Go.Id*, last modified 2014, <http://diktis.kemenag.go.id/NEW/index.php?berita=detil&jenis=artikel&jd=356#.YGYNnegzbDc>.

³ Lufaefi, "Membaca Gerak Dakwah Gerakan Mahasiswa Pembebasan: Sisi Politis dan Efeknya," *Hayula: Indonesian Journal of Multidisciplinary Islamic Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2018), p. 106.

⁴ Interview with BSD, Batu City, January 1, 2019.

⁵ Interview with FRZ, Medan City, June 2, 2017.

⁶ Interview with Salam, Malang City, July 10, 2017.

which triggered pros and cons, especially after the government issued Government Regulation in lieu of Law (Perppu) No.2 of 2017 which resulted in the official dissolution of HTI. The controversy over HTI is an interesting study to see how HTI activism actually is on the PTKIN campus.

This article seeks to discuss the ideological battle between HTI through Gema Pembebasan activists with intra-campus student organizations (DEMA) and extra-campus. This article is the result of field research at the PTKIN campus: Sumatera Utara State Islamic University (UIN-SU) , Ar-Raniry State Islamic University-Banda Aceh (UIN Ar-Raniry/ UINAR), Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang State Islamic University (UIN Maliki Malang), and Sulthan Thaha Syaifuddin Jambi State Islamic University (UIN STS Jambi). Data obtained by direct observation and through in-depth interviews among campus activists. The focus of this article's discussion is on what HTI activists often propagate; how HTI activists convey ideology; and what are the reactions and resistance of student activists who oppose the HTI ideology.

Method

This research is a field research conducted in Jambi City, Malang City and Medan city regarding the contestation and ideological resistance of the liberation student movement and student elements at the State Islamic College. The field research referred to is that the researcher directly observes and records people naturally within a certain time.⁷

The approach to this research is descriptive-analytical, this study aims to obtain an objective, accurate, and systematic description of the problems that exist in the object of research. For data collection used observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. While data analysis techniques are sorting relevant data, displaying data naturally and interpreting and verifying with various sources of literature so as to get comprehensive conclusions.

⁷ W. Lawrence Neuman, *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, (West Jakarta: PT Index, 2013), p. 57.

Gema Pembebasan: Rejecting Democracy

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia in conveying its ideological propaganda always denies social facts,⁸ very textual so that the argument to answer all problems is only through *khilafah* (caliphate). The HTI activist who was the author of the interview said that the state was not part of the Rukun Iman (the pillars of faith), however, if the Indonesian people believed in Asy'ariyah then they had to abandon democracy. This HTI activist explained that Aqidah Asy'ariyah is what is said orally, is believed by heart, and is proven by deeds. This HTI activist claims that basically Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah scholars do not deny that the caliphate is Islamic teachings.⁹ Of course, this claim is very contradictory in reality, because NU is the community organization that most supports the dissolution of HTI. The claim strategy and statement twist is one of the characteristics of HTI propaganda to gain public sympathy.

For HTI activists if there is a government system that applies Islam completely, they will follow it, but in the view of HTI activists that only the Islamic Caliphate system can only faithfully apply Islamic teachings. They think that democracy has failed completely, and democracy is a system of infidel/*kafir* government, unsuitable for implementation in Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim. If there is counter propaganda from internal campus activists or extra-campus activists such as PMII, that if HTI rejects democracy, HTI cadres should leave Indonesia. This kind of attack will be answered by HTI activists that the Earth belongs to Allah, Indonesia belongs to Allah, so it should be the followers and admirers of democracy who must leave Indonesia, and what is the meaning of Indonesian independence if you have to ignore the sharia which is the most important thing in human life. That is why HTI is here to uphold the Islamic Caliphate.¹⁰

When activists of Gema Pembebasan were asked whether democracy and caliphate could be combined, HTI activists answered that the

⁸ Ulil Abshar Abdalla, *Kritik atas Argumen HTI*, (Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2012).

⁹ Interview with Salam..., July 10, 2019.

¹⁰ Interview with Salam..., July 10, 2019.

combination of democracy and caliphate is impossible and will never happen to be juxtaposed. For HTI activists that the substance of democracy is rejecting the rules of Allah, while the caliphate requires upholding the rules of Allah (*Syariah*) in regulating all affairs of the state.¹¹

Transitional Governance in the Imagination of Gema Pembebasan (HTI Activism)

In various aspects of state life, for activists, Gema Pembebasan must be carried out under the caliphate. "If the caliphate has been established, then we can completely eliminate immorality."¹² That was the statement of the HTI activist (Gema Pembebasan) when conducting propaganda to prospective new members, as well as in various forums. When asked about the views of HTI activists that substantively trying to implement Islamic teachings in Indonesia, one example is the rise of Sharia Banking, but for HTI Activists, the phenomenon of Sharia Banking is not the application of Islamic teachings, because during the government system it is not Chalipate but rather only a democratic government, so any product including Sharia Banking remains secular in nuance, because it was exist from a government that is not Islamic or *khilafah* (Chalipate).

