

## IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION POLEMIC AND OVERCOMING RADICALISM: CASE STUDY OF HTI TRANSNATIONALISM IN INDONESIA

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### **Abstract**

*This research aims to provide an analysis of the activities of the HTI transnationalism movement in Indonesia, especially after the revocation of the Legal Decree. However, behind this incident there is a dilemma for the government, on the other hand there is an obligation to implement freedom of association and ward off the dangers of radicalism. By contrasting HTI, a social identity construction emerged for former HTI members. In this case, they are still active under other names, making the process of monitoring radicalism more difficult. This research uses qualitative methods or literature studies by using previous research and the author's analytical skills in finding facts from the results of other research. In this case, the facts and realities on the ground emerge from research results that the activities of HTI or former HTI members threaten the disintegration of national stability and division due to its vision and goals. Then, after the dissolution, a social identification polemic emerged where there was difficulty in identifying HTI activities. Finally, the role of the central state in this case is to address the issue of the spread of the HTI transnationalist movement in Indonesia, considering that licensing, action, revocation and maintaining the integrity of the Indonesian nation lies in the government's authority which is produced through policy*

**Keywords:** *transnationalism, identity construction, Hizbut Tahrir, radicalism*

### **A. INTRODUCTION**

The dynamics and changes in the world order create unlimited space for movement, in other words, the activities of the world community are not limited to regional boundaries. Likewise, religious organizations continue to spread and instill a rational understanding of their teachings in various countries in the world. Religious transnationalism activities are increasingly massive in Southeast Asia in the third wave of democratization, including in Indonesia. This terminology grew and was adopted by Indonesian society when the gates of democratic reform emerged, although there are several author findings which state that religious transnationalism had entered Indonesia

during the era of the spread of religion or empire. However, in form and form, religious transnationalism institutions only emerged in the early 2000s, such as the Indonesian Ahlul Bait Jamaah Association which is affiliated with the Iranian government. Transnationalism in this case is divided into several forms, such as institutional movements and education.<sup>1</sup>

Judging from several events in the spread of teachings in Indonesia, the facts and realities show that transnationalism is not only understood in a liberal or secular paradigm. However, the power of fundamentalist transnationalism rivals its spread in Indonesia, so it is not surprising that in this case the spread of fundamentalism-based transnationalism teachings is increasingly massive, both through schools, campuses and political parties. Even though there are pros and cons related to religious transnationalism, in principle no party can imprison someone's thoughts. Likewise, the doctrinalization of the values and teachings of religious transnationalism which have spread in people's thoughts and actions cannot be avoided. Religious transnationalism in Indonesia grew when the doors to democracy were opened, thereby encouraging a massive pattern of socialization and many Indonesians studying in a country that is strong in the teachings of religious transnationalism.

There are many transnationalist movements in Indonesia, such as IJABI, Wahabi, Hizbut Tahrir, and other teachings. In this case the author will highlight the development and activities of Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia. Based on case studies in Indonesia, HTI carries out a pattern of outreach through youth and campus recitation education. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is a radical Islamic social organization that has been around for two and a half decades and was founded by Palestinians, namely Taqiudinn an Nabhani.<sup>2</sup>In his research, Ward emphasized that HTI is a control over the activities of branches in Indonesia which are increasing and have never happened in political life in Indonesia, in this case the values carried by HTI are anti-Western, rejecting capitalism, democracy, liberalism and pluralism. . Through the fundamental teachings carried within HTI, this social organization has become an ideological antithesis that fits and shares the ideological desires of the Indonesian people.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Aniati, "Defending Radicalism And Islamic-Transnational Movement; Renewal Approaches From Structural To Cultural Dimension."

<sup>2</sup> Ward, "Non-Violent Extremists? Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia."

<sup>3</sup> Hilmy, "The Roots of Islamic Transnationalism of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI)."

