

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF KABAH YOUTH MOVEMENT (GPK)

A. History of Kabah Youth Movement (GPK) in Yogyakarta

Youth Movement is one of the 'civil militia' undertow United Development Party (PPP). Nationally, Ka'bah Youth Movement was established in Jakarta since April 1982 led by young figures DPP-PPP, among others Alfian Darmawan, Fauzi AR and Syukri Fadloli which is a cadre of Muhammadiyah. It was held in Jakarta initially aimed to provide an aspiration space for youth to give ideas that make a positive impact for the Unity Development Party. According to PM Laksama at the time of formation of Ka'bah Youth Movement said that PPP always in crisis of its young cadres who side to party hence GPK present to give new idea for PPP.

According to Adaby Darban, UGM historian who is also one of the GPK advisers mentioned that actually speaking of GPK will not be separated from PPP. According to him the birth of GPK originated from the PPP which is a fusion of the Islamic party which later in the New Order era is one party that was abolished by the government.

The purpose of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in its first establishment was actually to help the interests of the PPP party in winning political candidates in each region. It establish the purpose of amar maruf nahi mungkar (Syamsudin, 1991)

According to KBBI, the meaning of amar ma'ruf nahi munkar is amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar is telling the good, prevent from evil. Amar means ordered, ma'ruf means goodness, nahi means prevent and mungkar means evil. Maududi gives an understanding of what is meant by ma'ruf and munkar is the term ma'rufat (plural of makruf). It shows all goodness and good qualities all the time accepted by the human conscience as a good, on the contrary the term munkarat (plural of munkar) denotes all the sins and evils that all the time have been cursed by human nature as evil. Described in Allah's Surah Ali Imran: 104

الْمُفْلِحُونَ هُمْ وَأَوْلِيكَ الْمُنْكَرَ عَنِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْخَيْرِ إِلَى يَدْعُونَ أُمَّةً مِنْكُمْ وَلَتَكُنَّ

And let there be among you a group of people calling for righteousness, enjoining the ma`ruf and preventing from the evil one; they are the lucky ones (Q.S. Ali Imran 104)

At that time the United Development Party has what is called a Young Force. The first founded in Yogyakarta named Hamka (Young Force Set the Ka'bah). The establishment also asked permission first to Buya Hamka's family. Pak Rusdian Hamka allowed using the name Hamka, so that was the beginning of the gathering of the youth of the Ka'bah. Correspondingly, "Hamka" also changed its name to the United Development Party's Youth Forces. Then after that, the PPP returned to the Islamic principle and its symbol used the Kaaba again. From there then the young generation formed the Ka'bah Youth Movement (GPK) which was officially under the PPP.

In the next Progress, many of youth of Yogyakarta are interested with PPP and then joined the PPP, this was marked by many cadre of PPP. From there the GPK emerged as one of the strengths of the PPP youth in Yogyakarta. During the 10 years since his birth, GPK activity was classified as mediocre. All activities are projected to support and sustain the PPP as its parent organization

In the second decade the GPK surfaced. It also appears not in Jakarta, but in Yogyakarta with a variety of phenomenal action. According to the chairman of GPK Yogyakarta, Muhammad Luthfie in the book *Penafsiran tafsir* author by PM Laksama, GPK Yogyakarta was born at the end of 1999.

The establishment of GPK Yogyakarta is spontaneity of the people of PPP Yogyakarta. Although this movement has a similar name with the name GPK in other areas, it is just a coincidence. Luthfie admitted GPK in Yogyakarta is a purely youth movement.

This movement first appeared in Notoprajan with the main purpose to implement *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar*. Therefore, his visions are oriented to various positive activities that support Islamic da'wah. In addition, because the GPK is also an integral part of the PPP as a political organization, the vision of the GPK mission is also aimed at sustaining this political objective, namely

seeking the masses to sympathize with PPPs who have a mission to run the Islamic Shari'a.

