

DISCOURSE OF HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA'S RADICALISM: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON TEMPO.CO MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) radicalism discourse invites polemics and pros and cons that have not ended. The various perspectives on the existence until the dissolution of the mass organization need to be understood in depth, objectively, and comprehensively. This research was conducted with the aim of comprehensively dissecting the discourse of HTI radicalism which wants to substitute the Pancasila ideology by carrying the caliphate ideology. This research is a literature study using a qualitative approach.

The knife of analysis is the critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough's model which consists of three dimensions of analysis, namely text analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The data in this study are texts in the form of vocabulary, sentences, or discourses whose corpus is from a news story entitled "The Rise of HTI Rejection, Said Aqil: The Governor Must Be Able To Build Citizens" published by Tempo.co on Friday, May 5, 2017. The results show that in In terms of text analysis, especially in terms of diction and textual structure, Tempo.co represents the rejection of the caliphate ideology promoted by HTI which is reflected in the use of diction which has a positive meaning. The textual structure uses a strategy of accommodating sources as a news construction database. This can be seen in the construction of news where the four components, namely 1) news title, 2) selection of sources, 3) positioning of source quotes, and 4) the quantity of sources' statements lead to the collectivity of the meaning of rejection of the ideology of the HTI caliphate. Likewise, in the aspect of discourse practice, it is illustrated that the construction of Tempo.co news is in line with the public perspective which rejects HTI's radical ideology, as well as socio-cultural practices that strengthen or strengthen public knowledge and awareness that the disbandment of HTI must be carried out immediately because it can threaten the existence of Pancasila, UUD 1945, dan NKRI.

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INTRODUCTION

Radicalism has become a global discourse. He was born and became a complicated discourse and colored pros and cons. The terminology is not finished being discussed, both in discussion rooms, scientific publications, and in media coverage. The word radicalism is a word adopted from the English term radicalism or from the basic words in

Latin radix which means "root" and ismus which means understanding, teaching, or belief. KBBI Online (2021) states that radicalism is 1) radical understanding or flow in politics; 2) understanding or sect that wants social and political change or reform by means of violence or drastic; and 3) extreme attitudes in politics. The word 'radicalism' has an element of 'brotherhood' meaning with other terms that have the same negative connotation, such as fundamentalism, extremism, Wahhabism, terrorism, and others. These five terms are generally directed at individuals or groups of people who feel that their views are the most correct, have an exclusive attitude, are easy to label other people or groups as unbelievers, are left or right-wing to the extreme, so that they do not hesitate to carry out physical violence.

The dialectic of radicalism discourse in the historical context was originally produced by the West, but the symptoms and behavior of violence can be found in the traditions and history of Muslims. In terms of the process of social change, the question that arises is how and the conditions under which the internalization process takes place until it is currently attributed and normalized to Muslims. Abdullah (2016: 2) said that the phenomenon of radicalism in Islam is actually believed to be a product or creation of the 20th century in the Islamic world, especially in the Middle East, as a result of an identity crisis that led to reactions and resistance to the West that spread colonialism and imperialism to the rest of the world. Islamic world. Therefore, it can be interpreted that initially this radicalism was born as a form of manifestation of resistance to inequality in the reality of social life, or also a reaction to feelings of injustice, dissatisfaction, discrimination, and colonialism by a person or group that is more dominant to a person or group who marginalized.

In the identification of Jamhari Makruf (2007), this radicalism is characterized by criteria such as wanting to establish an Islamic state, seeing the conflict between Islam and Christianity as jihad, eternal war between the two, and several other criteria. From there, he further divided the radical groups into two major poles. *First*, groups that prioritize *activism*, actively demonstrate and carry out physical violence. And *second*, is a group that tends to play at the level of discourse. The first group was represented by FPI, Laskar Jihad and so on. While the second group was represented by HTI and MMI. They are not violent, but they are very radical in their rationality and discourse against democracy.

