United for Justice: Global Muslim Group`s Responses to the Israeli Occupation in Palestine

Hasbi Aswar
Departement of International Relations, Faculty of Psychology and Social Cultural Science, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta
Email: hasbiaswar@uii.ac.id

Ulya Nuril Fajri
Departement of International Relations, Faculty of Psychology and Social Cultural Science, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta
Email: hasbiaswar@uii.ac.id

Jalaluddin Rizqi Mulia
Departement of International Relations, Faculty of Psychology and Social Cultural Science, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta
Email: 21323255@students.uii.ac.id
DOI: https://doi.org/10.18196/jiwp.v9i1.177

Abstract
The issue of Israeli occupation in Palestine has become a major concern of the Islamic world and the international community for more than seven decades. Various Islamic organizations respond to this issue through social action, humanity, diplomacy, and military resistance. This article analyzes various Islamic movements that support Palestine by using the concept of social movement from Tilly & Tarrow (2015), which includes a sustainable claim campaign, public action, solidarity show, and dependence on networks and organizations. This study uses a qualitative approach by collecting data from various online sources, including academic publications, organizational reports, and social media. The results showed that Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) adopted a humanitarian and diplomatic approach to supporting Palestine by raising funds, taking solidarity actions, and advocating in international forums. The Salafi movement is more focused on the spread of religious da'wah and education; Ikhwanul Muslimin, linked to Hamas, led a direct military struggle against Israel. Meanwhile, Hizbut Tahrir views that the release of Palestine can only be achieved through the restoration of the Islamic Khilafah by organizing a global advocacy campaign and mass mobilization. This study concluded that although the strategies and approaches of these organizations were different, their main objectives remained the same, namely rejecting the Israeli occupation and fighting for Palestinian independence.

Keywords: Islamic Social Movement; Palestine; Israeli Colonization; Social Movement Perspective

Abstrak
Masalah pendudukan Israel di Palestina telah menjadi perhatian utama dunia Islam dan komunitas internasional selama lebih dari tujuh dekade. Berbagai organisasi Islam menanggapi masalah ini melalui aksi sosial, kemanusiaan, diplomasi, terhadap perlawanan militer. Artikel ini menganalisis berbagai gerakan Islam yang mendukung Palestina dengan menggunakan konsep gerakan sosial dari Tilly & Tarrow (2015), yang mencakup kampanye klaim yang berkelanjutan, aksi publik, pertunjukan solidaritas, dan ketergantungan pada jaringan dan organisasi. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan mengumpulkan data dari berbagai sumber online, termasuk publikasi akademik,

laporan organisasi, dan media sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Muhammadiyah dan Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) mengadopsi pendekatan kemanusiaan dan diplomatik dalam mendukung Palestina, dengan mengumpulkan dana, tindakan solidarities', dan advokasi di forum internasional. Gerakan Salafi lebih fokus pada penyebaran Da'Wah dan pendidikan agama; Ikhwanul Muslimin dengan terkait dengan Hamas, memimpin perjuangan militer langsung melawan Israel. Sementara itu, Hizb Ut -Tahrir memandang bahwa pelepasan Palestina hanya dapat dicapai melalui pemulihan Khilafah Islam, dengan mengorganisir kampanye advokasi global dan mobilisasi massa. Studi ini menyimpulkan bahwa meskipun strategi dan pendekatan organisasi -organisasi ini berbeda, tujuan utama mereka tetap sama, yaitu menolak pendudukan Israel dan memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Palestina.

***Kata Kunci**: Gerakan Sosial Islam; Palestina; Penjajahan Israel; Perspektif Gerakan Sosial*

Introduction

Israeli settler colonialism in Palestine has always been an issue in the Middle East, which seems never to end. After a series of peace agreements that were held and involved both sides – for example, the Madrid Conference (1991), the Oslo Agreement (1993, Oslo II in 1995), and Camp David (2000)–the feud remained difficult to resolve. This situation was accompanied by the intervention of various countries in the Middle East, which made the situation more complex, followed by various cross-group lobbies, especially by Zionists.

Throughout history, the expansion of Israeli-occupied territories with the construction of various settlements has been responded to by many parties, such as state actors. Through the mechanism of passing resolutions in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), state actors can pressure Israel to stop the occupation of Palestinian territories. Although inherently enforceable in binding laws, resolutions are not intentionally obeyed.