There are at least three important 'events' that raise the GPK Yogyakarta in the pro-contra discourse both locally and nationally. First, his tough attitude and actions eradicate localization, night entertainment, and gambling locations. Secondly, his hostility toward younger groups deemed 'leftist' ideology and accused of being new communist shoots, such as PRD, SMID, and others. Third, the "bloody times" event when the GPK attacked the Indonesian Gay Society (Lesbian and Gay Society) which was holding an event in Kaliurang, Yogyakarta (Saputro, Politik jalanan dan kaum muda : Studi tentang Gerakan Pemuda Ka'bah di Yogyakarta, 2016)

B. Vision and Mision

[Vision]

Creating Yogyakarta into a religious city in the dynamics of development in the era of globalization, Yogyakarta to be a developed city with a society that has a good attitude.

[Mission]

1. Returns the glory of PPP especially PPP in Yogyakarta city, by positioning itself as an organization that aims to win party rather than winner candidate
2. Amar Ma'ruf Nahi Munkar with an adjustment to the active law in Indonesia so as not to get out of the corridor of legislation applicable in NKRI.

C. The Ka'bah Youth Movement responds to the dualism of the leadership in unity development party

When the United Development Party of the experiences a dualism of leadership, Ka'bah Youth Movement, which was commanded by Syukri Fadholi GPK as well as Chairman of DPW PPP DIY said that GPK one command to wait for the result of government decision is kemenkumhan in issuing decision letter result of legitimate Chairman of PPP, the statement of this syukri when in a media interview Detik, if there is no peace in the PPP center, GPK Yogyakarta and the leadership of DPW PPP DIY urged to fire Djan Fariz and Romy then do munaslub in order to create a PPP that focus to defend the interests of society (Rahardjo, 2017).

Syukri Fadholi when interviewed Nusantara News said Djan Faridz is a leader who does not understand the anatomy of the PPP struggle led by the clerics and grassroots of the strength of Islam. According to him, Laskar PPP DIY is an element that was born and has been legitimized by DPW and Chairman of DPW as the main coach of Laskar DIY. So the conclusion DF (Djan Faridz, red) is a leader who fails to understand the spirit of the PPP based on Islam. And then precisely as a party traitor to the PPP, So then DF back down and fired from (Chairman) PPP, "said Syukri in brief (4/4/2017). (Dieda, 2017)

The various conflicts that occurred in the central leadership of the United Development Party appeared banner around the area of Yogyakarta there is the writing ORA DJAN ORA ROMY, GPK Yogyakarta one command decline PPP center. Fuad Andreago when interviewed by the tempo newspaper said the GPK would not recognize Romy's residence of congress results in the Asrama Haji, instead of continuing the conflict better we do not support Romy and Djan. DPC PPP Yogyakarta city said by rejecting the leadership of Djan and Romy, DPC PPP Yogyakarta refused to participate in the mayoral election in Yogyakarta (Wicaksono, Tolak Akui Romi, PPP Yogya Ogah Ikut Pilkada 2017, 2016)

With the GPK rejecting the central PPP leadership, GPK still tries to follow the registration of the mayor candidates of Yogyakarta. By supporting

Fuad Andreago as a candidate for mayor or mayor is proofed by appearing banners Fuad Andreago around the Territory of Yogyakarta

D. Members and Stigma about Ka'bah Youth Movement

Organization of Muslim Youth Wing of United Development Party, Registered Officially as Independent Community Organization apart from Party. there are branches in every City in Indonesia, one of them in Yogyakarta City, has 10,000 members of Fanatic Organizations Youth Organization of Islam Wing of United Development Party, Registered Officially as Independent Community Organization apart from Party. GPK is a symbol of Muslim political power in Jogjakarta, Outwardly GPK always appeared to defend the interests of Islam Through the movement of the resistance movement against the sacrilege of religious and also Fixes the Government policy Through political influence, this is now GPK is one of the Most Respected Youth Organizations in the city of Jogjakarta (Wicaksono, 2016)

Actions of Youth Movement got the response from most of society is very negative. The public assessed that their acts of violence did not provide Islamic values. In the eyes of ordinary people, the GPK has a bad image as a group of brutal youth, radical cruelty and the king of street convoys.