The important question that the author always asks HTI cadres is how can HTI uphold the caliphate system, if not through constitutional means or through revolution. HTI activists will usually always answer that the struggle to realize the caliphate is not carried out by constitutionality or revolution, but through preaching which they think the Prophet had done. HTI activists believe that the transition of power can be carried out without violence, and has been exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad, "Actually there is, when the Prophet established Islamic civilization in Medina, and that is what HTI emulated in the process. Hopefully it can be achieved as it should. Therefore, HTI preaching without violence is like the preaching of the Prophet and Friends before Islam was established in Medina".¹³

Through this *da'wah* movement, according to the HTI activist, it will be carried out to the Indonesian National Army. Although HTI does not believe in the revolutionary path as a means of transitioning power, HTI believes that the transfer of power can only be seized by the TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia; The National Military of Indonesia) because they have weapons. Therefore, HTI intensively preaches to the TNI, "Da'wah carried out by HTI which just to make it understands, and the caliphate will only be enforced if the *ahlul quwwah* voluntarily want to enforce it".¹⁴

The argument of the HTI activist when arguing with nationalist students was that, "Fighting for the caliphate is a manifestation of our love for Indonesia and its heroes. Because the aim of the heroes driving away the invaders is to drive away their colonialism and hegemony".¹⁵ The arguments of HTI activists who are often inconsistent and circling often make nationalist student activists feel angry, so they issue a statement, "here sir, we are lazy to argue with HTI members, just do this (clench our fists)".¹⁶

When accused HTI activists of being hypocritical, the effective stance they use is like saying, "Hypocrisy is if you breathe free air from Allah and eat from the rizki given by Allah but do not want to try to apply Allah's rules. This is called rebelling against the causes of harm. We are the ones who make it difficult for us to fight for Allah's rules."¹⁷ One of HTI's powerful strategies is the ability to argue, even though it clearly rejects NKRI but in various forums, as conveyed by HTI in 2013 at a discussion at UIN Maliki Malang regarding diversity. HTI cadres promote the Islamic Chaliphate, but on the other hand they also say "HTI loves Indonesia, HTI loves diversity which is *Sunatullah*".¹⁸ Even though HTI cadres do not reject Pancasila in every discussion, in practice the campaign on the HTI campus still wants Chalipate.¹⁹

¹¹ Interview with Salam..., July 10, 2019.

¹² Interview with Salam..., July 10, 2019.

¹³ Interview with Salam..., July 10, 2019.

¹⁴ Interview with Ust. Rasyid, Malang City, August 10, 2019.

¹⁵ Interview with Salam..., July 10, 2019.

¹⁶ Interview with Rahmat, Malang City, March 8, 2017.

¹⁷ Interview with Salam..., July 10, 2019.

¹⁸ Interview with Nanang, Batu City, February 10, 2017.

¹⁹ Interview with Sobri, Jambi City, August 20, 2017.

HTI activism through Gema Pembebasan: Action and Reaction

One of the advantages of HTI cadres in campus is discipline and militancy, “they are obedient, obedient to the chairman, basically they are well systemed, and sincerely, the militancy!”.²⁰ At Hayim Asy'ari University (Jombang), the militancy of Gema Pembebasan was shown by HTI activists with the courage to come to PMII activists on campus to challenge discussions about the caliphate.²¹

This militancy is built with discussion and cadre wherever they are, in the campus environment conducting “under a tree” discussions in addition to cadres, and recitation outside the campus. HTI informants explained that they as HTI cadres who have been bai'at have been sworn to obey the organizational rules, and must present a *Syar'i* life.²²

Rahman explained that about two years ago HTI was going to hold a big activity in Jombang, but before the activity was carried out it was prevented by Banser (Barisan Ansor Serbaguna/ Ulama's Multipurpose Ansor Front).²³ The reaction to HTI activism in PTKIN is very much dominated by extra-campus organizations that play the role of campus politics, such as PMII and HMI, “... the most obvious ones appear to be counteracting HTI, which are PMII and HMI which have clear ideologies, Islam and nationalism ..”.²⁴

