

**DESTRUCTING THE ISLAMIST IN INDONESIA:
Joko Widodo Policy and Its Controversy**

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Abstract: *The tension between the Islamist group and the state has risen in Indonesia this 2017. In the mid of 2017, Joko Widodo (Jokowi) government has announced to disband Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) as one of the Islamist groups in Indonesia. It happened in the midst of protest toward Jokowi for his ignorance to respond the alleged religious defamation by Ahok, governor of Jakarta. This article explores the discourse used by Jokowi government and its allies to ban HTI in Indonesia. It also explains the reason for the policy produced and political interests behind it. This paper argues that the dissolution of HTI is by no means for legal and security reason but for political interest of Joko Widodo and his political allies.*

Keywords: Islamist, discourse, the Joko Widodo Government,

This 2017 can be said as a very hot situation within national politics in Indonesia, particularly in regard to the relations between the issue of Political Islam and Indonesian state and government. It looks like the tension between political Islam and government has repeated again like what happened in the era of Indonesian first president. However, there is a difference between in the past and today. In Soekarno era, the conflict is between the government and the Islamic Political party, represented by Masyumi party. Today, the conflict is between the government and Islamic groups especially those are called "Islamic radical groups" in Indonesia. The issue and process of conflict are also different. In the past; there were intensive debates between the Islamic politicians who propose Islam as Indonesian ideology and constitution and Soekarno and his proponents who prefer to choose nationalist perspective in Indonesian constitution. This conflict happened especially inside the political process in the government itself such as in parliament.

While today, all the Islamist groups are not participating in formal politics but they challenge the government using their ability to influence the heart and mind of Indonesian Muslim people. The most recent gubernatorial election in Jakarta proves that. Having been aware of the rise of Islamist power in Indonesian politics, President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) makes his policy to crack down the Islamist influence by using many tactics and strategies. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesian (HTI) is the first victim of his policy.

Jokowi policy then becomes very controversial as he uses Pancasila (Indonesian Ideology) as the slogan to fight against what he calls radical Islamist groups, or Anti Pancasila Groups. This policy then creates a political gap between pro and anti-policy. There are many people support the policy, but many others reject and condemn this policy. This article is going to discuss Jokowi policy toward Islamist group mainly the issue dissolution of HTI in Indonesia. It will elaborate the narratives and discourse used by the government and its supporters

to gain legitimacy from Indonesian people. Furthermore, it will discuss the political motives behind the policy. The main argument of this article is that the disband policy of the government to HTI is not really based on legal and security reason but for political reason and interest.

ISLAMIST AND THE CURRENT POLITICS IN INDONESIA

The debate on the issue of Islam and Politics not yet really finished since pre and post independent of Indonesia. Rather, it is only postponed due to the political condition in the country, notably in the era of Suharto regime in which he droved this country in totalitarian way. Political Islam in his administration has not got a good environment to grow well in this situation. After Soeharto declined from power, the liberal democracy becomes totally embraced in Indonesian politics. This kind of political change also gives impact to the rise of Political Islam that marginalized for many years. Subsequently, many Islamic groups come and show their power and activities within Indonesian society such as FPI (Islamic Defender Front), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, Jamaah Ansharut Tauhid, and Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia. Within formal politics, "Justice and Prosperous Party" (PKS) has been born from Jamaah Tarbiyah. These groups are sometimes seen as challengers of the two dominant Islamic groups in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah, and Nahdlatul Ulama.

Despite those new groups have different mission and strategy in pursuing their goals; they share the same vision of Islam. That Islam should be considered as an important part of Indonesian politics. Even, some groups are focusing on the issue of jihad to help other Muslim countries, and some others are focusing on the struggle for the establishment of the Islamic state and implementing the Sharia Law in Indonesia.

Since 2016, it has been shown as the highest tension between the government, nationalist, liberal groups and the Political Islamist groups in

Indonesia. It began when the gubernatorial election in Jakarta was issued in 2016. Governor Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) wanted to participate again as an incumbent candidate to the election that will be held in February 2017. Some Islamist groups and people raised the issue of the unlawfulness (haram) to choose non-Muslim to govern Muslim society based on Islamic teaching. It began to be spread by those groups through their own media, online media, magazine, fliers, dialogue, and demonstration.

