

	<p style="text-align: center;">International Conference on Islam, Law, and Society (INCOILS) 2022 Conference Proceedings</p>
<p>Article</p>	
<p>Radicalism Discourse in the Kaffah Bulletin Post</p>	
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<p>ABSTRACT:</p> <p>The HTI organization was disbanded by the government because of its radical views, even though it was officially disbanded, its followers continued to spread their belief through Kaffah bulletin. The purposes of this research are, first, to explain the discourse that is disseminated in the Kaffah Bulletin post, and second, to describe the pattern of radicalism narration shared in Kaffah bulletin. This research employed qualitative text method in which the researcher collects, groups and randomly analyse Kaffah Bulletin post shared in 2021 and 2022 in the Kaffah Bulletin block. The research result shows that first, the discourse disseminated in the Kaffah Bulletin post contains Democracy, Capitalism, Liberalism, Secularism, and Caliphate State. Secondly, the narrative pattern displayed in Kaffah bulletin is to persuade the reader to support its purpose to establish Caliphate State.</p> <p>Key Word: <i>Radicalism, Da'wah, Kaffah Bulletin, Hizb Ut-tahrir Indonesia</i></p>	

INTRODUCTION

Essentially, da'wah is an activity to disseminate goodness toward human being, however it is also being used to spread destructive views. Media is of vital importance in deploying religious teachings, views, or ideology toward human being. Nowadays, the advance of information technology has created fast change in the society (Indrawan & Ilmar, 2018). One of the organizations that employs technology advances (New Media) as a platform to change the society is Hibz Ut-tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

HTI is a radical movement that was disbanded by the government in 2017 due to the reason that it may cause harm to the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Arif, 2016). HTI is considered as a threat to the integrity of the Unitary State of Indonesia since this state will be dismissed once the ideology of global Islamic Caliphate as promoted by HTI is implemented (Syah & Setia, 2021). After the dismissal of HTI on July, 19th 2017, practically all activities and businesses of this community organization also stop operating

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(Mulyar, 2018) however in reality HTI has never been really vanished from Indonesia, this is proved by the existence Kaffah Bulletin which is now has become propaganda media of HTI.

Kaffah Bulletin which is first published on August, 11th 2017 AD/8 Dzulqa'idah 1438 H by HTI contains controversial and provocative element also hatred toward government and governmental system. The themes such as of globalization, democracy, liberalization, and secularization have always become the topics discussed in this bulletin and are products that have to be replaced with Caliphate, even Pancasila and Indonesia are called as *Thagbut* system. It can be seen from one of the topics in this bulletin in 074 edition on 12 Jumadil Ula 1440 H/January, 18th 2019 entitled *Stop Supporting Rulers Who Fails and Break Promises (Berhenti Mendukung Penguasa yang Gagal dan Mengingkari Janji)*, it reflects the call to stop supporting the government in charge in to implement policies kebijakan (Faizin, 2019).

Various analysis of HTI propaganda media have been conducted by numerous researchers, such as Budiman et. al., entitled *Ideology of Da'wah Al-Islam Bulletin in the Critical Discourse Study (Ideologi Buletin Dakwah Al-Islam dalam Studi Wacana Kritis)*. Their research result shows different kinds of ideology construction build by Al-Islam Bulletin, namely, politics, economics, social, and religious ideologies. There are two main discourse foundation of Al-Islam bulletin; al-Qur'an and As-Sunnah (Budiman et al., 2013) the strategy in delivering ideology in Al-Islami Bulletin is by selecting vocabularies through word classification, meaning relation, and metaphor, as for the structure of the text that is being used as the discourse strategy is affirmation with the argumentation support and inference formulation.

Siti Nur Fitriyana with her research work entitled *The Phenomenon of ex-HTI After Dismissal (Fenomena Eks-HTI Pasca Bubar)* found out that HTI phenomenon has experiencing up and down cycle started from the New Order Government Soekarno to Jokowi. During the governance of Jokowi, HTI is disbanded by the government based on Perpu (Government regulation in lieu of law) of 2017. In fact, although it has no more law legality, this group keep implementing da'wah by using social media. This social media is under coverage of BMI, GP, Muslimah News.Id (Fitriyana, 2019).

