

CHAPTER IV

A. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia on Perspectives toward Dinamic of Israel

Palestine Conflict

Although this conflict has done the agreement made by the United Nation and all sectors but this conflict can not be desisted because Israel diserous of enforced Palestine whose notabene Israel also has a lot of from Palestine land. Besides, Israel has tens of attacked Palestine with raid also with killed the civilization people in Palestine there was not peace in their life. This cases begin from land seizure, untill there are resolutiin and revolution which attack Palestine, although the Israel negotiation is very confrontable means like good toward United State.

This conflict make all sectors hate Israel as the actor whose provocation of conflict and the United Nation help this conflict. On the cases of the Islamic organizations and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, they think about the perspectives that how many suffer Palestine toward Israel, with many the victims in Palestine . therefore, United Nation and others try with the meeting of resolutions and revolutions while all of the effort is failed

A. Perspectives Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia toward Causes of Conflict

Hibut Tahrir Indonesia(HTI) Perspectives toward first conflict are the reality of the land seizure so we can view that are ethnic conflict where occure by two states. By looking at the past history the Arabs actually found having

more evidence and stronger reasons than the Jews who claim on Palestinian land only based on the historical reasons. An Arabic Politician said that using the holy books as the background, no one can answer the question on a claim to the land they lived for nearly 2000 years ago. The core and root of Israel's dilemmas actually lies on one of the two realities that are very difficult. First, it is leaving the Israeli identity that relies on the Zionism because of the existence of new internal realities among Jews and Israel itself. The second, in the environment of the Palestinians, it is fulfilling the demands for recognition of Palestinian independence. Facing one of the two difficult options, Jewish communities and the state of Israel faced a global crisis, which is extraordinarily difficult. This view also sees identity of ethnic cultural religion race etc.

In this fatwa like: Viewed from a historical perspective, the Zionist Israeli Jews did not have historical roots as a native of Palestine. Their coming to Palestine at the end of period before the birth of Isa ibn Maryam until the beginning of BC not as the owner, but as an immigrant from Egypt, as well as their coming to Palestine, at the time that led to the colonization. Before the Israelis entry, Palestine has been populated by the Canaanites who were the ancestors of the Arabs of Palestine at this time. It is mentioned in the Book of Numbers XIII verses 17-18,

Moses said: O my People "go to the holy land (Palestine) that has been defined for you (as long as you believe). And do not you run to the back (for fear of the enemy) then you will into people who lost. They said: O

Moses, verily in that country there are people who are mighty (the Canaanites). Indeed we will never enter it before they come out. If they come out, definitely we will enter it.

Said two people among those who fear Allah that of Allah has given blessings upon them; attacked them through the gates of this city and only God should be your sole trust if you really believe. They said: O Moses, occasionally we will not enter it forever while they are on it. Because of that, go you with your Lord and fight you one by one, actually we're just would sit here alone. Moses said, O my God, I can not control except myself and my brother.⁷⁸ So that Al Quds fatwa's also defence and will survive in the land of Al Quds because that is Islamic land and as the Moslem also have to respectable toward this land as a long as heritage of Mosses prophet.⁷⁹

This conflict for Muslim the roots of the Plaestinian issues actually inersect with some aspect for example:

1. Aqeedah

In the perpectives of Islam, the land of Palestine is a Muslim owned land on this land stand al Quds, which is a symbol of the greatness of this people and he occupies a position which is very precious in the eyes of the Muslims, there are some main and important historical primacy owned by al quds first: the land of revelation and prophethood . Massenger of Alloh said, “ The angels

⁷⁸ <http://www.svariaonline.com/v2/tadabur-quran/kewajiban-umat-islam-membela-palestina-al->

spread their wings over syria and the prophets have built Baitul Maqdis (Al Quds) Ibn Abbas that the Messenger of Alloh". Also said : The Prophets lived in syria and there is no inch of any country Baitul maqdis except a prophet or angel ever prayed or stood there".(by at-Tirmidhi)⁸⁰

2. History

Noted that the Sham (Palestine is a part in it) never ruled for seven centuries Roman (64 BC-637 C). However, the news will fall Sham of the Roman empire into the hands of the Muslims emerged when the Messenger of Alloh destroy of rock when digging a trench in Madina in order to face the polytheist of Makkah. When the Messenger of alloh said, " God almghty. It has given me the key Sham but Alhamdulillah Sayihudin as the comandan Salib war in Al Quds.⁸⁰

3. Politic

Palestinian political aspects of this issues can not be separated from zionism and Western imperialism. Zionism is the movement of jews to establis a spesial state for their communities in Palestine.