This research will focus the object of study on the HTI radical group. It is known that HTI entered Indonesia in 1983 brought by Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi, a preacher and Hizb ut-Tahrir activist based in Australia. He started by teaching his understanding or ideology to several campuses in Indonesia until it became a movement. In contrast to acts of radicalism accompanied by violence such as the Taliban, HTI has chosen a different path. He carried out the reideological movement by means of scientific and religious studies, writing opinions and essays in the mass media, to da'wah in mosques. HTI views that the effort to free Muslims from setbacks and suffering is if Islamic law can be applied comprehensively. Hizb ut-Tahrir also views that what can guarantee the implementation of Islamic law is the Islamic caliphate (Arifin, 2010: 78). So it started with that, in several Al-Islam Da'wah Bulletins issued by Hizb ut-Tahrir, there are often calls to establish an Islamic caliphate (Shofwan, 2016: 145-147).

HTI's radicalism is increasingly worrying because its movements are massive, strategic, subtle, although some have appeared physically and can be observed to carry out reideology by replacing the Pancasila ideology with the ideology of the Islamic caliphate. To mobilize the struggle to uphold the Islamic Khilafah State, there are 4 (four) pillars that must be upheld, namely 1) sovereignty in the hands of sharia (*al-siyādah li al-syar'i*), 2) establishing power in the hands of the people (*al-sulthān li al-ummah*), 3) the obligation to appoint one caliphate over all Muslims, and 4) the caliph has special rights in legislating syara' law into the Constitution and all laws. Therefore, HTI strongly opposes democracy because according to them the system is not in accordance with Islamic teachings on the point of right to issue laws. In Islam, he said, sovereignty is in the hands of Allah. "Sovereignty is not in the hands of the people in the sense of who has the right to make laws," (Yusanto in Tempo, 9 May 2017).

Yusanto's statement above can be the basis for claiming and attributing HTI as an organization with a radical ideology. And as we know that the organization has been legitimized by the government as a radical organization or prohibited organization based on Peraturan Pemerintah Pengganti Undang-Undang (Perppu) Nomor 2 Tahun 2017 tentang Organisasi Kemasyarakatan (Ormas). The Perppu regulates the disbandment of mass organizations that are considered to be contrary to Pancasila. The disbandment of HTI occurred on July 19, 2017. In this regard, Azyumardi Azra (Kompas, 2021) said that the disbandment of HTI was an important event in the history of the Islamic movement in Indonesia.

HTI is substantively a political organization, although it is not formally a political party or is not directly involved in practical politics. In their activities, it must be acknowledged that they have political intentions and goals, which then use religion as a bridge to achieve their goals. Osman (2010: 736) states that HTI is part of the global Hizb ut-Tahrir organization. HT was founded in Jerusalem by the Islamic scholar Sheikh Muhammad Taqiyyuddin an-Nabhani, who sought to establish a political party with an Islamic ideology. This is in line with the opinion (Arifin, 2015: 141) which states that the Hizb ut-Tahrir party institution founded by an-Nabhani in 1953 is the basis of Hizb ut-Tahrir's struggle to re-establish the Islamic caliphate daulah.

There are three stages or three steps of HTI in an effort to achieve its political goals, namely vertically from bottom to top, namely tatsqif, tafa'ul, and istilamul hukmi. More details can be seen in Figure 1 below.

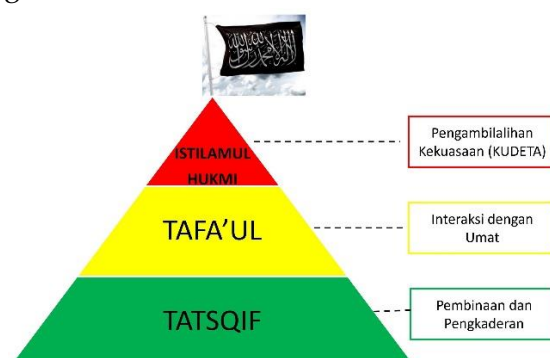


Figure 1. Three stages of HTI's struggle to establish a caliphate (Abdullah, 2016: 11).

First, the *tatsqif* stage (guidance and cadre). This stage is to produce people who believe in Hizb ut-Tahrir's beliefs and to form the framework of a party. Second, the *tafa'ul* stage (interaction), namely interacting with the people in order to be able to carry out Islamic da'wah, so that the people will make it the main problem in their lives, and try to apply it in the reality of life. Finally, *third, istilamul hukmi* stage (takeover of power). This stage serves to apply the concept of Islamic caliphate in a practical and total way, as well as to disseminate it throughout the world (Abdullah, 2016: 11).