Bugi Kenoh Mulyar in a research work entitled *Islamiyah Caliphate Discourse in Indonesia (Analysis of Critical Discourse of Da'wah Al-Islam, Kaffah, and Ummah Media Tabloid/ Analisis Wacana Kritis Buletin Dakwah Al-Islam, Kaffah, dan Tabloid Ummah Media)* found out that Islamic Caliphate discourse articulated by Da'wah Al-Islam Bulletin, Kaffah and Ummah Media Tabloid onto three points, namely, caliphate as the teaching of Islam, Caliphate as the obligation toward human beings, and caliphate as the solution to the multidimensional crisis. The ideology of the media itself can be classified into two, namely, religious ideology in Al-Islami and Kaffah bulletins, and political ideology represented by ummah media tabloid (Mulyar, 2018).

After reviewing numbers of previous research, it is found that there is a gap to be investigated and this gap is of vital importance to be revealed. The gap itself is radicalism discourse in Kaffah Bulletin. This particular research is importance to be conducted since it may provide information needed although HTI has already disbanded. It is suspected that its radicalism is still being disseminated toward the entire society; hence, this is considered as a threat to the integrity of NKRI (The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia).

RESEARCH METHOD

The research Method in this scientific writing is using library research which is conducted by collecting information and data with the help of various library source especially article, book, and scientific work in relation with the problem discussed (Sari, 2020). As a research that employs text study, this qualitative research is focusing on the analysis or interpretation of written source based on its content (Ahyar, 2019). Data collection technique is conducted by collecting, categorizing, and analysing da'wah post of Kaffah Bulletin on the internet media such as

Instagram, Facebook, and Kaffah Bulletin Blogs in the last two years (2021-2022) which is randomly selected. The research data is related with the discourse delivered by Kaffah Bulletin. The form of data representation in this research is narrative discourse text collected from Kaffah Bulletin post.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. The disseminated discourses in Kaffah Bulletin are:

The disseminated discourse in the Kaffah Bulletin by both print media and electronic media such as internet is very variative in accordance to the phenomenon happen in the society. Below are discourses that are frequently discussed in Kaffah Bulletin, as follow:

Anti Democracy

In disseminating its da'wah, Kaffah Bulletin is frequently discussing about democracy such as can be seen in a discourse entitled *Scramble for Power Among Displaced Peoples (Perebutan Kekuasaan di Antara Rakyat Terlantar)* under the secular democracy system which throws away religious rule (Islamic law), for example in this country this type of power is exist and has caused slander, lots of people are competing to achieve or to sustain the power at any cost no matter whether it is halal or haram. In contrast, the interest of the society is often ignored and abandoned (Kaffah Bulletin 246 edition, 10 Dzulqai'dah 1443 H/10 June 2022 AD).

Under the title of *Correcting Rulers is Obligations Why Silent? (Memperbaiki Penguasa adalah Kewajiban, Mengapa Dibungkam?)* Kaffah Bulletin wrote that if this RKHUP is legalized, the power of the government and DPR (House of Representatives) will be more authorized. The government is become harder to be criticized. In fact, there are numbers of policies and laws ruled by the government and DPR is not on the side of the public. This is a deception of the democracy, demanding sovereignty among the citizens, but instead silencing the public's critical voice against those in power" (Kaffah Bulletin 248 edition, 24 Dzulqai'dah 1443 H/ 24 June 2022 AD).

Based on the above discourse, Kaffah Bulletin is against the use of democracy as the government system in Indonesia. This bulletin considers democracy only benefited the government, but inflicted the society. It is evidence that the stakeholders are competing with each other to maintain and increase their position also to enrich themselves and their group while people are suffering. In fact, these are all against the actual meaning of democracy that is the state is under the rule of the people, so that the people are sovereign (Novianti, 2016). It means that the people have rights to make decision in order for them to have a better life, as well as the people can also be involved directly in the formulation of regulation making to manage their own life.

Anti-Capitalism and Liberalism

The other edition entitled *Solving people's problem is injustice (Memecahkan masalah rakyat adalah ketidakadilan)* Kaffah Bulletin stated that "in the capitalism-liberalism system, the management of nature resources including oil and gas which are mentioned as the property of the people cannot be managed by the government, it must be managed by private company of both domestic and international." The management of migration product also need to be conducted based on the market mechanism. It is not to mention that management itself also has its own problem, namely, traders who set margins at will, the existence of oil and gas mafia, etc. As the impact of the

implementation of this capitalism-liberalism system, the systematic tyranny will keep happening (Kaffah Bulletin, 260 edition, 20 Safar 1443 H/ 16 September 2022 AD).