Responding to the Lembaga Dakwah Kampus/ LDK (Campus Preaching Organization) which was deemed DEMA to have been infiltrated by the PKS activities and the development of HTI-style propaganda discourse. At the 2012 UIN STS Jambi Student Congress, LDK was frozen.²⁵ LDK UIN STS Jambi is thought to be a place of activity for Gema Pembebasan that has not been active yet.²⁶ This resistance to LDK has actually been responded in 2009 by dissolving LDK. The dissolution of LDK activities was because DEMA also had a campus

da'wah institution, but the tarbiyah group created their own LDK and did not want to be integrated into the Islamic Studies Institute (LKIS) which was formed by DEMA UIN STS Jambi.²⁷

However, according to informants, LDK was still given a “stage” by the Rector because it had not been proven that LDK had political affiliation. It was not until 2012 that there was evidence until LDK's activism was frozen. After the dissolution of LDK in the UIN STS Jambi environment, Gema Pembebasan did not openly carry out activities as carried out by extra-campus organizations such as: PMII, HMI, KAMMI, GMNI. The existence of Gema Pembebasan at UIN STS Jambi began to appear in 2015 with the “Sparing Intellectual” invitation held by Gema Pembebasan to DEMA UIN-STS Jambi, as well as extra-campus organizations from the Cipayang Group.²⁸ In the year before 2015 HTI was still carrying out tasks, cultivating through the network of campus *da'wah* institutions, filling activities at the campus mosque. the student executive board

At UIN Maliki Malang, the Student Executive Council (DEMA) showed resistance to LDK's activities by asking LDK activists not to carry out activities at the “Ulul Albab” campus mosque, but the prohibition of these activities did not work because mosque takmirs still provided opportunities for LDK activists.²⁹ Resistance to LDK activities is due to the anger of DEMA activists towards the attitudes of LDK activists who are considered, feel the most correct, and have different practices of worship from *nahdliyin*, as it is known that the political map of students at UIN Maliki Malang is in large part controlled by the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement which runs the *Nahdlatul* practice. Cleric. The informant added that LDK contained HTI and PKS (Prosperous and Justice Party) activism.³⁰

At UIN Ar-Ranirry (UINAR) there is the existence of HTI, but the propaganda carried out by HTI activists did not get a positive response by becoming a member of HTI. So that in terms

²⁰ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

²¹ Interview with Rahman, Jombang, April 15, 2017.

²² Interview with Ust. Rasyid..., August 10, 2019.

²³ Interview with Rahman..., April 15, 2017.

²⁴ Interview with Sobri..., August 20, 2017.

²⁵ Interview with M. Azli, Interview, Jambi City, September 10, 2017.

²⁶ Interview with Sobri..., August 20, 2017.

²⁷ Interview with M. Azli..., September 10, 2017.

²⁸ Interview with M. Azli..., September 10, 2017.

²⁹ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

³⁰ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

of the number of HTI cadres in UINAR, there are not many cadres. The lack of interest of UINAR students in HTI activism is likened to “salting the oceans”.³¹

Before HTI was officially dissolved by the Government, there was a lot of propaganda carried out by the Liberation Student Movement. At UIN-SU in North Sumatra, HTI activists freely carry out activities: Training and discussions in the open field at UIN-SU. Activities in this open field are carried out by activists of Gema Pembebasan, for example in the field of the Faculty of Tarbiyah and Teacher Training, they carry out activities by displaying the black and white flags (*liwa'* and *raya*) of HTI, while occasionally shouting slogans. The author asked activists of the PMII about their attitudes towards the activism of the Gema Pembebasan cadres with propaganda in the open field. In this case, for PMII cadres, even though HTI activities disturb the comfort of the campus, sometimes they are still tolerated, but in some cases PMII activists remind HTI activists not to raise the flag HTI on campus.³² This happened before the official dissolution of HTI.

Halaqoh (study circle) at the Mosque. *Halaqoh* activities are usually carried out by HTI activists at the Mosque after *Zuhur* or *Asr* prayer. It is about five or more people form a circle and discuss a hot issue or study of nature. It is uncommon for them to discuss the *Al-Islam* bulletin and develop it in the discussion. One of the discussions that the author has heard is an activist with Gema Pembebasan, which deals with the issue of oil, energy and mining.³³ HTI activists are very responsive to the latest and hottest issues, these issues then become the theme of propaganda on campus.