HTI with its radical ideology attached to it is still a discourse that raises pros and cons in the public sphere, especially in online media. Attributive messages of HTI radicalism published in online media based on Fairclough's (2001) opinion socioculturally can have an impact on public perceptions of whether to strengthen or change the structure in the context of power relations and practices of ideological struggle in Indonesia. Although news texts and their complex meanings lead to public judgment, it cannot be denied that one's perception will always be based on and depart from the text that is produced and presented in a news report. This is in accordance with the opinion of Manshur (2012: 217) that the objective conditions of society are potential to be intervened in symbolic ideology. Therefore, this is where the role of critical discourse analysis is to dissect, examine, and present objectively and comprehensively the ideology of HTI radicalism.

This research is also a form of critical literacy and digital literacy in which the community is critical of the discourse of radicalism produced and presented in the online media Tempo.co, especially the dialectic of HTI as a radical organization or group. Ordinary Android users are very vulnerable to being exposed to radical ideas and fragmented in social practice, because there is a lot of content that substantially contains radical ideas, whether it is implied in the text or explicitly stated to contain messages of ideological rivalry. Throughout 2017 - 2021, researchers saw that there were various presentations of reports of radicalism. The news raised the battle for ideology and political hegemony with a religious blanket, such as SARA politics which was framed by religious discourse on the Ahok Case to the 212 action at the Jakarta Monas which later won Anies Baswedan - Sandiaga Uno in the DKI Jakarta Pilkada, the pros and cons of Perppu Nomor 2 tahun 2017 tentang Organisasi kemasyarakatan, the disbandment of HTI and FPI, radicalism among lecturers at universities, and so on.

During the Covid-19 Pandemic, this vigilance against radicalism needs to be taken more seriously because the media for its distribution is getting easier with the internet as a 'highway' for radicalism to enter. The internet is like a flood, in addition to carrying water, it also carries mud and garbage. The trash can be in the form of fake news, hoaxes, propaganda, and so on that tempt us to lie, slander (Hakim, 2018: 2), or maybe even be exposed to radicalism. Critical literacy and good digital literacy will encourage people to be wiser and smarter in using their hearts and fingers in social media, they are increasingly intelligent and enlightened in accessing online content, filtering before sharing. Moreover, the Indonesian nation apart from facing the dangers of radicalism and the Covid-19 pandemic, in 2024 will carry out the 2024 simultaneous general election. In a moment like this, the opportunity for radicalism to enter will be even greater, especially if

there are irresponsible elements who ride and take advantage of the momentum for personal gain. and groups.

In the process of dissecting the discourse of HTI radicalism, the analytical knife is AWK Norman Fairclough's theory which divides the analysis process into three correlated levels, namely text analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. This theory was chosen because it is more comprehensive which in practice tries to unite three intellectual traditions: 1) textual analysis in the field of linguistics (including Michael Halliday's functional grammar; 2) macro-sociological analysis of social practice including Foucault's theories which do not provide text analysis methodology; and 3) the micro-sociological interpretive tradition in the discipline of sociology (Jorgensen and Philips in Munfarida, 2014: 8).

Based on a literature review of the repertoire of research and literature in Indonesia and the world, it can be seen that the research entitled "Radicalism in the Dissolution of HTI Discourse on National Online Media Reporting: Critical Discourse Analysis" has so far not been carried out by other researchers. However, previous studies have partially intersected with this study. This can be found in the research conducted by Subagyo (2016) related to the representation of frames in the editorial background (headings) on terrorism, Osman (2010) raised Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia as an organization with a transnational network, Tsaqofi (2021) in his thesis entitled "*Diskursus Khilafah di Youtube: Analisis Wacana Kritis pada Ustaz HTI*", Anshori (2014) in his research entitled "*Wacana Keagamaan Syiah-Sunni dalam Majalah Tempo dan Suara Hidayatullah*", Rodli, et al. (2017) regarding the use of the "HEBAT" strategy in efforts to deradicalize NU universities, and so on.