But according to GPK leaders, the violence is usually only a person/oknum, now the GPK is trying to make a positive image to the community that this Youth Movement is aimed at amar mahruf nahi mungkar. When there are things that are not in accordance with Islamic values then the GPK is present to straighten the Qiblat.

The kabah youth movement now is also focused on attracting PPP sympathizers to the election. And also GPK can do its importance to control the parking lot like parking Ngabean Yogyakarta.

E. Ka'bah Youth Movement and Politic Lokal

1. Ka'bah Youth Movement as Underbouw Party

Ka'bah Youth Movement is a Underbouw PPP, has been supporting PPP in the general election. The GPK's political goals are also changing. Chairman of the GPK branch of Yogyakarta city, Untung, said: "At first stand, this party is more emphasis on street politics or called as Nahyi Munkar than Amar Ma'ruf, but we want to give a new image of PPP, because this party has potential young people to loyal. In order not to be abandoned by our audience, we try to be an example of akhlakul kharimah (good behavior). Therefore, in the future, I hope that PPP is not only good at giving maidzoh khasanah (good advice), but also uswah khasanah, GPK as underbouw. The unity development party is now beginning to think about how to increase the number of followers, the number of voters in the party it supports and also improve their own image. As Untung Supriyanto said that a GPK-DIY commander in which he now lives with the community and transforms his exclusive image that is considered incompatible with the demands of the times. Therefore, the GPK is now regulated as an organizational body that is legally recognized by law. Untung also said that GPK only exist at the provincial level and has branches at sub-district level, such as GPK-DIY, GPK Sleman, GPK Bantul, GPK Kulonprogo and GPK Gunungkidul. Therefore, for him if there is a GPK name that uses other frills like GPK-Izro'il or other GPK, Untung said that these are just ordinary soldiers, and not officially recognized by the GPK's legal organization. Untung claims that all members at the city and sub-district levels must be in a single command system, especially to confront the General Election (khadir, 2011)

2. Ka'bah Youth movement and Political challenge

The Challenge of the Ka'bah Youth Movement in showing its existence in the community is done by way of convoy on the streets and there is often a dispute of symbols between PPP and PDIP militia. This clash takes place on the basis of the

The difference takes place on the basis of the objective of maintaining party symbols and struggle to maintain symbols, as an example of a conflict occurring between the PPP and PDIP Underbouw that quoted from the Tribun news online media. The clash took place on the last day of the 2014 Pileg campaign between the PDI-P and the PDI-P sympathizers with dozens of people from the Kabah Youth Movement (GPK) which is a wing of the United Development Party at the Ngabean intersection of Ngampil District, Yogyakarta City. The effect after the Underbouw United Development Party and PDIP Underbouw mutually berate on the highway and the issue of PDIP sympathy killed on the highway (Sugiyarto, 2014). The cause after the Underbouw United Development Party and PDIP Underbouw mutually berate on the highway and the issue of PDIP sympathy killed on the highway (Sugiyarto, 2014)

This dispute occurred long ago when the new order regime until post-conflict reform is due to religious fighting, when interviewing one of the members of the Ka'bah Youth Movement said that the PPP whose members in the content by the Muslims have interest to show the existence of the kabah as a mecca of the Muslims while the PDIP members are in content by abangan and there are many non Muslim have an interest to shows the symbol of nationalism. As well as the GPK militia often do sweeping associations that deviate from the teachings of Islam. This is what makes PDIP militia feel GPK does not need to sweep because sweeping is state authority not party Underbouw. Then GPK militia often does sweeping association deviating from Islamic teachings. This is what makes PDI-P militia feel GPK does not need to sweep because sweeping is state authority not party Underbouw.

According to the fact on the field of founder of Youth Movement Ka'bah is a cadre of Muhammadiyah namely Syukri fadholi. Now Syukri Fadholi is a builder of the Ka'bah Youth Mivement and what is interesting is that many young Muhammadiyah cadres are joining the Ka'bah Youth Movement.