This movement is supported by Jewish figures who attendded the

80. See al Islam (510)quoto by : <http://hizbut-tarir.or.id/2010/06/09/tragedi-palestina-masalah->

first congress of the International Jewish in Basel (Switzerland). This congress was attended by about 300 people representing 50 organizations of Zionists scattered around the world.⁸¹ In fact, Palestine issues will always be associated with aspects of religion, history and politics, not simply humanitarian issues.

Therefore it is not too late; it is time for Muslims to realize that their enemy today is Jewish Zionism and Western Imperialism (especially the US). The Muslims should be aware that the roots of the problem in Palestine is the existence of Israel who stands on land owned by the Muslims where they have been robbed. We can see from some of the facts. During his presidency, Bill Clinton in his speech, once said: "We have established close relations with Israel, as I have done all my powers as the President and as long as 52 years ago."⁸²

From the history of Israel Palestine, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also shows that many victims were killed by the Israeli army, because this aspect is caused by the brotherhood war which seized Palestine land. And this is an essentialist view of the ethnic group that is rooted in primordial sentiment, a cultural attack on Palestine. Its consciousness that is internalized by members of the community through the basic and primary institutions such as family, clan, belief groups, neighbourhood, locality etc, in which individuals are born and

⁸² Speech Bill Clinton on 08/14/2000

grew.⁸³ It can be known from the understanding issues like : Issue Primordialist : The Primordialis sentiment as such is a core identity, basic identity, which exist prior to the order of identity such as personal identity, class, political party, citizen of nation, etc.

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia spokesmen Ismail Yusanto also spoke to the first cases that this is not only land seizusere conflict but also religion conflict. Al Khilafah also criticizes Israel on the Palestine. According to Islam or Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia itself, it is the same as Ismail Yusanto who said that this conflict also religion conflict.⁸⁴ Because this event also harm to the Palestine it selfs.

B. Perspectives Hizbut Tahrir toward conflict Process

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia look point of view the violence from Israel toward Palestine who always imposed Palestine to out from palestine land and when the conflict happen or occureed the party like PLO and HAMAS didnt unity as desires moslem to make it become the winner to moslem. Since 2000, it has been done resolution and agreement whose not brought in to peace and since this happensed many victims killed by Israeli. About 6000 people were killed by Israeli. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also view that Gaza Street conflict is not only humanitarian conflict but also religion

⁸³ See harold R. Isaacs, "Basic Groups Identity : The Idols of tribe". In Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (eds), *Etnicity, Theory and experince* (Cambridge: Havard University Press 1975), pp. 29-52

⁸⁴ <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2008/05/16/pandangan-islam-terhadap-persoalan-palestina/>

conflict.⁸⁵ Israel took steps including like removing the specific checkpoints in the West Bank and deploying better-trained Palestinian forces to try to halt the firing of rockets into Israel from Gaza and the smuggling of weapons, explosives and people into Gaza from Egypt.

A Hamas Palestinian Islamic law student explodes himself with a belt filled with metal balls for sharpnel. Nineteen Israelis were killed and over 74 were wounded. When US President till George W.Bush called for independent, Palestinian state living in peace with Israel and Islam forbides to kill human being either moslem or non moslems, no-reason who the right (justified) by law of personality. But many victims here for example Gaza Massacre was the matter of the religion in Islam.

Under Islamic law, it is is unlawful for a muslim to let his own brother by their arogancy, hurt, let alone murdered end mases as happened in Gaza today. Prophet parable ilustrates this with a very simple and easy explanation to understand. Solidarity demonstrations held by Palestinian citizens. Thirteen Arab civilians (12 with Israeli citizenship) are shot and killed by Israeli police and one Jewish civilian is killed by an Arab citizen in Hezbolloh crozzborder raid. Three Israeli soldiers are killed and their bodies kidnapped and Northern Israel is shelled in an attempt to ignite the Israel-Lebanese border too, but Israeli decides on limited response. The total death since 2000-2006 were estimated to be 4,046 Palestinians and

⁸⁵ <http://hizbut-tahrir.org/id/category/headline/page/36/>

1,017 Israelis. Note that these numbers do not differentiate between combatants and civilians.