The first demonstration to reject the participation of Ahok as an incumbent candidate in the election was held on 4 September 2016. It was participated by many Islamist groups and thousands of people in Jakarta. Hizbut Tahrir and Islamic Defender Front (FPI) were the leading groups in that demonstration. The main demand of the demonstrators is rejecting kafir (non-Muslim) leader because it is unlawful in Islamic teaching, "Haram Memilih Pemimpin Kafir". Ahok was considered that since he was sitting in his power, he made many disadvantageous policies toward Moslem people and communities in Jakarta. For instance, Ahok had created regulations that forbid some Muslim activities in Jakarta, such as slaughtering animal for Qurban in yard of Mosques, conducting Islamic events in certain public places, and tradition of welcoming Idul Fitri and Idul Adha by convoy (Takbir Keliling) was also banned by Ahok. Ahok also was seen as an arrogant leader. This kind of things made many Muslim people in Jakarta very offended and angry to Ahok, and said that Ahok would make problem again if he leads Jakarta again in the future¹. Ahok basically was not elected as governor in Jakarta, he was a vice governor of Joko Widodo. They won the election held in 2012, however in 2013, Joko Widodo enrolled to take part in the presidential election in 2014. As Joko Widodo won the election, automatically Ahok changed his position to be the governor of Jakarta.

¹ "Ribuan massa gelar aksi tolak ahok haram pilih pemimpin kafir", *Nahi Munkar*, September 4, 2016, <https://www.nahimunkar.org/ribuan-massa-gelar-aksi-tolak-ahok-haram-pilih-pemimpin-kafir/>, (Accessed November 30, 2017)

The demonstration on 4 September 2017 was only the part of the beginning of Muslim protest against Ahok. This anti non-muslim leader issue was then spread in social media and online news, especially in news published by Muslim medias not only in Jakarta but also in a whole Indonesian people. Perhaps, this is the only one local election issue, which gets national concern. This Anti Ahok issue nonetheless did not get many responses from Ahok, and also was not covered more in national mainstream media.

The anti-Ahok movement became more intensive when Ahok mentioned something about Quran and political leader in his work visit on 24 September 2016. In his speech, he mentioned that many people are provoked not to choose non-Muslim to be a leader by using Surah al-Maidah (one chapter in the Quran). His speech was recorded on video and very quickly became viral in social media. Many people then condemn Ahok statement and considered as religious blasphemy and violating of Indonesian law.

The Anti Ahok Movement got their power to reconsolidate after the Indonesian Ulama Council, (MUI) issuing a fatwa (edict) to consider Ahok's statement as religious blasphemy and has legal consequences. Ahok was presumed to insult Islam because he said verses of Quran were misused for not to vote non-Muslim candidate. In fact, in MUI's point view, it was true that the Quran itself forbid Muslim to choose non-Muslim as leaders. MUI also urged to process Ahok in accordance with Indonesian law². During that time, Ahok apologized publicly for his words that he said it never being intended to insult Islam or Quran but there was no change after that. It had widely raised the anger of many Indonesian Muslims to Ahok. It then followed by many protests to demand Ahok to be sentenced for his defamation of Islam. The protests were held

² Callistasia Anggun Wijaya, "MUI accuses Ahok of religious defamation", *The Jakarta Post*, October 12, 2016 <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/10/12/mui-accuses-ahok-of-religious-defamation.html>, (Accessed November 30, 2017)

not only in Jakarta but also in almost all provinces in Indonesia. Thousands of people came to sign petition and to demand the government to give proper punishment for the "Religious Insulter".

The protest was started on 14 October 2016, led by Islamic defender front (FPI) and followed by many Islamic groups in Jakarta and thousands of Muslim people including to some famous scholars, politicians, and lawyers like, Amien Rais and Yusril Ihsa Mahendra. The protest again was held on 4 November 2016, led by FPI and also followed by thousands of people around Jakarta. And the peak of demonstration was held on 2 December 2016 participated by about 7 million people were gathering around Monas monument in Jakarta to demand the government to imprison Ahok.

The process of Trial of Ahok then started after many protests were held. At the same time, Ahok also prepared to compete with two other candidates in the gubernatorial election. While he had to attend court every week, he had also to do campaign in order to get sympathy from the citizen of Jakarta. The general election was held in two rounds. Ahok ran to the second round but he could not win the election. At the end, Anies Baswedan and Sandiagio Uno was the winner. And after the election, Ahok also was decided by the judges to be guilty of blasphemy and would be sentenced to two years in prison.