The development of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia became increasingly massive in the early 2000s, this organization often carried out activities with anti-Pancasila slogans, democracy and neo-Islamic teachings. HTI's strength is helped by the use of new media, through social media activities as a tool for propaganda and public opinion which is managed in the form of a post-truth political movement.<sup>4</sup>In this case, post-truth is a strategy carried out by HTI to gain support from the community. Even in 2016, they held a big parade at Gelora Bung Karno which immediately received a lot of attention, both pros and cons. Through political activities outside Parliament, HTI has grown to provide insight into the understanding of Hizbut Tahrir as a transnational movement.<sup>5</sup>Apart from that, the strategy of sharing information regarding the glory of Ottoman Turkey is one of Hizbut Tahrir's activities considering that several big names such as Felix Siauw and Ismail Yusanto often compare the current government system with the Ottoman Empire. Apart from that, in the activity process, a comparison process was carried out in the form of stories and glories of the Ottoman Turkish government which was considered a worthy foundation for Muslims for Hizbut Tahrir members.

HTI's Islamic transnationalism continued to exist throughout the 2000s until 2016, in practice Hizbut Tahrir succeeded in attracting people to join its neo-Islamic movement. They also often interact with political parties based on Islamic fundamentalism, such as the Prosperous Justice Party. Even though they both deny collaboration, in some agendas both HTI and PKS often go hand in hand, especially in spreading the teachings of Islamic fundamentalism. Apart from that, HTI often carries out doctrinalization of student segmentation with the aim of increasing its strength and mass base. The peak of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's socialization activities was the issuance of a decree in 2013 by SBY. Then rumors emerged regarding HTI's closeness to SBY and the Democratic Party as well as the disbanded organization, the Islamic Defenders Front.

As a social organization that promotes the antithesis of Pancasila, HTI is categorized as a radical organization in Indonesia. Remembering the beginning of President Joko Widodo's administration, the narrative of massive radicalism was used by the government to fight against the Pancasila framework of the organization. After reaping the pros and cons regarding the existence of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, a policy

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<sup>4</sup> Setia, "Grounding the Caliphate in Indonesia: Strategy for Mobilizing Public Opinion by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) on Social Media."

<sup>5</sup> Osman, The Translational Network of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.

emerged regarding the dissolution of HTI. Joko Widodo's government revoked HTI's legal entity status, through the Ministry of Law and Human Rights Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia officially dissolved it through Perppu 2 of 2017 in Article 80A.<sup>6</sup>The government must take the decision to disband with the aim of preventing the danger of radicalization in the minds of HTI members. After the disbandment, there was a wave of rejection from the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia management, actions and demonstrations were carried out in all cities in Indonesia. The application for rejection by HTI members was unsuccessful, even in the cassation struggle it was rejected by the Supreme Court. After this decision, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia officially became an illegal and prohibited organization in Indonesia so that it finally closed itself and carried out activities in various forms, especially to abandon Hizbut Tahrir's identity.

In this case, the disbandment carried out by the government was based on government supervision of the ideology adhered to by community organizations in Indonesia.<sup>7</sup>Even though the dissolution of this transnational movement violates freedom of association, the government must make every effort to maintain the integrity of the nation's ideology. In the process of rejection, there was a wave of rejection and political dynamics. Pros and cons occur in several highlights, starting from aspects of law, freedom and radicalism. Judging from the regulations regarding the revocation of the HTI Law Decree, the government is directly and clearly trying to ward off radicalism in Indonesia. The massive anti-Pancasila movement endangers existence, plus the post-truth news initiated by HTI creates fear in society, the narrative of the failure of democracy, the destruction of Indonesia and the rise of Islam continues to be spread, creating chaos. think about Indonesian society. So it is not surprising that in responding to this phenomenon, the government formed BPIP or the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency which exists with the aim of maximizing the eradication of anti-Pancasila ideology and strengthening the doctrine of Pancasila values and principles. This is done as a way to provide resilience and protection against radicalism.