At UIN-SU, HTI's provocative pamphlets are often torn apart by anti-HTI activists.³⁴ Likewise at UIN STS Jambi, the President of DEMA UIN STS Jambi allowed students to sterilize HTI pamphlets by withdrawing their circulation, including those that had been accepted by students.³⁵ The tampering of HTI pamphlets is seen by counter-

HTI activists that HTI is a political party so they cannot do activities on campus which must be free from political party activities.³⁶ Apart from pamphlets, Gema pembebasan also aggressively put up banners at strategic points of the campus, even though not on campus. At UIN Ar-Raniry in front of the campus entrance gate, propaganda banners of the Prophet's *Panji* were displayed without any resistance.

Al-Islam bulletin. At the UIN SU campus, especially before the dissolution of HTI, every Friday Gema pembebasan activists routinely distributed the *Al-Islam* bulletin and read it before Friday Sermons. The *Al-Islam* bulletin contains the hottest issues at national and international levels. Writers in the *Al-Islam* bulletin usually do not hesitate to quote the news they spotlight from media that they consider secular, such as Kompas, Media Indonesia, to enrich them with arguments and the conclusion is the importance of the Islamic Caliphate.³⁷ At the UIN-SU campus mosque there was an attempt to match the *Al-Islam* Bulletin by PMII activists but the bulletin only lasted a few weeks.³⁸

Propaganda on social media. At UIN STS Jambi, Gema Pembebasan does not only openly carry out propaganda which is considered to be able to deal with counter-HTI activists, because realizing the number of cadres is still small, propaganda is carried out on social media such as in the Facebook Group.³⁹ HTI activists in Indonesia are very active in using the internet, especially social media for propaganda, similar things have been done by Hizbut Tahrir Malaysia (HTM).⁴⁰ Even HTI activists in 2016 held a dialogue at RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia/ Radio of the Republic of Indonesia) Jambi regarding the Islamic Chaliphate.⁴¹ At UIN STS Jambi, PMII activists who held the campus administration had disbanded the Campus Da'wah Institution which was not under

³¹ Interview with SLD, Banda Aceh, October 2, 2017.

³² Interview with THR, March 10, 2017.

³³ Observation, Medan City, December 10, 2013.

³⁴ Interview with THR..., March 10, 2017.

³⁵ Interview with M. Azli..., September 10, 2017.

³⁶ Interview with SYF, Jambi City, May 8, 2017.

³⁷ Observation, Medan City, December 10 2013.

³⁸ Interview with THR..., March 10, 2017.

³⁹ Interview with Sobri..., August 20, 2017.

⁴⁰ Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, “Hizbut Tahrir Malaysia: The Emergence of a New Transnational Islamist Movement in Malaysia,” *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 47, no. 1 (2009), pp. 91–110.

⁴¹ Interview with M. Azli..., September 10, 2017.

the auspices of the Student Executive Council. For PMII activists who served as DEMA UIN-STSJambi that LDK had shown an anti-NKRI discourse. At UIN-STSJambi LDK was the seed for the formation of the Liberation Student Movement.⁴²

Islamic appearance. At UIN Maliki Malang, HTI activism is getting enough attention because it tries to build a positive image with an Islamic appearance, such as displaying Islamic clothing.⁴³ *Da'wah* with an Islamic appearance but without a “big headscarf” gained sympathy for female students who then chose to be active in HTI. President DEMA UIN Maliki Malang and PMII activists for the 2015-2016 period realized that in the midst of the incessant *jilboobs*, the phenomenon of female students whose heads were wearing *hijab* (headscarves), but they were wearing very tight clothes so that they showed curves and breasts, so that the expression *jilboobs*, means headscarves and boobs.⁴⁴

HTI's method of preaching won sympathy for female students. The informant criticized extra-campus organizations such as PMII and HMI which he considered not paying attention to the problem of student clothing, and this was one of the major weaknesses so that HTI received the attention of potential new members. Students who understand enough about Islam take this clothing issue into consideration to become members of an extra-campus organization. For example, by considering, “why should I join PMII, HMI if the way their members (female students) do not dress modestly, while in HTI they dress in Islamic fashion”. The informant expressed this with the Javanese philosophy, “*aji ning rogo soko busono*” which means that what a person thinks is good is from clothing. This informant who is against HTI admits that he “salutes” the HTI student activists in terms of clothing.⁴⁵

As a counter action, DEMA and extra-campus organizations make monthly studies to be able to build Islamic character and present cadres with Islamic appearance and behavior. Apart from the

Islamic appearance, at UIN STS Jambi an attractive strategy for students to enter HTI was the strength of the Islamic *ukhuwah* displayed by HTI.⁴⁶ HTI, by applying *ukhuwah* Islamiyah, makes personal visits to new recruits, conducts discussions and slowly inserts HTI's doctrine in a persuasive manner.