In addition to state actors, some non-state actors play a role in responding to the Palestinian-Israeli issue. The Boycott, Sanctions, and Divestment Movement (BDS) is a movement with a global network that actively advocates the Palestinian issue and strongly criticizes Israel, the United States, and countries that support Israel. They called for a boycott of products affiliated with Israel (Cannon, 2019). Amnesty International, including the Human Rights Watch, is also included as a civil society organization that actively highlights Israeli human rights violations in Palestine. In addition, institutions affiliated with the Jewish community, such as the Jewish for Peace, the Na'amod movement in London, Neturei Karta in New York, and Breaking The Silence, the pro-Palestinian ex-military movement.

In the context of the Islamic world, the Palestinian issue is one of the most important. The Organization of Islamic Cooperation was formed specifically to respond to the Palestinian issue. Muslim countries are also very active in helping Palestine in various ways, including humanitarian, economic, political, and educational. In terms of civil communities, Islamic movements are also active in responding through different approaches, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah in Indonesia through a humanitarian approach (Muttaqin, 2024; Zidni, 2023), Hizb ut-Tahrir (Osman, 2020) and Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Lagervall, 2021) through political and ideological approaches. When the Gaza War occurred in 2023, Muslims in Indonesia were very active in responding to the Palestinian issue through various solidarity actions both directly on the streets and through online media, for example, the hashtag Julid Fi Sabilillah (Kaslam, 2024).

This study uses the concept of social movement to analyze the object of this study. According to Tilly and Tarrow (2015), it is "a sustained campaign of claim-making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities." Furthermore, a social movement can be identified through the following aspects: (1) ongoing efforts to make claims; (2) a variety of public actions such as marches, rallies, demonstrations, forming specialized groups, holding public meetings, making public statements, petitions, writing letters, and

lobbying; and (3) frequent public shows of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment through actions such as wearing specific colors, marching in organized groups, displaying badges for the cause, showing signs, chanting slogans, and picketing public buildings. They rely on (4) the organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that support these activities (Tilly dan Tarrow, 2015). This paper will dissect the picture of global Islamic social movements in response to the Palestinian-Israeli issue, along with a general description of the activities carried out by these various initiatives.

Research Method

The study utilizes a qualitative approach, gathering data from various online media sources to analyze the role of global civil movements in advocating for Palestinian rights. This study examines two types of movements: Islamic social movements and mainstream civil society movements. Data collection included reading publications, reports, and statements from relevant Muslim groups that actively supported Palestine, such as Muhammadiyah, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Hizbut Tahrir, Salafi, and the Muslim Brotherhood. Additionally, the study examined social media posts, campaign materials, and scholarly conversations regarding these movements. By evaluating these factors, this study provides thorough knowledge of how various civil society organizations mobilize and sustain their efforts to support Palestinian independence and oppose Israeli occupation.

Result And Discussion

The Palestinian issue has attracted the attention of global Muslim communities. Currently, with nearly two billion Muslims worldwide, only Palestinians are still colonized compared to other Muslim countries. This condition of Palestine triggered the establishment of the OIC, Organization of Islamic Cooperation, in 1969, and other Muslim countries have also taken an active stance to deal with the Palestinian problem in humanitarian aspects, including politics, through the United Nations organization.

Global Islamic groups of various genres are also actively involved in voicing and fighting the fate of Palestine. Some groups focus on raising funds for humanitarian aid, while others respond to protests both on the streets and online. This discussion will discuss, in general, the roles of Islamic organizations in various countries in fighting the fate of Palestine:

1. Muhammadiyah

Muhammadiyah is one of Indonesia's oldest Islamic mass organizations (CSOs), established in 1912. Known as the second largest Muslim organization in Indonesia after Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah is an active movement in the field of social welfare characterized by some humanitarian activities, both in the aspects of education (establishment of schools to higher education), health (management of clinics and hospitals), and so on known as "business charity" (Amal Usaha/AM). Muhammadiyah is also known as an Islamic mass organization in Indonesia that enthusiastically supports Palestinian independence. According to the Chairman of the Central Leadership (PP) of Muhammadiyah, Haedar Nashir, there are at least three main foundations to support Palestine: the mandate of the constitution, historical debt, and solidarity of third-world countries (Muhammadiyah, 2021).

Muhammadiyah believes that the mandate is contained in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, that "independence is the right of all nations. Therefore, colonization of the world must be abolished because it is incompatible with the fairy of humanity and the fairy of justice' (Muhammadiyah, 2021). Similarly, Indonesia's national goal of implementing a world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice is also said to be Indonesia's moral obligation to voice Palestinian independence (Medistiara, 2021). Based on this, independence from colonialism is also a constitutional issue that should be considered by the Indonesian people (CNN Indonesia, 2021). In addition, religious principles also affect Muhammadiyah's support, considering the position of al-Aqsa Mosque – one of the three holy mosques of Muslims next to Masjid al-Haram in Mecca and Masjid al-Nabawi in Medina, which Israel now occupies. Such a status quo impacts the consistency of

Muhammadiyah's struggle for independent Palestine (Amal & Olifiani, 2023).