Behind this phenomenon, there is now an identity crisis for Indonesian people who are members of HTI. In the sense that they often hide their identities, resulting in

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<sup>6</sup> Indonesia, "Revoke Legal Entity Decree, Government Officially Disbands HTI."

<sup>7</sup> Prasetyo, Sunan, and Surabaya, "The Disbandment of Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia from a Socio-Political Analysis Perspective: Journal of Islamic Studies. The Dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia from a Socio-Political Perspective."

social unrest which causes anxiety and fear for other civil society or former HTI members. Not to mention that the identification of radical groups continues to be spread to former HTI members. Even though this identity crisis is not too sharp, the processes and dynamics that occur occur sequentially. In other words, there needs to be some kind of solution considering that many people are carried away by doctrinalization. Although in several research findings, after the dissolution of HTI, several steps were taken, such as forming a new organization with a different name and joining other Islamic groups, whether political parties or other associations.<sup>8</sup>

This research aims to analyze the dilemmas that arise regarding identity recognition and efforts to overcome radicalism by focusing on the case study of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) transnationalism in Indonesia. First, this research will explore the potential threat posed by HTI to the nation's values and integrity, through an analysis of goals, values, and vision and mission that may conflict with the values held by Indonesian society. Furthermore, this research will examine the dynamics of the state's failure to overcome the issue of recognizing HTI's identity, especially after the dissolution of the organization, by understanding the process of losing their identity as Indonesian citizens. Apart from that, this study will analyze the role of the state in responding to issues of identity and radicalism, evaluate the policies that have been taken, and propose solutions that should be taken by the state. Finally, this research will discuss the dilemmas faced by states in determining attitudes towards HTI, including considerations between individual human rights and national security as well as the potential political, social and security consequences of actions or policies taken by states.

This research is interesting because it describes the dynamics of religious transnationalism, especially through a case study of the development and activities of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) in Indonesia. The context of globalization and democratization allows religious organizations to spread their teachings without regional boundaries, and this research looks at its impact in the Southeast Asia region, especially Indonesia. An in-depth study of HTI is relevant, considering its significant influence in spreading the teachings of religious transnationalism with fundamentalist nuances. HTI's success in reaching society, especially through education and social media, as well as its

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<sup>8</sup> Qohar and Hakiki, "The Existence of the HTI Transnational Ideological Movement Before and After the Dissolution."

involvement with political parties such as the Prosperous Justice Party, shows how complex the role and impact of this movement is in the political and social realms of Indonesia. This study provides an in-depth understanding of HTI's anti-Western ideology, rejection of capitalism, democracy, liberalism and pluralism, as well as how the government responded to this by disbanding itself as an effort to ward off radicalism. Apart from that, the focus on the identity crisis of Indonesian society after the dissolution of HTI provides interesting psychological and social dimensions to study. Therefore, this research makes an important contribution to understanding the complexity of religious transnationalism and its impact on national identity and security in Indonesia.

In some of the author's findings, similar research was conducted by Pasiska & Azman in 2020 with the title of the article *Reideology of Ex-HTI Residents: Doctrinization of Nationalism, Islamic Moderation and Indonesia*,<sup>9</sup>In this case the author highlights the phenomenon of the HTI movement which is damaging nationalism, so when former HTI members are disbanded, efforts must be made to reideology so that the roots of radicalism slowly fade. Similar research was written by Qohar & Hakiki, 2017 with the title *The Existence of the HTI Transnational Ideological Movement: Before and After the Dissolution*,<sup>10</sup>where the two authors broadcast on the events before the dissolution where HTI placed LDK students as cadre segmentation and then after the dissolution they carried out the Khilafah ideology movement which did not remain silent and was embedded because of the strong understanding of the teachings of the Khilafah in the former HTI members. He also highlighted that it is not impossible that a new organization will emerge with a different name or join a similar organization, for example a political party that adheres to their teachings, namely the Prosperous Justice Party. Meanwhile, in this case the author places this research as an analysis related to the dilemmas experienced by the government, especially in activities before and after the dissolution, where in this case the construction of social identity is in the spotlight considering that after the dissolution there were guerrilla activities from HTI members making it difficult for the government to carry out supervision. because there was no objection to the presence of former HTI members. In addition, in this case the threat of radicalism is of concern so

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<sup>9</sup> Pasiska and Azman, "Reideology of Ex-HTI Residents: Doctrinization of Nationalism, Islamic Moderation and Indonesia."