The novelty of this research (or what we call complementing previous research) lies in five aspects, namely 1) material objects, 2) data sources used, 3) formal objects or methodological and theoretical aspects, 4) issues or topics raised, and 5) results or research findings. The five aspects as mentioned above are acknowledged to have been partially researched by others, but other aspects have also been partially untouched. Therefore, this research has a novelty in the use of multidisciplinary methods and theories, namely using an exploratory qualitative approach with AWK theory as the analytical knife. In addition, novelty can be seen in aspects of material objects or data and data sources that specifically have differences in certain aspects, as well as more comprehensive research results dissecting the discourse of HTI radicalism. This research is also a mission to provide help to the world that radicalism really exists in various forms and certain ways, it could be that it is all around us, maybe even we have been contaminated with radical ideas without us even realizing it.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a literature study using a qualitative approach. Creswell (Emzir, 2016: 9-10) provides an explanation of several reasons for conducting qualitative research, namely *first* that in qualitative studies, it often begins with the question of *how* or *what*. Thus, the beginning forces its way into a topic that describes what is going on. *Second*, choosing a qualitative study because the topic needs to be explored. *Third*, using a qualitative study because it is necessary to present a detailed view of the topic. *Fourth*, to

examine individuals in their natural setting. And fifth, sufficient time and resources to be devoted to extensive field data collection and detailed data analysis of “text” information.

The data in this study are texts in the form of vocabulary, sentences, or discourses whose corpus is from a news story entitled “Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga” published by online media Tempo.co on Friday, 5 May 2017 19:09 WIB. Data collection uses purposive sampling technique with reference to specific criteria of HTI radicalism data object on tempo.co news. The knife of analysis is Norman Fairclough's theory of critical discourse analysis (AWK). Fairclough in AWK divides his analysis into three dimensions, namely text analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 2001).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results of this study are presented as follows: *first*, text analysis which in this section focuses on diction and textual structures containing discourses on the ideological rivalry between HTI and the government which is represented by NU as a representation of the mainstream nationalist society in the news entitled “Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga” published by online media Tempo.co on Friday, 5 May 2017; *second*, the interpretation of discourse practice that focuses on a text produced and presented by the media; and *third*, an explanation of sociocultural practice that seeks to see the issue of HTI radicalism discourse as part of the social struggle in the area of ideological rivalry in a matrix of power relations.

1. Text Analysis (Description)

The diction aspect of the news entitled “Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga” which aired on Tempo.co Media on Friday, May 5 2017, we can identify the presence of dictions that display rivalry in meaning as a representation of affirmation of rejection against the caliphate ideology promoted by HTI. The dictions in the news text uttered by news sources which were then represented by Tempo.co, namely *HTI vs. NU*, *anti NKRI vs. Indonesia*, *membunuh vs. cinta dama'* or '*HTI vs. NU*', '*anti-NKRI vs. Indonesia*', '*kill vs. love peace*'. The use of the opposite diction illustrates the existence of contradictory values in which in this case radical ideology is attributed to the use of dictions that have a negative meaning, namely the diction *HTI, anti NKRI, dan membunuh* or '*HTI, anti-NKRI, and killing*', while the opposite of radical ideology is attributed to the use of positive meaning dictions, namely *NU, Indonesia, dan cinta damai* or '*NU, Indonesia, and love peace*'. For more details, the opposite dictions can be seen in table 1 below.

Table 1. Diction describing the ideological rivalry between HTI and the government

No.	Diksi bermakna negatif	Diksi bermakna positif
1	<i>HTI</i>	<i>NU</i>
2	<i>Anti NKRI</i>	<i>Indonesia</i>
3	<i>kill</i>	<i>love peace</i>

Based on table 1, it can be seen that Tempo.co attributes and legitimizes HTI as a radical mass organization through the reproduction and representation of news texts by using dictions that contain negative meanings, such as the diction of HTI itself, *anti-NKRI*,

and *murder*. On the other hand, positive dictions are produced and presented to give positive attributions to the government, such as the use of *NU, Indonesian, and peace-loving* dictions. However, in addition to the presence of dictions that have opposite meanings (antonyms), the researcher also sees the presence of dictions that have elements of the same meaning (synonyms) or also parallels of meaning, such as the dictions of '*ideology, Islam, and jihad*'. '*build, maintain, awaken*', and '*unity, integrity, NKRI*'. For more details, diction which is synonymous or contains elements of parallel meaning can be seen in table 2 below.