Under the title *BBM Milik Rakyat, Bukan Pemerintah* (*BBM Belongs to the People not the Government*), Kaffah bulletin stated that “this is one of the logical reasons why this country needs to be ruled by Islamic law.” In contrast, this country needs to be brave to throw away the capitalism-secularism-liberalism systems which have caused misery for its people, and the question is are we going to keep rejecting the Islamic law which allows prosperity and blessings?” (Kaffah Bulletin 259 edition, 13 Safar 1443 H/9 September 2022 AD). Independent means only serving Allah SWT, the soul of the people is also cannot be set free due to hedonistic culture created by vanity ideology of western capitalism. They keep separating us from the obedience toward the law of Allah SWT. The western world continues to inflame Islamophobia to the point that many of them hate their own religion” (Kaffah Bulletin 256 edition, 21 Muharram 1443 H/19 August 2022 AD).

Capitalism and liberalism are systems that destroy the state of Indonesia, at least that is the figure set by the above Kaffah Bulletin. Capitalist and liberalist systems are tyrant, the capitalist who torture the people, and capitalist who had caused people to hate their very own religion. Capitalism itself is a social system that is based on the recognition of individual property rights which include private property rights (Handoyo et al., 2018). Meanwhile, Liberalism is a flow of thought that is oriented towards individual freedom, respects the independence of everyone, believes that the main task of the state is to protect the freedoms of its citizens, such as freedom of thought, expression and private possession (Handoyo et al., 2018). Meanwhile, Liberalism is the flow of thought which oriented on individual freedom, respects the freedom of every person, believes that the main duty of the state is to protect the freedom of its citizens such as freedom of thought, expression, and property (Batubara et al. 2021). Even though most of the economic sectors is dominated by the private sector, however most of the issues of politics and economics are directed toward economic liberalization (Hasan Jan, 2010). In fact, Indonesia is not an adherent of capitalist and liberalist economy, but rather the Pancasila economic system.

Anti-Secularism

Under the title *Penegakan Hukum Harus Adil dan Amanah!* (*Law Enforcement Must be Fair and Trustworthy!*) it is written that “O Muslim! It is of vital importance to understand that enforcing the law in a fair and trustworthy manner is almost impossible as long as the rules of Islam are not enforced.” The law originated from the womb of secularism has been crippled since birth, full of interests of its maker. On the other side, the attitude of trust and justice only thrives and develops in Islamic life, not in this type of civilization of secularism and capitalism” (Kaffah Bulletin 252 edition, 23 Dzulhijjah 1443 H/ 22 July 2022 AD).

In the edition of “*Mencetak Pemuda Cerdas dan Setia*” (*Creating Smart and Loyal Youth*), it is stated that “O Muslim, save our Muslim children and youth, don’t let them be destroyed by the ideology of secularism-capitalism and their supporters.” Turn them into smart youths and have a faith to be warriors in the religion of Allah SWT. Prevent ourselves from leaving the replacement generation whose morals are bad, stupid, and misguided” (Kaffah Bulletin Edition, 254, 7 Muharram 1443 H/5 August 2022 AD).

According to the written discourse in the above Kaffah Bulletin, it can be concluded that secularism ideology needs to be omitted from Indonesia since it has caused bad things such as gave birth to flawed laws that only benefit the maker. Moreover, secularism has caused the youth to be misbehaved, to act illogically, and misguided. Secularism itself means sceptical toward God and religion in a wider sensing. In a simple way, it can be said that God and religion have not yet explicitly being rejected

or accepted, however it can be said explicitly that it has tendency of atheism in secularism (Pachor, 2016). In brief, it can be understood that secularism is a view that separates religious and governance matters. Kaffah Bulletin revealed that secularism is totally against their principles, not to mention that they have main goal to implement Islamic law or Islamic sharia as a whole in Indonesia or well known as Khilafah that is a governance system which reflects the life of the prophet and the life of Khulafaurrashidin.