<sup>10</sup> Qohar and Hakiki, "The Existence of the HTI Transnational Ideological Movement Before and After the Dissolution."

that there are three government focuses in this case to counteract radicalism, namely the activities of the underground movement of former HTI members as well as the threat of disintegration of political stability, and providing protection to the community. because they still have the identity of Indonesian citizens and indirectly have authority under the SK law.

## **B. RESEARCH METHODS**

In this research the author uses a qualitative research approach, where qualitative research itself is a type of research that attempts to build a narrative or textual picture of the phenomenon being studied. This qualitative research aims to gain an in-depth understanding of humanitarian and social problems, not to describe the reality on the surface like quantitative research with its positivist flow.<sup>11</sup> In the process of collecting data in this research, researchers used literature study techniques. Library study is the activity of conducting, searching and managing library resources with the aim of finding research answers related to the problems to be studied.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the sources that researchers use include books, scientific journals, news and social media. In this research the author used content data analysis techniques. Meanwhile, what is meant by content data analysis technique is a data analysis technique which in its research uses data sourced from mass media.

## **C. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

After receiving a Decree from President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in 2013, Hizbut Tahrir's activities became increasingly massive, both in the process of adding members and responding to government policies. However, in this case the process of HTI activities experienced ups and downs during 2014-2017, the change of regime had a significant impact on the activities and existence of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. By carrying out an anti-radicalism narrative, the Jokowi-JK government invites the public to fight radicalism, intolerance and extremism. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia had to accept this unfortunate fate, after being clear about it in several activities, such as the Congress at Gelora Bung Karno. After the event, the spotlight was on HTI with its spokesperson Ismail Yusanto loudly rejecting the political system and democracy and calling for the

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<sup>11</sup> Fadli, "Understanding Qualitative Research Method Design."

<sup>12</sup> Creswell, *Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* Fourth Edition.

establishment of a caliphate. As a multicultural country, the caliphate system is clearly inversely proportional to the etymology and current conditions of Indonesian society.

After being judged to have widely spread narratives of radicalism and threatening the government due to their desire to establish a caliphate-shaped state, not long after, the issuance of a decree revoking the legality of Hizbut Tahrir made their activities legal. prohibited both in campaigns and daily activities. However, in several of the authors' findings, they or former HTI members considered disbandment to be a natural thing considering their strong identity, making it difficult to change the mindset of former HTI members.<sup>13</sup>The strong doctrinalization of teachings that enter the thoughts and actions of former HTI members actually creates a threat of conflict with the general public or with the government. This is because the narrative issued and the government's anti-radicalism policy firmly rejects the existence of HTI in Indonesia. The threat of social identity construction also has the potential to occur when the activities of former HTI members are still ongoing, either under other names or carrying out preaching secretly. This does not rule out the possibility of conflict and violence, especially in countering radicalism or from the perpetrators of radicalism themselves.