Table 2. Diction describing the synonyms or parallels of meaning

No.	Diction that describes the parallels or synonyms of meaning between HTI and the government		
1	<i>ideology</i>	<i>Islam</i>	<i>jihad</i>
2	<i>build</i>	<i>maintain</i>	<i>awaken</i>
3	<i>unity</i>	<i>integrity</i>	NKRI

Based on table 2, it can be seen that the dictions that are represented and attributed to HTI are those that contain parallel meanings in table number 1, namely '*ideology, Islam, and jihad*'. Meanwhile, the dictions that are represented and attributed to the government are the dictions in tables number 2 and 3, namely '*to build, maintain, and awaken*' and '*unity, integrity, NKRI*'. The diction '*ideology, Islam, and jihad*' literally means positive or neutral, but in terms of its context in the news it can mean negative. The negative meaning is because these dictions are attributed to HTI which is known to have an ideology and political goal of upholding the ideology of the caliphate by using Islam and Islamic values to replace the ideology of Pancasila. The dictions in table numbers 2 and 3, namely '*to build, maintain, and awaken*' and '*unity, integrity, NKRI*' are represented and attributed to NU (Chairman of PBNU, KH Said Aqil Siradj) and the government (Governor of North Kalimantan). which is to approach in the context of fostering and raising awareness to HTI members and sympathizers in a heart-to-heart dialogue in order to maintain the unity, integrity, and NKRI.

Textual structure analysis looks at the pattern of news text construction. The textual structure of the news entitled "*Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga*" uses a strategy of accommodating sources as the basis for news construction. The use of sources in the construction of news is reflected in four aspects, namely 1) news titles, 2) selection of sources, 3) positioning of source quotes, and 4) quantity of sources' statements. More clearly can be seen in table 3 below.

Table 3. Textual structure in the strategy of accommodating sources as the basis for news construction

No.	Aspect	Description
1	Title	<i>Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga.</i>
2	Selection of	1) General Chairperson of the NU Executive Board, KH Said Aqil

sources	Siradj, 2) Governor of Central Kalimantan, Sugianto Sabran, 3) Head of Public Relations of Central Kalimantan Police Adjunct Senior Commissioner Pambudi Rahayu.
3 Quotation positioning	The positioning of KH Said Aqil Siradj's quotes is in the order of 1, 2, 3; the 4th Governor of Central Kalimantan, and the last quote from the 5th Head of Public Relations of the Central Kalimantan Police.
4 Quantity	KH Said Aqil Siradj's statement was quoted directly by Tempo.co three times, other sources once, namely the Governor of Central Kalimantan once, and the Head of Public Relations of the Central Kalimantan Police were quoted once.

Based on table 3, it can be explained that the four components of the textual structure in the news are explained. *First*, the title construction developed by Tempo.co features the statement of KH Said Aqil Siradj “*Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga*”. *Second*, the selection of sources was carried out by Tempo.co for important figures who have their respective authorities in handling or fostering HTI's radical ideology, namely 1) General Chairperson of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board, KH Said Aqil Siradj, 2) Central Kalimantan Governor, Sugianto Sabran, 3) Head of Public Relations of the Central Kalimantan Police Adjunct Senior Commissioner Pambudi Rahayu. *Third*, the positioning of quotations begins with KH Said Aqil Siradj, the second Governor of Central Kalimantan, and the third Head of Public Relations of the Central Kalimantan Police. *Fourth*, related to the quantity of citations where KH Said Aqil Siradj's statement was quoted three times in a row, while other sources were quoted only once. Thus, the textual structure of this news relies on the sources in the construction of the news. This also implies that the position of the sources chosen is based on the hegemony attached to them, namely the Chairman of PBNU KH Said Aqil Siradj, the Governor of Central Kalimantan, Sugianto Sabran and the Head of Public Relations of the Central Kalimantan Police, Adjunct Senior Commissioner Pambudi Rahayu.