Recruitment of new members, UIN Maliki Malang does not use the name Gema Pembebasan but directly carries the name HTI. The recruitment of new members is not only carried out by HTI student activists but also carried out by HTI member lecturers who use a persuasive approach to students.⁴⁷ Some students recruited through lecturers got the attention of HTI activists by providing explanations about HTI and immediately left HTI.⁴⁸ To attract the attention of HTI students, make demonstrations such as archery skills, writing training, discussion activities, and also set up registration stands.

In order to prevent the expansion of the HTI mass base on the campus of UIN Maliki Malang, the Student President for the 2015-2016 period who is a PMII activist prefers the moderate path by conveying in a new student forum that he encourages students to actively organize by choosing one of the existing organizations, with one of the emphasizing that new students must choose organizations that do not reject Pancasila, and NKRI such as HTI.⁴⁹

Intellectual activity, the strong PMII base at UIN Maliki Malang with the number of participants at each PMII admission of New Members (Mapaba) reaching 1000 students, while organizations such as the Indonesian National Student Movement (GMNI) in 2009 did not show any more activity at UIN Malang, practically dominating are PMII and HMI⁵⁰ make HTI cadres not choose to fight in the struggle for campus government (DEMA). So the chosen path is to choose an intellectual movement through studies. The informant said that at UIN Maliki Malang, the counter-HTI activists were always able to match the discourse of HTI

⁴² Interview with Sobri..., August 20, 2017.

⁴³ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

⁴⁴ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

⁴⁵ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

⁴⁶ Interview with Ari, Interview, Jambi City, June 10, 2017.

⁴⁷ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

⁴⁸ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

⁴⁹ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

⁵⁰ Interview with Rahmat, Malang City, March 8, 2017.

activists, so he said that their ability to debate on issues of religion and statehood was still below standard. The intellectual discussion strategy carried out by HTI UIN Malang activists is to limit discussion participants according to the position of the organization, for example a discussion forum for HTI members, so those invited are the level of organizational members, not allowed for organizational leaders who are against HTI. The informant suspected that this was done so that there would be a balanced discussion and would not shake the new HTI cadres due to the dialectic of activists such as PMII activist leaders.⁵¹

At UIN STS Jambi, HTI activists not only hold open discussions, but also make personal visits to student activist leaders, as experienced by the UIN STS Jambi Student President, 2015-2016 who was visited by UIN STS Jambi Gema pembebasan activists for convey HTI ideology and the struggle for Khilafah Islamiyah and expect support from the Student Executive Council.⁵² HTI is well aware of DEMA's strategic role in the HTI movement on campus. However, when DEMA UIN STS Jambi for the 2015-2016 period challenged HTI to an open academic debate held by DEMA, HTI activists refused to do so.⁵³ Campus internal and external activists are quite intensively discussing Pancasila and NKRI to prevent the spread of HTI cadres in the campus environment.⁵⁴

Whereas at UIN-SU Medan when HTI activists held a discussion, extra-campus organizations such as PMII would send cadres who controlled turats to debate the arguments of HTI cadres who in some cases did not master Islamic scientific knowledge as controlled by PMII activists from Islamic boarding schools. One example was when a PMII cadre debated a speaker from HTI at a discussion at IAIN SU. In the author's observation, in 2009 HTI had a discussion at the UIN-SU Language Center with a speaker from a civil servant lecturer from the University of North Sumatra who said that it was predicted that the Islamic khilafah would be established in a country that was on the equator

and that was Indonesia. This opinion received a strong response from activists against HTI.⁵⁵

HTI activism at the PTKIN Campus Post Perppu No.2 of 2017

After the dissolution of HTI, at UIN STS Jambi HTI counter activists asked the rector not to allow HTI activities on campus.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, PMII Jambi activists conducted an activity "Muhabasah Kader Muda: Guarding Perppu Number 2 of 2017, Guarding the Republic of Indonesia, Defenders of the Nation Upholding Religion",⁵⁷ Basically, this activity is managed by UIN STS Jambi students who are PMII activists. This activity was carried out as support for the Government to dissolve radical community organizations.