In this issue, President Joko Widodo`s got many critics from many Indonesian Muslim people, as he was perceived to ignore or calm to the issue. Unlike many others religious issue, Jokowi responded very quickly. As an example, the issue of attack toward Muslim during Idul Fitri prayer by members of Community of Injil church in Indonesia (GIDI) di Tolikara Papua 2015. Jokowi condemned that and promised to impose law enforcement to all who involved in the attack.

It was different in the case of Ahok, Jokowi was perceived to protect Ahok. Because he did not make any comment, condemn and also order his apparatus to impose law enforcement to Ahok. His silence then created public anger and un-satisfaction toward the government. As the result, so many protests and demonstrations toward the government happened.

Again, during the legal process, Ahok was also still sitting as a governor in Jakarta and doing his daily activity. This kind of thing in Indonesian politics was seen as weird because in many cases when a political leader was issued by the judge to be suspected in law, the government should take his position off until he was decided to be guilty or not. But Ahok was never treated in in the same way. At the end, Jokowi got many critics in this issue.

The losing of Ahok in Jakarta gubernatorial election shows the effectiveness of the powers of narratives and discourse used by the Anti Ahok Movements. He was not only defeated but also imprisoned due to his statement about Quran, al-Maidah. Before the defamation issue comes, Ahok was considered will win the election. Many Surveys prove that. But the power of Anti Ahok movement brings him to be defeated. Someone stated, it is not the rival of Ahok in election defeats him, but the anti-Ahok narratives made by anti-Ahok movements.

JOKO WIDODO`S RESPONSE AND POLICY TOWARD THE ISLAMIST GROUPS

The rise of Islamist power in Indonesian politics was seen as a threat to the power of existing government, Jokowi regime and its nationalist allies. Based on this issue, Joko Widodo regime started to impose severe punishment on Islamist group and people.

Hizbut Tahrir is one and the first Islamist that get hard policy by the Jokowi government in 2017. The government announced to ban this group in May

2017, after these group events were previously banned widely on March in many provinces and cities in Indonesia. Stated by the minister for political, legal and security affair, Wiranto, Hizbut Tahrir was stated, not to contribute in the process of Indonesian future development, its activities were indicated as contrasted with Indonesian ideology and constitution, Pancasila, and its activities threat to Indonesian unity and stability³.

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is a part of Global Hizbut Tahrir that works to call all Muslim across the world to reestablish Islamic caliphate as an alternative to the modern state. Its branches exist in more fifty states across the five continents in the world, Asia, America, Europe and Australia. This group believes that the current problem of human civilization is caused by the secular belief and system that dominates the world. Today`s world civilization is controlled by the ideology of capitalism, democracy, nationalism, and Western ideologies which finally produce many disasters in not only people but the world itself. Therefore, Hizbut Tahrir suggests, to solve all human problems, Islam should be the only alternative and solution. Furthermore, the only way to implement all Islamic concepts should be by establishing Islamic political system, called Khilafah state, or caliphate. This is a kind of global state that united all Muslim states to be one state⁴.

In Indonesia, Hizbut Tahrir has existed since in the 1980s and then doing its activities openly in 2000 after reformasi era. Since then, Hizbut Tahrir is free to conduct its activities, seminar, rallies, international conference, publishing books, magazines, flyer and so on. Its massive movement, make this organization grow very rapidly.

³Kristian Erdianto, "Ini Alasan Pemerintah Bubarkan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, *Kompas*, May 08, 2017 <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/08/14382891/ini.alasan.pemerintah.bubarkan.hizbut.tahr%20ir.indonesia>, (Accessed November 30, 2017)

⁴ Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, "Manifesto Hizbut Tahrir Untuk Indonesia", (Hizbut tahrir Indonesia, 2009)

Estimated that there are about 2 million people are becoming sympathizers of Hizbut Tahrir and 40.000 registered members in Indonesia⁵.

Hizbut Tahrir was banned in Indonesia because of its vision that considered as different with Indonesian vision. Hizbut Tahrir`s struggle for Caliphate in Indonesia is seen as the threat to Indonesian unity and the existence of Pancasila as the Indonesian ideology. The ban of Hizbut Tahrir also got many supports from many people and organization in Indonesia, although in one side, it also got many critics.