2. Practice Discourse (Interpretation)

Interpretation of HTI radicalism discourse practices in online media coverage looks at how a text is produced and presented. This is related to the media's strategy in carrying out the construction of the dialectical reality of radicalism, especially in the discourse of HTI radicalism which wants to uphold the caliphate ideology to replace the Pancasila ideology. As stated by Sudjiman (in Aris, 2012: 10) that there are three actions taken by media workers when constructing reality (news production and presentation) that lead to image formation. *First*, the selection of symbols (language functions); *second*, the selection of facts presented (framing strategy); *third*, the willingness to give a place (agenda setting).

Regarding this opinion, in the news entitled “*Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga*”, it is illustrated that Tempo.co implements three reality construction strategies which centrally present KH Said Aqil Siradj in his capacity as Chairman of PBNU as a symbol, framing strategy, as well as agenda setting. *First*, in terms of *symbols*, Tempo.co deliberately presents PBNU Chairman KH Said Aqil Siradj as

the central actor in the production and representation of news texts. As is well known, the capacity of KH Said Aqil Siradj as chairman of PBNU has become a symbol of the largest religion-based organization in Indonesia. Even members and organizations are not only in the country in the city and in the village, but also abroad. Therefore, the symbol chosen, namely KH Said Aqil Siradj, was deliberately presented in his capacity as chairman of PBNU because it has the power to influence public perception of HTI.

Second, from the framing strategy. Aris (2011: 10) views framing as a strategy for compiling reality in such a way that a discourse is produced. The formation of the frame itself is based on various internal and external media interests, whether technical, economic, political, or ideological. Tempo.co's framing strategy is based on two interests, namely economic and ideological interests. From the economic aspect, by raising the name of KH Said Aqil Siradj in the title and body or content of the news, it will invite a number of visitors or readers quantitatively more. Furthermore, the framing strategy for ideological interests is seen semiotically that Tempo.co rejects the concept of a caliphate ideology promoted by HTI, and indirectly supports the disbandment of the radical mass organization. This can be implicitly captured from several aspects, namely the positioning of actors (resources), taking themes, to construction and argumentation in the news which implies disapproval of HTI.

Third, agenda setting which serves to provide space or time for a news report. With the postulate of Kraus and Davis "world outside and pictures in our heads", the function of the media is to shape meaning; that the mass media's interpretation of various events can radically change people's interpretation of reality and their patterns of action (Lippman in Aris, 2011: 11). In the news story entitled "Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga", it is illustrated that Tempo.co is trying to form a single meaning to the public that HTI with its caliphate ideology is not in accordance with the constitution and the ideology of the Republic of Indonesia. This impression can be seen in how Tempo.co did not choose sources from pro-HTI parties, but the three selected sources were those who rejected the radical HTI ideology, namely 1) General Chairperson of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board, KH Said Aqil Siradj as a representative of the ulama, 2) Governor of Central Kalimantan, Sugianto Sabran as a representative of the government, 3) Head of Public Relations of the Central Kalimantan Police, Adjunct Senior Commissioner Pambudi Rahayu as a representative of law enforcement. Emphasizing this, we need to look at the opinion of Zoest (1991: 63) stating that complete objectivity is not possible in a text. All mass media, including the best, more or less manipulate through the selection and presentation of news, presentation of facts, and arguments.

3. Sociocultural Practice (Explanation)

Explanation in the context of sociocultural practice in Fairclough's perspective (2001: 135) is a matter of seeing discourse as part of a social struggle within a matrix of power relations. In this study, the intended battle is the ideological rivalry of the Khilafah vs. Pancasila ideology in HTI radicalism discourse on online media Tempo.co. Explanation is oriented to describe discourse as part of social practice and shows the determination of discourse to social structures and their reproductive effects on these structures, either the effect is to establish or change the structure. In this scheme of explanation, Fairclough emphasizes two things that must be analyzed, namely determinants and effects. In this

case, what is called the determinant is the power relation that determines the discourse in the process of social struggle. The effect refers to the effect produced by the discourse. Both determinants and effects must be seen in the three levels of social organization, namely the social, institutional, and situational levels (Fairclough, 2001: 136-137).