At UIN-SU since 2013, campus activists have not been too brave to carry out activities openly due to pressure from extra-campus organizations such as PMII, especially after the official dissolution of HTI, HTI activists seem to have resigned regularly, it can be seen from the statement of an HTI activist UIN-SU, "... if it has been disbanded, what else do you want ...".⁵⁸ A PMII activist at UIN-SU, although he opposed HTI's ideology, for him the dissolution of HTI had violated the principles of democracy.⁵⁹ At UIN Maliki Malang, the author asked the attitude of HTI activists after it was officially disbanded, "... this is the real ideological battle, Islam vs secularism, whose name is ideology, it will never die. Because every carrier will be willing to die for their ideology. Approximately so the friends in the past. Noble Life or Death of a martyr ...".⁶⁰

Battle Ground Ideology: HTI Propaganda and Student Activists Resistances

Gramsci's point regarding the ideological struggle, "... battles are won and lost on the terrain

⁵¹ Interview with Nanang..., February 10, 2017.

⁵² Interview with M. Azli..., September 10, 2017.

⁵³ Interview with M. Azli..., September 10, 2017.

⁵⁴ Interview with Ari..., June 10, 2017.

⁵⁵ Observation..., December 10, 2013.

⁵⁶ Interview with Ari..., June 10, 2017.

⁵⁷ PMII Jambi, "Muhabasah Young Cadres: Guarding Perppu Number 2 of 2017, Guarding the Republic of Indonesia, Defenders of the Nation Upholding Religion" (Presented at the Seminar, Jambi, Juni 2, 2017).

⁵⁸ Interview with FDL..., November 10, 2017.

⁵⁹ Interview with THR..., March 10, 2017.

⁶⁰ Interview with ALF..., April 8, 2017.

of ideology is a much earlier and more complex explanation of the meditations between objective economic and social conditions and politics ...”.⁶¹ As'ad Said Ali simply classifies ideological battles: Right Ideology, Left Ideology and Religion-based Ideology.⁶² The right ideology reflects capitalism with a neo-liberalism agenda that encourages democratization through political liberalization. On the other hand, Left Ideology is identified with Marxism-Leninism, Trotskyism, Maoism, Anarchism to moderate, namely Social Democrats. Left Ideology exists to reject Right Ideology, and among student activists, Left Ideology becomes an energy of activism and a spirit of resistance. Lastly, Religion-based Ideology which is activism based on religion, one example is the struggle of HTI to make Islam an ideology. However, Religion-based ideology does not only exist among Muslims.

Masdar Hilmy⁶³ explained that the existence of HTI is an anti-thesis and as an attitude to counter and even replace the position of the concept of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. HTI propaganda is a challenge and makes socio-religious organizations, especially Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), an ideological battle between transnational Islamic organizations and Islamic organizations that are exist out of authentic local and Indonesian struggles.

The ideological battle among Islamic activists in higher education can be seen in the results of Abdurrahman's dissertation which concluded that the emergence of the Tarbiyah Movement on campus received a negative response from NU and Muhammadiyah. NU considers that the Tarbiyah movement carries transnational thinking from the Middle East which is identified with the *Wahabi* movement. NU is worried that the transnational ideology adopted by the Tarbiyah movement threatens the integrity of the Republic of Indonesia and seeks to change the 1945 Constitution, as well as replace the Pancasila ideology as well as make

Indonesia an Islamic state with a Caliphate system. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah began to worry that the Tarbiyah movement, which expanded its political wings to become PKS, had recruited many of the younger generation of Muhammadiyah to become Tarbiyah activists and PKS activists. Using the concept of the Manhaj Tarbiyah Study Institute, Manhaj Tarbiyah 1433 H, Abdurrahman explained that what is meant by the Tarbiyah Movement is those who think that Islam is a religion of *da'wah* and tarbiyah. The mission of Islam brought by Prophet Muhammad, PBUH was to liberate humans from all forms of devotion to creatures into devotion to Allah alone. Therefore, the duty of every Muslim is to preach the mission of Islam to everyone and observe it so that there is a change in personality from time to time for the better.⁶⁴

The importance of Islam as an ideology was also discussed by Ali Shari'ati, who wanted Muslim youths to stop following Western ideologies which were imported like canned products for consumption. Shari'ati made Islam an ideology of resistance that gave rise to the mujahid and Islam should not only create theologians.⁶⁵ Shari'ati had a lot of hope for educated people to fight for Islamic ideology. Educated people are seen as representatives of the people, and as simple but dedicated individuals. Based on these briefly reviewed theories, it can be seen that ideological battles are intellectual battles. So it cannot be denied that the campus is chosen as a battleground for ideology.