### ***Threats to the integrity and stability of Indonesia***

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia has a vision and mission that openly contradicts the ideology of the Indonesian nation. This Islamic transnationalism movement endangers the integrity of the Indonesian nation. Because the goals and activities carried out threaten the existence of Indonesia. As a transnational organization that often promotes the narrative of the glory of Ottoman Turkey, HTI has a strong desire to provide change in various forms, such as government, legal sources, and the process of running the government. This is proven in several forms of goals, firstly Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia has the goal of establishing an Islamic State in Indonesia, in other words the organization has the desire to change Indonesia's ideology. So that when these goals are realized, the fate of various communities will be disrupted so that these goals are not relevant to the conditions of Indonesian society. Threats to the security and stability of the country can occur, including the disintegration of the nation when HTI strongly rejects the democratic

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<sup>13</sup> Santoso and Dharmawan, "THE MEANING OF THE DISSOLUTION OF HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA IN THE REALM OF MIND OF EX-HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA MEMBERS IN SURABAYA AS PART OF SELF-CONCEPT."



system and the Pancasila ideology.<sup>14</sup> Apart from that, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is also considered to be the origin of terrorism, this is due to the strong doctrine of radicalism among HTI members, causing them to often be trapped in prohibited movements.

Reviewing the HTI dissolution incident, the data actually shows that many countries disbanded Hizbut Tahrir earlier than Indonesia. A country that is strong in Islam like Malaysia has also disbanded Hizbut Tahrir because it is considered a danger to the government. Then Türkiye clearly rejected the existence of Hizbut Tahrir in the government and considered it dangerous. The second state threat to the existence of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is political stability which is not empty talk, in other words, as an organization that operates and is based on different values, it is not impossible to reject it without criticism. In another sense, all kinds of government policies and decisions are always considered inconsistent with desires because of radically different paradigms. In addition, stability can be disrupted due to public trust in the current system. This is due to remembering that in spreading HTI teachings, democracy is not the right teaching. In this case, when these assumptions are held by society, threats to stability can occur considering that this is dangerous, especially in political participation.

Apart from stability and integrity, the existence of HTI creates a dilemma for the government, especially in upholding freedom of association. This is because members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia are Indonesian citizens, so in this case it indirectly raises concerns about the identity of people who are proven to be former members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. This is because several times the actions of Hizbut Tahrir members often threaten the framework of nationalism. Starting from boycotting democracy which is considered not in accordance with Muslim teachings by carrying out propaganda through media such as newspapers and new media or social media. In fact, in several speeches or Congress speeches, the leadership of Hizbut Tahrir did not hesitate to punish those who obstructed the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate. So in this case it is not impossible that the existence of HTI has the potential to cause chaos if the consolidation carried out in the country is strong, so that there is the potential for a state of nature or chaos to occur in a country. Through this, HTI also becomes a threat to nationalism and the ideology of Pancasila considering that teachings that conflict with nationalism can become a needle in the puzzle of Indonesian nationalism. Therefore, the phenomenon of

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<sup>14</sup> Afkar and Indi Mas'ud, "Securitization of Islamic Radicalism Issues in Indonesia 2014 - 2019."

mass organizations that conflict with the Pancasila ideology is considered to violate the constitution and is therefore prohibited from carrying out activities after the Decree Law was revoked by the Joko Widodo Government.

Through these three things, disintegration, political stability, and the threat of natural conditions or chaos become real threats to the government. So in this case the government's decision to disband Hizbut Tahrir can be seen from the perspective of maintaining the integrity of the Pancasila ideology which was openly attacked by HTI figures with narratives of neo-Islamic revival and continuing to imagine the glory of Hizbut Tahrir. Ottoman Türkiye which became a model political system. Even though it is not fully in accordance with democratic values and principles, this government step illustrates the government's fear of the radicalism of HTI members who continue to carry out cadre formation and pacification movements. In this case, the government prioritizes preventing radicalism for the sake of continuity of government activities considering the narrative of radicalism adopted and spread by the Joko Widodo government at the beginning of 2014, so the revocation of this regional regulation is a concrete strategy to limit radicalism. activities of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.