Establishing the Khilafah State

In the effort to establish governance with Khilafah system, Kaffah Bulletin often shares persuasive discourses like can be found in the title *Jangan Kriminalisasi Ajaran Islam! (Don't Criminalize Islamic Teachings!)* Kaffah Bulletin wrote that "we (Muslim) must be the one who glorify Islam, sharia and its teachings, including khilafah." Moreover, establishing khilafah is our obligation." (Kaffah Bulletin 247 edition. 17 Dzulq'adah 1443 H/ 17 June 2022 AD). In the other edition entitled *101 Years of suffering of people without Khilafah (101Tabun Penderitaan Rakyat Tanpa Khilafah)*. At the end of the article, it was written that "therefore, stop the suffering of the people now. Return to the Islamic system, Khilafah Islamiyah, that will carry out Islamic sharia in a kaffah way as well as to protect it" (Kaffah Bulletin 233 edition, 23 Rajjab 1443 H/ 25 February 2022 AD).

The above discourse is evidence of HTI's efforts through the Kaffah Bulletin in establishing a caliphate state. The Khilafah itself is the crystallization of their various receptions of the verses of the Qur'an. This session explains how the "verses of the caliphate" are impregnated in various forms (Hayati, 2017). This means that establishing a caliphate state is not an obligation as explained by HTI in the Kaffah bulletin, but rather upholding the substance of Islamic values, namely justice, equality, freedom, and so on as long as they do not violate Islamic teachings.

From the various discourses written by the Kaffah Bulletin, it can be concluded that they are an organization of the Hizb Ut-tahrir Indonesia (HTI) movement which aims to make changes to the Indonesian government system to become a state with a Khilafah system based on the Qur'an and Sunnah. This is in line with the theory of Islamic social movements which exist to respond to various socio-political and economic conditions encountered by Muslims. The emergence of the Islamic social movement (GSI) is a manifestation of the call to be actively involved in humanitarian projects to change people's social life to become more qualified, more civilized and reflect Islamic prophetic values (Syarifuddin Jurdi, 2013).

2. The Narration Pattern Presented in Kaffah Bulletin

Democracy

State and governance issues are interesting to discuss from the Islamic perspective, especially in the context of Islamic society. The Islamic community has different backgrounds, social, cultural, economic and political as well as the ability to interpret different texts. Even though the texts referred to by Islamic groups are the same, namely the Al-Qur'an and Hadith, there will be differences in meaning. Different backgrounds and different interpretations of texts have caused the general concept of life to vary. This can be seen from the views of Islamic groups on democracy, there are those who support democracy but there are also those who strongly oppose democracy as a system of government. One of them is the Kaffah Bulletin. According to the Kaffah Bulletin, the democratic system is a kufr system, sovereignty in forming laws should only be in the hands of Allah SWT, not in the hands of the people or humans as the meaning of democracy, that is sovereignty is in the hands of public.

Like it or not, that's how Islamic teachings are understood in the Kaffah Bulletin, but according to them it doesn't mean that people's aspirations have no space in Islamic law or aren't prosperous because of Islamic law. They actually believe that through a khilafah or leadership system according to Islamic teachings, life will be better and better, guaranteed (Abidin, 2019). Karman's research contains several views on democracy in Indonesia in the perspective of HTI's Kaffah Bulletin, namely democracy as a tool of colonialism for capitalism and colonialism, democracy that makes the Indonesian government a henchman for the colonialists, democracy as a shield against the colonialists and democracy as a system that torments the people (Karman, 2015). One edition of the Kaffah Bulletin which criticized democracy was entitled "Demokrasi Memberdayakan Rakyat" (Democracy Empowers the People) (Kaffah Bulletin edition 229, 25 Jumadil Akhir 1443 H/ 28 January 2022 AD).

Anti-Capitalism and Liberalism

Capitalism and Liberalism are often discussed in the Kaffah Bulletin, whether they are discussed in depth or just to mention and relate them to the issues raised as topics. Several discourses discussing capitalism and liberalism entitled "Secularism and Capitalism are Big Problems for the People" (Kaffah Bulletin, edition 234, 30 Rajab 1443 H/4 March 2022 AD), "Permendikbud Strengthens Liberal Culture" (Kaffah Bulletin edition 219, 13 Rabiul Akhir 1443 H / 19 November 2021 AD). Capitalism is seen as a system that is very detrimental to Muslims, a few people who have the power to oppress the people can be seen from the very expensive prices of basic commodities and necessities. Therefore, they invite to eliminate the capitalist system by replacing it with Islamic law or Islamic sharia as a solution that will solve the problem.