The major proponent of disbanding Hizbut Tahrir came from Nahdlatul Ulama, as one biggest non-governmental organization in Indonesia. The leader of NU, Said Aqil Siradj, mentioned that every group in Indonesia is free to conduct its activities as long as not to create hatred or enmity, and not to oppose the Indonesian ideology and constitution. Hizbut Tahrir deserved to be banned due to its ideology "caliphate" that can be a threat to Indonesian multiculturalism, democracy, and Pancasila. Said warned that if Hizbut Tahrir still exists, Islamic radicalism and Anti-Pancasila will grow bigger and bigger. As the result, Indonesia would be like Middle Eastern states in the future⁶. Pancasila and Indonesian nation states in NU`s point of view is a gentle agreement between the founding fathers of Indonesia, Muslim, and Nationalist. Therefore NU believes, Indonesia is a state that should be respected and protected by Indonesian Muslim people. Once, Islamic state and Khilafah is established in Indonesia, it will create a problem, conflict, and disunity of Indonesia. NU believes that Islam and the state are not separated things but Islam does not mention a certain form of

⁵ Amy Chew, "Hizbut Tahrir ban a double-edged sword for Indonesia?", *Channel News Asia*, August, 02, 2017, <http://www.channelnewsasia.com/news/asiapacific/hizbut-tahrir-ban-a-double-edged-sword-for-indonesia-9076924>, (Accessed November 30, 2017)

⁶ Kristian Erdianto, "14 Ormas Islam Desak Pemerintah Percepat Pembubaran HTI", *Kompas*, July 07, 2017, <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/07/07/20330571/14.ormas.islam.desak.pemerintah.percepat.pembubaran.hti>, (Accessed November 30, 2017)

state. Hence, Organizing state is about creativity, if it conforms Islamic value than it is an Islamic, and so otherwise. Therefore the idea of restoring caliphate does not exist in NU dictionary⁷.

On the other side, the disband policy toward Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) was criticized by many people and groups; mainly those groups joined in the anti-Ahok movement. HTI responded this Jokowi's policy by stating that this is a new kind of dictatorship. HTI mentioned some reasons for rejecting the policy: first, HTI is accused to be anti-state ideology, Pancasila, but in fact, the government never show which part of HTI's idea that anti-Pancasila. If the idea of Khilafah is presumed as opposing Pancasila, then HTI reject this claim. Hizbut Tahrir argues that the concept of Khilafah is the part of Islamic teaching, and Islam is accepted as a legal religion in Indonesia. So, according to HTI, claiming that Khilafah is a threat is accusing Islam as a threat at once.

Secondly, HTI also rejected the government claim that HTI does not support Indonesian process of development. HTI answered HTI has contributed in many aspects within Indonesian people. It educates people to be good Muslim, away from drugs, free sex, behave in the Islamic manner, and HTI always gives critics and solution of many problems in Indonesia.

The third is, HTI is a threat to Indonesian unity and stability. HTI responded HTI has been in Indonesia since 25 years ago. Never has HTI done anything that creates a danger to anybody let alone conducting a violence toward any people, ethnic and religious community. Therefore, Government's policy toward HTI is perceived as the effort of the Jokowi government to hamper Islamic da'wah especially in limiting Muslim to partake in political life within Indonesian society⁸.

⁷ Ulil. H, "Khilafah dalam Pandangan NU", *Suara Nahdlatul Ulama*, November 06, 2014,

<http://www.nu.or.id/post/read/55557/khilafah-dalam-pandangan-nu>, (Accessed November 30, 2017)

⁸ Mohamad Susilo, "Tolak dibubarkan, HTI sebut langkah pemerintah 'tak punya dasar', *bbc Indonesia*, July 07 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-39852533> (Accessed November 30, 2017)

Many people criticized the policy to ban HTI because it was not decided by the due process of law, rather only announced by the government. It contrasted to the Indonesian law in which mentioned the long process to decide the legal position of a social organization. In the law of social organization, written that if the government needs to pull out the legal position of a group or social organization then it should follow some steps namely, persuading the group, giving a letter of warning, and the last bringing to the court. Once it is proved that the group is guilty, the judge can make a decision to outlaw the group. In the case of HT, it did not happen. Suddenly, this group was banned without following the process of law. This thing is seen by many people as not basically a legal, or radicalism issue, but more a political issue.