This fatwa also explain Fatwa from ahlu sunnah, so think that if there are moslem who were colonized by *kufir* so other muslims have to attack the kufir these unsuccessful so do Jihad.⁸⁶

وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ

Means :

Against them make ready your strength for what you can from horses tethered to fight (which is the preparation that) ye frighten the enemies of Allah and your enemies "(Surah Al-Anfal:60).

And there is a hadist: Someone there who fight for sheer courage of capital, there are people who fought for the spirit. There is war because to get a compliment in the eyes of man, which of the path of Allah? So he answered:"Those who fought to elevate the sentence of God, then that's the fi sabilillah (in Allah) Almighty." (HR. Abu Dawud R.A).

Ahlu Sunnah also said: Honestly, we more faithful about learning of Jihad compared them whom that liar that only

⁸⁶ <http://www.darussalaf.or.id/index.php?name=News&file=article&sid=310>

Blubber! We are faithful and say we are Moslem: Back to this religious, prepare yourself with Jihad and get help from Alloh SWT because you cannot get help from Alloh SWT except you does war which aim to higher the voice of Alloh SWT.

The other Ulama Sunnah also argues that viewed from causal Muslim amusement their religion.

وَلَا يَزَالُونَ يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَرُدُّوكُمْ عَن دِينِكُمْ إِنِ اسْتَطَاعُوا

Means: They endlessly fight against you until they can restore you from your religion (to kufr) if they can. (QS Al-Baqarah: 217)

So, performed by Islam is introspection and think how the way to finish the conflict.

First: view the Moslem reality in the religion experience. In fact what that befell them because they neglect their religion. Second: we should prepare to face our enemy, as Message from Allah SWT:

وَاللَّهُمَّ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَمِنْ رِبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ وَأَخْرِينَ وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مِمَّا عَدَاوَتُهُمْ لَا يَتْلَمُونَ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ

Means: And prepare to face them with the power whom you capable and from the horses a tethered to war (with that prepare) you pluck Allah's enemies and your enemies and people besides they who you not know,

And Allah knows (QS Al-Anfal: 60).

Namely way form troops and armament decent and the power can conquer them. Third: Unity the Muslim statement on aqidah, tauhid and uphold Islamic law as well as the commitment with Islam in our cases, both muamalah attitude, lawless with Al Quran. Do amar ma ruf and nahi mungkar and invite to Alloh way with science and explanation and sincere. Message of Alloh:

وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا

And cleave you all toward rope (religion) of Alloh and don't you divorce disarray (QS Ali Imran: 103)

مَعَ الصَّابِرِينَ وَلَا تَنَازَعُوا فَتَفْشَلُوا وَتَذْهَبَ رِيحُكُمْ وَاصْبِرُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ

Means: Don't you disagree, that causes of you to be dither and losses your power and be patient. The truly Alloh is along the patient people.

According to Hizbut Tahrir, the perspectives should be end of this western imperialism conflict is khilafah, not from Fatah or Hamas, to create peace in the world as the fatwa above. Israel desire ruin of Fatah and Hamas then it happened in 2007; at the end create conflict in Gaza Street in 2009. To protect Islam in Middle East, Fatah and Hamas should come together to create khilafah.

In this position, Palestine was also ferment and disappointed because it ruined among Hamas and Fatah. which were divided on two strongholds, one,

under the control of Hamas and others under the control of Fatah. They have ever remembered by Hizbut Tahrir to return to Islamic solution not to kill each other. Youth support on khilafah more and more increase the activity of Hizbut Tahrir in Palestine. This certainly not to compete Hamas, but offer good solution to liberation Al- Quds, Palestine and the other Moslem countries where still colonized by west and lackey⁸⁷. In this view from the theory, this conflict caused by elite interest that mastery of land in Palestine because there is propaganda from Israel and influenced by the west to colonize them. This usually called by Issue Instrumentalist.

When Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia view with the manipulation from Israel where though there resolution etc. Israel still exist achieve it desire and Israel also use veto from United States and elite politics in United Nation. From Al Waie also comment that the western imperialism have to destroy by moslem because all can attack moslem if west imperialism as long as close to by us.⁸⁸ Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also view with the manipulation from one of issue so the writer look this conflict issue as instrumentalist.