Meanwhile, Liberal in the Kaffah Bulletin is an ideology that makes humans have no rules, since no one can be moral police for someone's personal affairs, including even the state. Liberal means that no one can prohibit anyone from having sex according to their wishes, such as adultery, homosexuality, lesbianism, sado masochism, pedophilia, incest and even sexual relations with corpses or animals. It can be interpreted that the Kaffah Bulletin strongly condemns liberalism which is very contrary to Islamic teachings which does not tolerate sexual crimes against women, in Islam sexual offenders will be punished with one hundred lashes.

Anti-Secularism

Secularism in the Kaffah Bulletin is something that is damaged because it rejects the role of religion, especially Islam in regulating life, especially politics, because they arbitrarily conceptualize secularism according to their own understanding, the views contained in the Kaffah Bulletin also assume that the caliphate is not a secular system, therefore antithesis and secularism (Maftuhin, 2017).

Khilafah State

The Khilafah is an institution and a political leadership. The aim of the khilafah is to unite all Muslims in the world in a supra-state political institution (khilafah) led by a caliph. A caliph is appointed by the ummah but the ummah has no right to dismiss the caliph. The error system itself is not something new as a political institution, especially in Islamic history. The error began at the beginning of the 30-year period of the Rashidun khulafa and ended in the Ottoman era. The caliphate system will implement Islamic law as a whole, both socially, politically,

economically and culturally. In addition, the khilafah is also to strengthen ukhwah (brotherhood) and Islamic da'wah (Akbar, 2017).

As for some of the discourses of the Kaffah Bulletin which discusses the caliphate state, namely the one entitled 101 Years of Suffering of the Ummah Without a Khilafah (Kaffah Bulletin 233, 23 Rajab 1443 H/ 25 February 2022 AD); The Khilafah Part of Islam Do Not Be Negatively Stigmatized (Kaffah Bulletin, edition 220, 20 Rabiul Akhir H/ 26 November 2021 AD); The Responsibility of the Ummah to Uphold the Khilafah (Kaffah Bulletin, edition 182, 13 Rajab 1442 H/ 26 February 2021 AD), The Grief of a World Without a Khilafah (Kaffah Bulletin, edition 181, 06 Rajab 1442 H/ 19 February 1442 AD).

The narrative pattern presented in the Kaffah Bulletin is a form of shrewdness in the process of framing a phenomenon and combining it with persuasive communication, in which the authors of the Kaffah Bulletin or the people behind the Kaffah Bulletin try to invite their readers to support their goal that is to establish a Khilafah State. Frieda Isyana Putri stated in her research that communication persuasion is a communication process that aims to influence the thoughts and opinions of others in order to adjust the opinions and desires of the communicator or reader (Putri & Lukmantoro, 2015).

The discourses or narratives conveyed by the Kaffah Bulletin are often related to Democracy, Capitalism, Liberalism, Secularism, and the Khilafah State. It is mentioned that democracy, capitalism, liberalism and secularism must be discarded and the Khilafah State must be established immediately. The form of narrative presented in the Kaffah Bulletin is a form of direct violence in the form of verbal violence in which there are words that threaten, frighten, and exaggerate mistakes. According to Johan Galtung, in Linda Dwi Eriyanti's research, direct violence can take many forms. In its classic form, this involves the use of physical force, such as killing or torture, rape and sexual assault, whereas in the form of verbal violence, insults are also widely known as violence (Dwi Eriyanti, 2017).

CONCLUSION

We conclude that dissolving a human association does not necessarily dissolve its understanding. The Kaffah Bulletin is one proof that the concept of the caliphate is still being propagated even though its owner (Hizb Ut-tahrir Indonesia) has been constitutionally buried by the Government of Indonesia. The Kaffah bulletin continues to surf in cyberspace spreading radicalism discourse in the form of hate speech against the government, authorities, government systems, policies that are not in accordance with Sharia. We also find that the notion of radicalism is spread through well-framed persuasive communication, so that it can influence the construction of the reader's mind to realize historical romanticism in establishing a caliphate state.

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