### ***Polemic on the social identity construction of former HTI members***

The polemic about the social identity of former members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia after its disbandment attracted attention, in this case they imitated this activity by changing their names and giving the impression of hiding. Guerrilla warfare is one of the strategies of former HTI members in carrying out social activities, including religious activities. Examining the State's failure to handle HTI's social identity reveals complex dynamics after the dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). The loss of recognition of the social identity of HTI members became a problem after the dissolution of the organization. Although this action is expected to be followed by clear steps regarding security and protection from the government, this is important because former HTI members are Indonesian citizens. However, in reality, this country has no worries about uncertainty in providing legal clarity regarding social identification, especially for statements to the public about the fate of former HTI members. Even though the case is different from the construction of Shiite identity, the process of hanging on to social identity after the dissolution leaves new concerns. This includes several activities of former HTI members who tend to keep to themselves, in this case there is no clarity

regarding the policies governing former HTI members. Delays in the process of recognizing social identity create deadlock and excessive fear among former members and the community. In this case, the government MUST be clearly related to the fate of former HTI members, what is important is that their activity process can at least be monitored by their social identity. Considering that guerrilla activities tend to be more dangerous and the process of spreading radicalism to someone is easier.

The crisis of legal certainty is the main challenge faced by the state in handling cases of recognizing the identity of former Hizbut Tahrir members. The absence of proper rules and procedures creates a legal vacuum so that in some cases findings can be exploited by parties who want to manipulate or worsen the situation. For example, when the activities of former HTI members receive nationalist sentiment, it is not impossible that conflict could occur. The implications of this unclear social identity are also felt in the context of national security, especially on the issue of radicalism. The loss of social status creates an opening for former HTI members to operate underground or engage in radicalism activities without effective legal control, thereby posing serious risks to overall national stability and security.<sup>15</sup> Thus, assessing the state's failure in overcoming the HTI identity opens up space to formulate solutions and improvements needed to ensure the success of efforts to overcome radicalism at the national level.

The process of losing social identity after the dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) has had a significant impact on efforts to eradicate radicalism in Indonesia. The loss of social identity makes it difficult to monitor and supervise former HTI members. The government faces obstacles in taking preventive measures and monitoring their activities. This causes efforts to overcome radicalism to be hampered due to the difficulty of identifying and monitoring potential threats that may arise from this group.

Big challenges arise in efforts to rehabilitate and deradicalize former HTI members. The threat of loss of social identity is the main obstacle in implementing prevention and deradicalization programs aimed at reintegrating them into society. This condition makes it difficult to create a holistic mechanism to address the root causes of radicalism and ensure that former members can be accepted back into the wider social environment.<sup>16</sup> Apart from that, even without legal legality, former HTI members are

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<sup>15</sup> Hermawan and Sidik, "State, Identity Politics, and Makar: Views of Islamic Mass Organizations on Makar and Efforts to Prevent It Through PERPPU Ormas."

<sup>16</sup> Nur Budiman et al., "Populism: Consequences of Political Stagnation and Democracy in Indonesia."

suspected of still carrying out activities, especially in carrying out da'wah activities by promoting the concept of the caliphate.<sup>17</sup> This phenomenon is actually a paradox considering that the activities of former HTI members use the media and are secret, so in this case the government cannot fully take action when the activities of the caliphate teachings are taking place. Because, the reason is that it is not impossible for former HTI members to use other names and identities so that the government cannot do much. Therefore, the re-ideology process is one of the ways that the government must carry out introductions and discussions with people exposed to radicalism and former HTI members. Although the effectiveness of reideology has not been tested, efforts to introduce moderation, tolerance and nationalism must be made to reduce the understanding and actions of radicalism. This is important because radicalism is the root of terrorism.