Muhammadiyah has been standing for a long time with Palestine, such as Professor Abdul Kahar Muzakkir, a member of the central board of Muhammadiyah, who has close contact with prominent Palestinian fighter Amin al-Husaini, to carry out several diplomatic missions, both representing Muhammadiyah and Indonesia, to call for Palestinian liberation by participating in several conferences for Palestine, including at the Mu'tamar 'Alam Islami (World Islamic Congress) in Palestine in 1931 and the Bloudan Conference in Syria in 1937 (Tashadi, 1986; Mu'arif, 2023).

In supporting Palestine's independence, Muhammadiyah conducts academic activities, such as scientific/expert discussion forums. Fighting for an independent Palestine is said not only to race in material form but also to broadcast news about international crimes committed by Israel, including through social media (Meidiana, 2023). As a mass organization that has experience negotiating with the government on the issue of Palestine, Muhammadiyah also conducts public discussions on fundraising (Maulana, 2021), in addition to solidarity rallies echoed by the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IMM), Nasyiatul Aisyiyah (NA), and the Muhammadiyah Student Association (IPM) (Riski, 2023; Waspada, 2023).

Most recently, PP Muhammadiyah released a seven-point statement on the condition of Palestine. Some of these points include Muhammadiyah's call to urge international organizations, including the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), and the Arab League, to formulate political and diplomatic measures to stop the war, calling on each side to address the root causes, and encouraging the Indonesian government to be more proactive in resolving conflicts (Muhammadiyah, 2023a; Suara Muhammadiyah, 2023).

Furthermore, other actions are also echoed in perpetuating the Palestinian narrative, such as humanitarian aid and health services. For example, through the Infaq Zakat Charity and Shadaqah Muhammadiyah (Lazismu), the organization managed to raise funds of Rp32.18 billion as a form of "Muhammadiyah's defense of Palestine" (Dewi, 2021). In the health sector, Muhammadiyah contributed to the construction of the Indonesian Hospital in Hebron and the delivery of equipment for emergency medical needs and initiated the construction of a field hospital in Gaza through the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC) (Mikaputri, 2024 PWM Jawa Tengah, 2024; Wardah, 2021). During the ongoing war, hundreds of aid packages were distributed to Palestinians who entered Egypt (Lazismu, 2023).

In addition, Muhammadiyah also spoke about the importance of diplomacy in stopping actions that could aggravate the situation to relevant international institutions, including the United Nations (UN), and world leaders (Muhammadiyah, 2023b). One of the points raised was the criticism of the UN Security Council, which was considered impotent and unable to overcome the war with prolonged violations of human rights (Wiryono & Asril, 2023). In 2023, this attitude was followed by a call to invite Muslims worldwide to perform Salat al-Ghaib (absentee funeral prayer) (Muhammadiyah, 2023c).

2. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU)

Since the days of the independence struggle, the NU has raised this voice. K. H. Hashim Asy'ari, the Rais Akbar (Supreme Leader) of NU, for example, corresponded with Sheikh Amin al-Husaini in 1944-1945 (Zidni, 2023; 60–61). In addition to various philanthropic movements, the call to read the Qunut al-Nazilah (calamity prayer during salat), and the implementation of Rajabiyah Week as a form of solidarity (Alawi, 2023), this attitude of support was also continued, especially by K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri. Together with other mass organizations under the umbrella of the Masyumi Party, three decisions regarding Palestine were made on December 18, 1947. First, it encouraged all Indonesians to participate in Palestinian struggles. Second, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia should be encouraged to establish a stance to assist Palestinian Arabs in their struggles. The third point was to expect the UN Security

Council to review its decision to divide Palestine, which was at the time considered to disturb world peace (Patoni, 2021). NU also raises humanitarian funds to contribute to Palestine "in realizing ukhuwah basyariyah" (K. Setiawan, 2024).