PARADOXES OF GOVERNMENT`S POLICY TOWARD ISLAMIST GROUP

Joko Widodo policy toward Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia is seen by many people as a good step to destroy radicalism, Islamism, and extremism in Indonesia and a way to reconsolidate Indonesian democracy. Indonesia has been including to the project of anti-radicalism and anti-terrorism along with many countries in the world. Hundreds of indicted terrorists are prisoned and some of them are sentenced death penalty.

In the case of Hizbut Tahrir, the government seemingly needs more effort to ban this organization. Unfortunately, the decision made by the government is seen very clearly that not based on solid and strong arguments. Many people argue that Jokowi`s decision to band HTI is only due to a panic condition of the president as its ally, Ahok, was defeated in the gubernatorial election. HTI has contributed significantly to spread the anti-Ahok issue and his religious

blasphemy, which ultimately defeated Ahok and jailed him⁹. In this case, Jokowi was afraid that the current political situation influenced by Islamist groups, could affect his popularity for the next election.

According to Sidney Jones, the ban of HTI is a politically inept and can create polarization within in Indonesian people. Even, it can be double edge sword that can hurt the Jokowi government¹⁰. Greg Fealy calls the dissolution of HTI as both haste and poor planning because the government cannot answer some questions about the policy, for example, providing the pieces of evidence that HTI is a threat¹¹.

It is commonly known that the ban of HTI is not really for legal and security reason but political reason. There are so many facts show the good relationship between the Indonesian government and Hizbut Tahrir activists, from the previous president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono until Joko Widodo government. HTI in both of regimes is very free to conduct their activities. Since its massive movement in 2000 until disbanded in 2017, HTI has conducted many international seminars and conferences held in some particular places belong to the government, such as in Soekarno-Hatta Stadium. In the other hand, HTI routinely comes and invited to discuss domestic and international issues in the legislative. Even many national figures attend HTI monthly discussion called Dialogue on Islam and Civilization (HIP). Surprisingly, Wiranto, the current

⁹Gregory Fealy, "Jokowi's bungled ban of Hizbut Tahrir", *Lowy Institute*, July 17, 2017, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/jokowi-s-bungled-ban-hizbut-tahrir>, (Accessed December 03, 2017)

¹⁰Safrin La Batu "Jokowi signs regulation banning Hizbut Tahrir", *The Jakarta Post*, July 11, 2017, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/07/11/jokowi-signs-regulation-banning-hizbut-tahrir.html>, (Accessed December 30, 2017)

¹¹Gregory Fealy, "Jokowi's bungled ban of Hizbut Tahrir", *Lowy Institute*, July 17, 2017, <https://www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/jokowi-s-bungled-ban-hizbut-tahrir>, (Accessed December 03, 2017)

minister who announced the ban of HTI attended in HTI dialogue in 2008 as a panelist. In that event, he has no problem with HTI and the idea of sharia¹².

In addition, Indonesian police have a good relationship with HTI. In many provinces even at the national level, HTI is one group that gets many good appreciations. The police institution in the province of East Java and Jakarta gave award to this group as the most peaceful and orderly in rally. Indeed, Tito Karnavian as current head of national police shows got no problem with HTI since he was sitting as head of police in Jakarta¹³. Many facts show clearly the position of HTI in Indonesian government. Thus, there is no problem with HTI until the issue of Ahok rose in 2016.

Another issue is about the controversy of Khilafah as the vision of Hizb ut Tahrir. Globally, this concept is described as a dangerous idea, a form of religious authoritarianism, anti-human rights, anti-multiculturalism, and anti-pluralism. Therefore, whoever embraces this idea must be considered as a dangerous group, and should be treated hardly. The Indonesian government has also adopted this kind of perception along with its political allies, Nahdlatul Ulama, and its political parties alliance in Indonesia.

In fact, in many dialogues, particularly in television, the government and its proponents cannot prove their claim about Hizbut Tahrir and the concept of Khilafah. Even, if they are challenged to prove that their claims form HTI book,

¹²“Jubir HTI: Ada Apa dengan Pak Wiranto”, *Panjimas.com*, 8 May 2017, <http://www.panjimas.com/news/2017/05/08/jubir-hti-ada-apa-dengan-pak-wiranto/>, (Accessed December 03, 2017)

¹³ “Ketua HTI Jakarta Tolak Wacana Lokalisasi Tempat Demonstrasi”, *Voa Islam*, 30 Agustus 2015, <http://www.voa-islam.com/read/pers-rilis/2015/08/30/38895/ketua-hti-jakarta-tolak-wacana-lokalisasi-tempat-demonstrasi/#sthash.PI29xBci.dpbs>, (Accessed December 03, 2017)

there is no such a thing that shows that the idea of Khilafah is dangerous and a threat to all people¹⁴.