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

⁸⁷ <http://khilafahislam.multiply.com/journal/item/112> quote on: Sep 6, '07 12:38 PM

⁸⁸ **Arief B. Iskandar, Jurnal *al-wa'le*** Artikel ini diposting pada tanggal 17 January 2009 pukul 18:46 pada kategori Analisis.

⁹⁰ See Paul B. Brass Ethnicity and Nationalism Theory and Comparison (New Delhi: Sage

dramatic change..”⁸⁹ From this point view, the cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic group become political resources for elite to compete for political and economic power.

This especially happens as politicians take the advantages of the significant numbers of ethnic group that can mobilized for their benefit. Thus according to this view ethnic and religion conflict occur as consequences of ethnic mobilization or their ethnically oriented domination in the political economic sphere political elites for their interest.

In this conflict and perspectives Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia look the advantages on Israel. On Gaza Street at 2008, there were also many victims from Palestine, about 1340 people killed. Farid, the people or assistant of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also comment that “although Jihad now is impossible, we sent volunteers there because the Israel army is stronger with the weapon, so we do demonstration in front of government officer so that the military of Indonesia sent us to Gaza”.⁹⁰

C. Perspectives of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia toward The Peace Building conflict

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia viewed the peace created where from year to year always exist but even unresolved, from road Map. United Nation also exist to

91. comment Farid from: kompas.co Januari,3 2009

resolution and revolution but the UN barren and does not serve to have a deal with Israel. And tens of United Nation resolutions had already issued Zionist State of Israel was adamant not comply but no action of this International organization. Israel itself always use veto right given from United State.⁹¹

In this perspectives and other side, there are six perspectives of Hizbut Tahrir about the conflict in Palestine because of many victim. The perspectives are:

1. The case in Palestine is not only Fatah, Hamas or PLO matters. This is not just conflict in Palestine and Israel society. But, this is issue of Moslems, because the land in Palestine is Islamic property.
2. The Palestine main case is the presence of Israel colonization which seizes the land of Moslem. So these struggles have to focus toward how Israel retreats from Palestine.
3. The Struggle to make Israel retreat from Palestine could not be achieved with peace. Because peace has two kinds, they are: recognition of the existence of Israel and the second is Israel and Palestine will become two neighbouring countries exist side by side. One of the ways is Jihad fi Sabilillah. The war conditions have to be maintained, but not peace.
4. Islam forbids all forms of resolution with Israel. Because resolution with Israel requires Israel presence recognition which means its real colonize state and it will stop jihad fi sabilillah.

⁹¹ See Analisis Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia quote by <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2009/01/06sekedar-alat->

5. Islam forbids all shape the way which delivers mastery colonize kufur toward Palestine or established that Israel like offering peace, democratisation, accommodation both are hibang or debt.
6. Islam usually is facing United States and Western which support Israel fully. It is not only Israel as the doll state, but it also needs balance of power. Because we are facing imperialism state. That balance of power is Islam Daulah Khilafah, a global state which unites the Moslems. Daulah khilafah will call jihad fi sabilillah to Moslems in the world to liberate Palestine. In this notes, Palestine when freed by Sholahuddin al Ayyubi at Moslem had Daulah khilafah Islam.⁹²

It means that the conflict in Palestine explains the beginning of conflict because of the land seizure. Israel itself has no land to built settlement at the time, whereas Yerusalem or Palestine is land inherited from Muhammad the prophet. Israel also do war, at the end United Nation hold of Resolution and agreements which ignored by Israel. This conflict was because of interest from elite then become the religion conflict, and Islam is angry. Then, Hizbut Tahrir (al khilafah) proclaims war. This issue is combination from the ethnic conflict, interest factors, and religion conflict.

Muslim are actually facing the US and western countries which fully supports Israel. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia toward this conflict is that there are a lot of view that Palestine conflict with Israel. But it is matter of Muslims

⁹² <http://www.hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2008/05/16/pandangan-islam-terhadap-persoalan-palestina>.

because the land of Palestine belongs to Moslem. Palestine of primary issues is the Israeli occupation who seized land of the moslem there.