HTI's negative campaign on democracy, was written by Masdar Hilmy that with language games HTI produces discourse, and against discourse about democracy.⁶⁶ HTI propagates that democracy is human rebellion against Allah and rejects sharia. HTI builds theological and socio-political arguments that make democracy a common enemy. Burhanuddin Muhtadi said that this anti-HTI propaganda had directed negative steps for the

⁶¹ Alastair Davidson, "Gramsci, Hegemony and Globalization," *Kasarinlan: Philippine Journal of the World Studies*, vol. 20, no. 4 (2005), pp. 4-36.

⁶² As'ad Said Ali, *Pancasila State: A Way of National Benefit*, (Jakarta: LP3S, 2009).

⁶³ Masdar Hilmy, "Akar-akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *ISLAMICA: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1-13.

⁶⁴ Abdurrahman, *Gerakan Tarbiyah 1980-2010: Respon Ormas Islam terhadap Gerakan Islam Transnasional*, (Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia, 2013).

⁶⁵ Ali Syari'ati, *Ideologi Kaum Intelektual: suatu Wawasan Islam*, (Bandung: Mizan, 1993).

⁶⁶ Masdar Hilmy, "Akar-akar Transnasionalisme Islam Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)," *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, vol. 3, no. 2 (209AD), pp. 341-369.

consolidation of democracy in Indonesia.⁶⁷ HTI with its provocative propaganda is also considered to be able to trigger the division of harmony between Muslims, and with non-Muslims.⁶⁸

For HTI activists, the enforcement of Islamic Sharia cannot be carried out partially as implemented in the Province of Nangroe Aceh Darussalam which in HTI's assessment that enforcement of Sharia cannot be carried out by one group as implemented in Aceh, but Sharia can only be controlled under the Khilafah system. Therefore, Gema Pembebasan activists campaign for the mandatory election of a caliph. The rejection of campus HTI cadres against democracy is one of the reasons for DEMA UIN STS Jambi to dissolve LDK.

For Gema Pembebasan activists when the preaching of the importance of the Caliphate is successful and is realized by all members of the TNI, then at this time the TNI will voluntarily make a transition of government by upholding the caliphate. For Gema Pembebasan activists, HTI does not intend to dissolve NKRI, but wants to improve and fix Indonesia.

This paradox and camouflage are done to avoid open conflicts with parties against HTI. However, in its development, especially after the many volumes of Action to Defend Islam, HTI felt as if it had a stage, had a period of one breath of struggle and then dared to openly convey its ideology, thus impacting the dissolution of HTI.

With the cadre provisions that was created militant activists, HTI activists enthusiastically and confidently entered the ideological battle on campus to come face to face with the mainstream extra-campus organizations that have long controlled PTKIN campuses, HTI is well aware that by recruiting activists on campus is an effort to prepare future HTI leaders. In Malaysia, the leader of Hizbut Tahrir Malaysia has been prepared from the campus.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Burhanuddin Muhtadi, "The Quest for Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia," *Asian Journal of Social Science*, vol. 37, no. 4 (2009), pp. 623-645.

⁶⁸ Mujahiduddin, "Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and the Process of Consolidating Democracy in Indonesia", (Presented at the Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies (AICIS) XIV, Balikpapan, 2014).

⁶⁹ Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman, "Hizbut Tahrir Malaysia: The Emergence of a New Transnational Islamist Movement in Malaysia."

The existence of HTI in Jambi City was detected starting from August 2006. HTI in Jambi were brought by foreigners from various professions who came to Jambi, at first there were only 15 people for that HTI carried out socialization by means of discussions, bulletins, and recitation in mosques which was followed by various circles.⁷⁰ At UIN STS Jambi before the emergence of the Liberation Student Movement as an extra-campus organization, they first built a base of movement at the LDK.⁷¹ In the history of its emergence, HTI did utilize the shadow structure of the Islamic Student Spiritual Body. One of the BKMs that HTI entered at the beginning of its appearance was the Bogor Agricultural University BKM, which even BKM activists did not know they were part of HTI, it was not until 1987 that the leaders of campus *da'wah* activists were informed about the existence of HTI.⁷²

In Malang, HTI was originally brought by Ustad Sya'roni in 1993 by making LDK as a media and considering the campus as very strategic to spread HTI.⁷³ In this city, it began to receive attention after the success of the Daurah Dirasah Islamiyah (DDI) event which invited speakers: Muhammad al-Khathath, Ismail Yustanto, Fathul Hidayat, Adian Husaini. After DDI, HTI started to enter Universitas Brawijaya and IKIP Malang.⁷⁴

HTI's propaganda regarding the *Khilafah Islamiyah* did not attract UINAR students because the students considered the Acehnese to have more understanding and experience in political and Islamic matters, for example the Acehnese

⁷⁰ Sayuti, "Hizbut Tahrir: Perjuangan Menegakkan Khilafah, Respon Masyarakat terhadap Hizbut Tahrir Cabang Jambi," *Kontekstualita: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2008), pp. 31-53.