Clashing between Pancasila and the Khilafah concept is also another problem. HTI argument here apparently more makes sense. HTI contends that the idea of Khilafah cannot be contrasted with Pancasila as Indonesian ideology. There are two reasons to explain that. Firstly, Pancasila has acknowledged that Islam and its teaching is a legal religion in Indonesia. Even Islam is the most followed by Indonesian people. HTI claims, that Khilafah is also the part of Islamic teaching. So, it is the same with praying, giving alms, or zakat, and many others regulations in Islam. The idea of Khilafah has been written in many major and authoritative books of Muslim scholars. With this explanation, HT then is asking, how come to the idea of Khilafah as the part of Islamic rule system is considered as opposing Indonesian ideology and becoming threat?.

The second argument is Khilafah as a political system has made many influences in Indonesian lives and history. The preachers of Islam known as Wali Songo were sent by the Sultan of Ottoman to bring Islam in Indonesia/Nusantara. Even, many sultanates in Nusantara had a good relationship with the Ottoman Caliphate at that time. Therefore, HTI claims, there is no problem concerning the issue of Khilafah.

Since the government has announced the dissolution of HTI in Indonesia, all of its political machinery and allies spread its hatred toward Hizbut Tahrir and its idea. This narratives and discourses were reproduced and repeated to influence Indonesian people in order to get support to disband HTI in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the propaganda failed to get majority support from Indonesian people.

¹⁴ Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, "Manifesto Hizbut Tahrir Untuk Indonesia", (Hizbut tahrir Indonesia, 2009)

Indeed, HTI issues reconsolidated the Islamist groups and people in Indonesia. Their counter-narratives massively are spread their idea via online media, youtube, twitter, Muslim news portal, Whatsapp, Instagram and other social media. They protest the Jokowi government who made many policies to criminalizing Muslim people and group. And also they reject the dissolution of Hizbut Tahrir. Many protests followed by thousands of people were held along this year toward the policy. The peak of the event was held on 2 December 2017 followed by million people coming together in Monas Monument in Jakarta. Many protests and critics were spoken toward Jokowi Government. And the idea of Khilafah has been mentioned again. This evidence proves the true prediction of some observers who observed previously that Jokowi policy toward HTI could create more problems for the government and national political stability itself.

CONCLUSION

The Jokowi government policy to dissolve Islamist group, in particular, HTI is successful albeit creates many controversies among Indonesian people. In making the policy succeed, the government creates HTI and its ideas as a threat to the existence of the state of Indonesia; endanger Indonesian constitution, ideology, ethnic and religious diversity, and freedom. HTI and its caliphate vision are considered bring nightmare to Indonesian future. These are the languages used by the government and its proponents and spread everywhere, in media, events, circulated by nationalist figures, and liberal and moderate Muslim groups.

This policy is successful to disband HTI, but it failed to gain majority support from Indonesian Muslim people. Even Indonesian Ulama Council (MUI) did not produce any fatwa (edict) to state that HTI and Khilafah concept, is a un-Islamic. In many cases, before the government takes an action in religious (Islam) issue, it should refer to MUI edict. In HTI case, this procedure is excluded. Muhammadiyah as one of largest social organization in Indonesia, beside NU, also

criticized the process to dissolve HTI, because it is not following the legal process, dialogue, rather using repressive approach.

Rather than establish a political stability and harmony of religiosity in Indonesian people, Jokowi policy becomes a blunder policy. His policy creates political instability and perhaps it can influence his legitimacy as a president. Again, his policy can contribute to growing people empathy toward HTI and at the end, its ideas and followers are growing. It is proved in many protests along this year, the notion of Khilafah and Shariah Islam are always mentioned.

The failure of government policy to discredit HTI and its ideas within Indonesian majority people is caused by the lack of arguments of the government to legitimate its policy. It fails to explain why HTI deserves to be dissolved in reasonable and acceptable way and explain the logic to securitize the idea of Khilafah within Indonesia Muslim People. As the result, many people see that Jokowi policy toward HTI is merely based on political motive and interests since the losing of Ahok, his close ally, in Jakarta election.

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