Struggle to make Israel withdraw from Palestine land, is unlikely achievable by peace. From explanation above we can know that how Islam disputed with Israel. Although many of states remember Israeli to stop attacked to Palestine. The polls show that in the third quarter of 2002, more than 50% of Palestinian respondents in the West Bank and Gaza still supported the armed conflict.⁹³

However, on the first quarter of 2003, 74 % of Palestinian respondents support the case fire truce between Israel and Palestinian political factions.⁹⁴ The fact that large number of people turned from supporting the conflict the conflict to supporting the cease fire indicated that they have been exhausted by the conflict and expected a peace negotiation to come. So here the total death since 2000-2006 were estimated to be 4,046 Palestinians and 1,017 Israelis. Note that these numbers do not differentiate between combatants and civilians.

From 2007-2009 on 2007 The United States sets a timetable for easing Palestinian travel and bolstering Israeli security. Israel including steps like removing specific checkpoints in the West Bank and deploying better-trained Palestinian forces to try to halt the firing of rockets into Israel from Gaza and the smuggling of weapons, explosives and people into Gaza from Egypt. Israel is

⁹³ Micel K. Esposito, 'Quarterly Update on Conflict and Diplomacy 16 November 2002-15 February 2003', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 32 No. 3, p. 129

⁹⁴ Michael K. Esposito, 'Quarterly Update on Conflict and Diplomacy 16 May-15 August 2003'.

wary over certain proposals so long as Palestinian militants continue to fire rockets at Israel.

The Hamas-led Palestinian government rejected the initiative, in part because it favoured Mahmoud Abbas.⁹⁵ Israel launches Operation Cast Lead or Gaza war against the Hamas controlled Gaza Strip, a full scale invasion of the territory in response to rocket attacks by Palestinian militant groups. Hamas and other Palestinian groups retaliate by firing mortars and rockets into civilian population centres and Army bases in Southern Israel. After 22 days of fighting, Israel and Hamas each declare unilateral ceasefires, 13 Israelis are killed including 3 civilians.

Between 1166 and 1417 Palestinians are killed, including between 295 and 926 civilians. So the totally people killed in Palestine almost 6000 people and Israel only including about a thousand begin 2000-2009. And Infrastructure damage severe even tunnel in Gaza Street has many closed because bombing from Israeli. All effort which done by all sectors was failed because Israel still threaten Palestine whose behind of Israel is United States was grudging toward Palestine because it ever attacked World Trade Centre on 2002. So according Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, we need balanced force. Because we are facing the imperialist countries.⁹⁶ There are some kind of peace to Israel Palestine conflict such as Camp David, Road Map peace and Second Intifada, Geneva agreement but until now victims still exist in Palestine because Israel whose always killed and bombing Palestine, All state also exist the meeting to

⁹⁵ http://www.english-people.com.cn/2007105/06/eng20070506_372296.html

peacemaking both of them. And the writer comment this issue is issue constructivism : because constructivism or sometime called realist, emphasizes that community members and political elite work together in making ethnic conflicts.

The awareness of myths, history, locality, tradition, and cultural symbolism among the member ethnic and religion group identity that is then used by elite groups to create or reconstruct a new communal identity suitable with their imagination. According to this view, ethnic conflict is a dynamic social process of social construction of community as a whole, the community members and elites group all together.⁹⁷

They all together produce conflict is objective reality, internalized by a member of community, political elites for institutionalized through their practice and then become stock of knowledge for people to do with conflict. Peace making also bring state even United nation and member of state. And conflict more look constructivism because there are ethnic conflict where dynamic social process of social constructivism of community as a whole, the community members and elite groups all together. And Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia look should this conflict finished by resolution or revolution but this conflict could not finished by that so Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia also do Jihad but In Indonesia only do action like demonstration in front of government build. The

⁹⁷ See Richard Asley, "Living on Border lines: Man, Poststructuralism, and War" In James Der Derian and Michael Shapiro, (eds) *International Intertextual Relations* (Lexington Books, 1989).

ethnic conflict happens from this point view the cultural forms, values and practices of ethnic group become political resources for elites to compete for political and economic power.

This especially happens as politicians take the advantages of the significant number of ethnic group that can be mobilized for their benefits, thus according to this view ethnic and religion conflict occur as consequences of ethnic mobilization or their ethnically oriented domination in the political economic sphere. And the Perpetives hizbut Tahrir Indonesia want due to or submitted moslem to Jihad to Attack Israel because that conflict its religion not only ethnic