⁷¹ Agus Salim, "The Rise of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (1982-2004) Its Political Opportunity Structure, Resource Mobilization, and Collective Action Frames" (Thesis, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2005).

⁷² A.n. Head of the TNI Strategic Studies Center, "Reviving the Caliphate in the Archipelago: Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Mobilization Strategy and Its Impact on Indonesia", (Center for Strategic Studies presented at the Indonesian National Army Headquarters, Jakarta, 2010).

⁷³ Syamsul Arifin, *Ideologi dan Praksis Gerakan Kaum Fundamental: Pengalaman Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*, (Malang: UMM Press, 2005).

⁷⁴ Syamsul Arifin, *Ideology and Praxis of Movement for Fundamentals: Experience of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia*, (Malang: UMM Press, 2005).

resistance to the Central Government to the enforcement of Islamic Sharia in Aceh. Therefore, even though there is HTI activism on the UINAR campus, student activists at UINAR do not show any significant reactions and resistance..

Gema Pembebasan is very active in distributing pamphlets about khilafah and HTI activities on campus wall magazines. The pamphlets that HTI activists distribute always use provocative language, for example: Haram Democracy, Dajjal's Democracy System, Allah's Earth, Allah's Indonesia, Reject Capitalism, Reject the Secular System.

Demonstrations, through HTI demonstrations, showed activism in addressing the hottest local, national and international issues. The concern of HTI activists towards specific issues such as education which is rarely voiced by extra-mainstream campus organizations has actually become an opportunity for HTI to attract sympathy for new recruits.

Prior to Perppu No.2 of 2017 the PTKIN Forum had issued the Aceh Declaration. Five Points of the Aceh Charter: (1) Determined to make the Four National Pillars consisting of Pancasila. The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Bihineka Tunggal Ika, and the Republic of Indonesia as guidelines for the nation and state; (2) To instill a spirit and heroic attitude, love for the country and defend the country in every student and nation's child, in order to maintain the integrity and preservation of the Republic of Indonesia; (3) Instilling and developing the values of Islamic teachings that are *rahmatan lil 'alamin*, inclusive, moderate Islam, respecting pluralism and the reality of culture and nation; (4) Prohibit various forms of activities that are contrary to Pancasila, and anti-NKRI, intolerance, radicalism in diversity, and terrorism throughout PTKIN; (5) Implementing the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in all *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* with dedication and love for the country. The culmination of the rejection of radicalism on campus was the issuance of Perppu No. 2 of 2017 which led to the dissolution of HTI and autonomous organizations, such as the the Liberation Student Movement (Gema Pembebasan).

After the dissolution of HTI, there was no reaction. After HTI was officially disbanded, of the four PTKINs, the author did not find any activities

of intimidation, persecution, and demonstrations regarding HTI on the UIN North Sumatra campus, UIN Ar-Raniry, UIN STS Jambi, UIN Maliki Malang which were carried out by internal and external campus activists.

Conclusion

Based on the findings and discussion above, the authors conclude: First, the propaganda of the Gema Pembebasan ideology is part of HTI's ideological campaign to fight for the Islamic Chaliphate. Second, HTI ideological propaganda on the PTKIN campus is carried out through various media, such as: pamphlets, banners, bulletin, tabloids, *halaqoh*, personal dialogue, intellectual activities: seminars, discussions, open debates. HTI's propaganda patterns always use provocative language, for example: *Democracy Haram, Islam vs Secularism, Khilafah Islamiyah is a Solution*. Third, the ideological propaganda carried out by Gema Pembebasan received a negative response and high resistance from the Student Executive Council which basically cannot be separated from the ideology of extra-campus organizations, such as: PMII and HMI. Counter-HTI activists show resistance through ideological propaganda, such as distributing pamphlets, bulletin, attending and participating in debates and discussions organized by HTI and holding scientific discussions to fight the ideology that HTI is fighting for. It is uncommon for counter-HTI activists to intimidate, tear up pamphlets, and disperse HTI activities on campus. The presence of HTI on the PTKIN campus has created ideological conflicts between nationalist students and anti-nationalism student activists. However, after HTI was officially disbanded, there was no intimidation for HTI activists on campus.

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