In the news entitled berjudul "Marak Penolakan HTI, Said Aqil: Gubernur Harus Bisa Bina Warga" which was published on Friday, May 5, 2017 we can find that there is a power relation in the rivalry of the Khilafah vs. Khilafah ideology. Pancasila as seen in the positioning of the sources by Tempo.co who jointly conveyed a statement that meant disagreement with the movement or ideology promoted by HTI. First, the determinants at the social level are reflected in the existence of very open ideological conflicts, both at the level of abstract discourse and concrete actions in the field. It is known that NU has always appeared as an organization that always appears in the front when there are parties who interfere with the ideology of Pancasila and the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. The relationship between NU and the government in a social context shows that NU is firm and even strongly rejects any activities carried out by HTI, both at the center and in the regions. Second, the determinants at the institutional level are reflected in power relations with the positioning strategy of three resource persons chosen by Tempo.co, namely 1) General Chairperson of the Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board, Said Aqil Siradj, 2) Central Kalimantan Governor, Sugianto Sabran, 3) Head of Public Relations. Central Kalimantan Police Adjunct Senior Commissioner Pambudi Rahayu. These relations collectively reject the concept of HTI's radical ideology. Third, the determinant at the situational level is that HTI is a large mass organization both in terms of quality and quantity, and is a real threat to the existence of Pancasila and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, seeing the situation, the government took decisive steps by disbanding this mass organization through Perppu Number 2 of 2017 concerning Social Organizations.

As for the effects or impacts resulting from the discourse in this news, namely forming and strengthening the perspective of readers to collectively reject the radical ideology adopted by HTI. This effect was born from the discourse construction strategy made by Tempo.co through counter-narrative by accommodating the following aspects: 1) title writing strategy, 2) news source selection, 3) positioning of statements or quotes from sources, and 4) cohesion and discourse coherence. As for the effects of this news discourse, namely the *first* effect at the social level, the polarization or antipathy of the majority of the Indonesian people towards HTI; *second*, the institutional effect, namely the dissolution of this mass organization on July 17, 2017 through the Perppu on Ormas; and third, the reproductive effect is situational, that is the birth of public reflective awareness regarding the dangers and threats of HTI ideology.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

HTI which carries the caliphate ideology is seen as a threat to the existence of Pancasila and the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. In every discourse in the mainstream media, HTI is positioned as a radical mass organization whose existence can threaten the sovereignty of the nation and the state constitution.

Therefore, the production and presentation of news texts by Tempo.co related to the discourse on HTI radicalism was carried out using a counter-narrative strategy as a form of resistance to the radical ideology campaigned by HTI on the various platforms they use. In the aspect of text analysis, especially in the aspect of diction and textual structure, Tempo has siding with the Pancasila ideology, and rejects the HTI ideology which is reflected in the construction of news texts, such as containing dictions that have a positive meaning, namely 'NU-Indonesia-love peace' to against dictions with negative meanings attached to HTI, such as the dictions 'HTI-anti NKRI-killing'. The textual structure uses a resource accommodation strategy as a news construction database. The use of sources in the construction of news is reflected in four aspects, namely 1) news titles, 2) selection of sources, 3) positioning of source quotes, and 4) quantity of sources' statements. Likewise, in the aspect of discourse practice, it is illustrated that the construction of Tempo.co news is in line with the public perspective which rejects HTI's radical ideology, as well as socio-cultural practices or strengthens or strengthens public and government knowledge and awareness to dissolve HTI through Perppu Nomor 2 Tahun 2017 tentang Organisasi Kemasyarakatan.

Before ending this article, it should be stated that HTI has legally been dissolved, but its activities and ideological spread are still ongoing and tend to develop because of the birth of new sympathizers, and touch on the grassroots community and the younger generation. Therefore, as an effort to prevent the spread of radical ideas from HTI or other banned mass organizations, the government and society need to carry out communication, collaboration, and intensive dialogue approaches with people exposed to radical ideas. The second recommendation is the importance of building counter narratives of the caliphate ideology in various forms and distribution media, both through digital and conventional platforms, such as through social media, websites, books, magazines, and others by raising the themes of love for the homeland, love of peace, tolerance, etc.

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