### ***The Role and Dilemmas of the State in HTI Transnationalism in Indonesia***

As a multicultural country, Indonesia is packaged in a democratic government system that carries the Pancasila ideology. In this case, the form of government upholds freedom of association, pluralism and tolerance. However, HTI experienced an unfortunate fate when it did not receive sympathy and moral support from the community and government, and instead its existence was condemned because it was considered to adhere to and spread ideas that were contrary to Indonesia. ideology. Behind this, the public continues to discuss pros and cons regarding the existence of HTI in the political realm outside Parliament. On the other hand, the presence of Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia seems to be a problem and challenge for Indonesia's security integrity, especially in facing the threat of radicalism. The massive spread of influence of the transnational organization Hizbut Tahrir currently presents complex problems for Indonesia's security. This can be seen from its various impacts on the political and security sectors in Indonesia. Starting from threats to the state ideology and Pancasila democracy, waning nationalism, national divisions, the formation of sentiment among society, security integrity, even the existence of HTI has given rise to ideas of radicalism and terrorism.

In overcoming the threat of these problems, the state has a key role in dealing with the spread of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Transnationalism. Among them is the establishment of the Legal and Political Decree, the state as the highest organization or

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<sup>17</sup> Fitriyana, "THE PHENOMENON OF EX-HTI DAKWAH POST DISSOLUTION."

body that has the authority to regulate matters related to this matter. in the interests of the wider community, it must establish clear legal policies related to transnational activities that could endanger national security or public order. This involves an adequate legislative process and appropriate adjustments to the law. The second is to act as a strong pillar of law enforcement, as we know that the state has the responsibility to enforce the law and take appropriate action against individuals or groups involved in transnational activities that violate the law. Apart from that, countries must also carry out international cooperation, where this cooperation is then needed by countries to share information, intelligence and coordination in facing transnational threats. This collaboration involves the police, intelligence and other related agencies.

However, in carrying out its role in handling the HTI transnationalism case in Indonesia, it turns out that the country is experiencing a dilemma. The Indonesian state faces a complex dilemma in dealing with the spread of the transnationalist teachings of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). On the one hand, the government must take firm action against organizations accused of weakening the Pancasila ideology and threatening the country's stability. But on the other hand, tough efforts against HTI can also raise concerns regarding civil rights and freedom of expression. In handling this case, the Indonesian government needs to find a balance between national security and respect for human rights. This creates a dilemma where the state must maintain security without sacrificing democratic principles and the rights of its citizens. A thorough understanding of this problem is important so that the country can adopt policies that are in line with democratic values while maintaining internal and political stability.

#### **D. CONCLUSION**

As a social organization that promotes the antithesis of Pancasila, HTI is categorized as a radical organization in Indonesia. The Islamic transnationalism movement carried out by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia endangers the integrity of the Indonesian nation. This is due to the aim of establishing an Islamic State in Indonesia, in other words the organization has the desire to change Indonesian ideology and the doctrine of radicalism which is strong among HTI members which causes them to often be trapped in prohibited movements. The existence of HTI is a dilemma for the government, especially in upholding freedom of association. This is because members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia are Indonesian citizens, so in this case it indirectly raises

concerns about the identity of people who are proven to be former members of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia. The revocation of the Decree Law is the main challenge faced by the state in handling HTI identity recognition cases. In another sense, their social identity as former HTI members is considered unclear because it is prohibited by the state. Likewise with society, in general the process of revoking the decree is a concrete manifestation that social identity also suppresses the process of non-recognition of HTI members. The lack of clarity on the appropriate rules and procedures gives rise to new polemics regarding identity, which in turn can be exploited by parties who want to manipulate or disrupt the situation. The existence of Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia is considered to be a problem and a challenge to Indonesia's security integrity. The state has a key role in handling the Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Transnationalism case, including establishing Legal Policy, the state as a strong pillar of law enforcement, and the state must also carry out international cooperation. The Indonesian state faces a complex dilemma in dealing with the transnationalism of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI). On the one hand, the government must take firm action against organizations accused of weakening the Pancasila ideology and threatening the country's stability. But on the other hand, tough efforts against HTI can also raise concerns regarding civil rights and freedom of expression. Therefore, in handling this case, Indonesia needs to find a balance between national security and respect for human rights.

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