3. Ka'bah Youth Movement in the mayoral election in Yogyakarta

In the 2001 mayoral election in Yogyakarta was conducted through an indirect election process and through processes that are chosen by the members of the legislature. In the election of mayor was won by Hery Zudianto and Shukri Fadholi. Hery Zudianto is a cadre of Muhammadiyah and a cadre of the National Mandate Party (PAN), while Syukri Fadholi is a cadre of Muhammadiyah and the underbouw leader of the PPP Youth Movement. An interesting issue because this coalition raised the issue of Islam in Yogyakarta. While the opponents of Hery and Shukri is Endhang Darmawan and Muhammad Wahid supported by the PDIP. The table result of mayoral election voting results with the voting mechanism in DPRD Yogyakarta.

Table 2.1 The Mayoral Election Vote of 2001-2006

Pair Candidate	First Round	Second Round
Endhang Darmawan and Muhammad Wahid	13	14
Hery Zudianto and Syukri Fadholi	16	21
Haryo Sasongko and Bambang Pribadi	7	-
Total	36	35

Source : *Risalah rapat paripurna khusus DPRPD Yogyakarta Tentang pemilihan walikota dan wakil walikota Yogyakarta 2001-2006 (one vote was invalid in the second round)*

After completion of this election, the mayor of Endhang Darmawan accused the existence of money politics in the indirect election in Yogyakarta city parliament. Endhang statement made a fight between PDI-P sympathizers and GPK. Ka'bah youth movement will escort Syukri fadholi to be inaugurate in as vice mayor of Yogyakarta. (choi, 2011)

In 2006, exactly on November 26, Yogyakarta conducted the first direct mayoral election. This direct election is followed by only two couples namely Hery zudianto and Haryadi suyuti, and Widharto PH and Syukri fadholi. Herry-Haryadi was nominated by the Koalisi Rakyat Jogja (KRJ) which is a combination of the National Mandate Party (PAN) and the Golkar Party. While the pair of dr. Widharto and Shukri was nominated by the Koalisi Merah Putih (KMP) combined with Indonesia Democratic Party of struggle (PDIP), the prosperous Justice Party (PKS) and the United Development Party (PPP). In this election, won by Hery Zudianto - Haryadi with 112 036 votes (61.52%) and PH-Shukri Widharto Fadholi that promoted by the Koalisi Merah Putih (KMP, Combined PDIP, PKS and PPP) gained 70 067 votes (38.48 percent).

In mayoral election 2011 Ka'bah Youth Movement put up a support banner to support Syukri Fadholi become candidate for mayor of Yogyakarta. However Syukri Fadholi failed to nominate the mayor because there was no support from parties other than PPP. Finally appeared three pairs of candidates namely, Number 1. Zuhrif Hudaya - Aulia Reza Bastian support by PKS, Hanura, PKDI, PKBP and Republic Nusantara Party. Then number 2 : Hanafi rais – Tri harjun Supported by Demokrat , PAN , PPP , Gerindra and Mataram Coalition. Number 3 Haryadi Suyuti – Imam Priyono supported by PDIP and Golkar Perjuangan dan Partai Golkar.

In the election of this mayor was won by the couple Haryadi - Imam Priyono. Militia GPK and PDIP involved clashed in Ngabean parking due to mutual taunts between sympathizers.

In Mayoral Election 2017 there are two candidate pair candidates. The first one are Imam Priyono - Ahmad Fadli and the second are Haryadi Suyuti - Heroe Poewardi. This election won by the couple Haryadi-Heroe.

In 2017 DPC PPP Yogyakarta declared not to participate in the mayoral election. But the GPK one of the PPP Underbouw actually supports Fuad one of the GPK figures to be a candidate for the mayor of Yogyakarta, but failed in the registration process.

According to the facts in the field there is a message via whatshaap group and Private person, Syukri Fadholi is founding Ka'bah Youth Movement do instruction all members GPK to choice Haryadi-heroe became mayor in Yogyakarta.