Today, this stance is mainly based on religious, humanitarian, and social justice factors from the NU movement pattern (Zidni, 2023; 56). However, such views are interpreted differently and depend on the leader of the NU Executive Board (PBNU). Zidni (2023) noted NU's role as a non-state actor in diplomacy. During the leadership of K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), the NU prioritized the importance of relations between Israel and Palestine in Indonesia. As a controversial figure for visiting and discussing the normalization of diplomatic relations with Israel, Wahid's move was considered a form of "peace campaign through intellectual and religious channels." Wahid argued that Indonesia could not be a peacemaker or mediator of conflict if it were only in the interests of one party. Then, during his time as President of the Republic of Indonesia, Wahid also proposed the establishment of Indonesia-Israel trade relations, which were expected to open lines of communication in "fighting for Palestinian interests" (Zidni, 2023).

Another NU figure who played an important role was K.H. Hasyim Muzadi, who became the Chairman of PBNU after Gus Dur stepped down. Hasyim Muzadi's method is characterized by soft diplomacy through the organization of international conferences. Many NU cadres then campaigned for the Islamic narrative of rahmatan lil 'alamin and moderate Islam abroad. His work can be traced to the Indonesian government's exploratory efforts and government dialogue. According to Hasyim Muzadi, reflecting on Indonesia's historical experience, integration between groups within Palestine is the main prerequisite for successfully thwarting an occupier's plans (Farikhatin, 2019). In addition, the peace movement under K.H. Said Aqil Siroj used a lobbying approach toward Arab countries and firmly rejected relations with Israel. As for the period of K.H. Yahya Cholil Tsaquf, he translated Gus Dur's thoughts in a different style, through a religious rather than a political approach (Indiraphasa, 2023; Zidni, 2023).

At the 33rd NU Congress (Muktamar) of 2015 in Jombang, NU contributed several ideas on the issue of Palestine. Internally, PBNU is urged to form a special team on Palestine issues; thus, NU's involvement could be more sustainable. In addition, the board is pushed to provide concrete support through dialogue and peaceful approaches, both through diplomacy, strengthening people-to-people relations, and financial assistance. Additionally, besides demanding the government to take systematic steps in supporting the Palestinian cause, such as the involvement of international security forces, NU also demanded international institutions, including the UN, to immediately ratify Palestine's full membership and impose political and economic sanctions on Israel, and the OIC to "intensively organize its member states to support Palestinians independence" (Lembaga Ta'lif wan Nasyr PBNU, 2016).

When Indonesia became President of the UN Security Council (UNSC) in 2019, NU also encouraged the government to support three important agendas related to Palestine: providing protection for the Palestinian civilian population, restoring socio-political conditions, and seeking peace between Israel and Palestine (Prasetia, 2019). Like Muhammadiyah, the NU has also implemented a number of actions in response to the current Palestinian situation. For instance, PBNU released a seven-point statement in 2023, which included expressing NU's deep concern over the escalation of conflict and violence, demanding that the humanitarian conflict be stopped immediately, and calling on the international community to act more decisively in seeking a fair settlement according to the law (Patoni, 2023).

Within the same document, the PBNU also called on the permanent members of the UNSC not to use the veto in defense of one of the parties, urging for religious identities not to be utilized to foster hostility and pushing for religious inspiration about rahmah, brotherhood, and universal justice to be put forward in seeking conflict resolution–both at the level of political structures and societies. PBNU also

advised Muslims and NU-affiliated individuals to perform Salat al-Ghaib (absentee funeral prayer) prayers, hoping the pursuit of justice can be realized immediately (Patoni, 2023).

Furthermore, PBNU considers civil advocacy, such as the boycott movement, "important to get political attention," although it is considered not to be the main solution for conflict resolution (Syakir NF, 2023). Speaking of civil movements, the NU, especially its grassroots movements, was involved with other mass organizations in peaceful solidarity actions for the Palestinian people (Muhammad, 2017). The NU also utilizes international forums to develop a discourse on awareness of the Palestinian situation. For example, the PBNU invites world religious institutions to eliminate "hatred, violence, and injustice, " which are considered to hinder Palestinian independence (Salam, 2023a).

Since the initiation of the G20 Religious Forum (R20) in 2022, according to Yahya Cholil Tsaquf, NU has always endeavored to offer religion as a "pillar of solution" to world and humanitarian problems, including Palestine-Israel through R20 as a network of religious communities around the world (Salam & Wulan, 2023). One of its scientific forums is the R20 International Summit of Religious Authorities (R20 ISORA). In this forum, NU brought together various world religious leaders to formulate a "solution strategy to the Palestinian-Israeli issue" since the outbreak of war in Gaza (Salam & Wulan, 2023).

For NU, the situation in Palestine is not only a problem for certain groups but also "for humanity" (Salam, 2023b). According to NU, the rules-based international order, its relation between states that should be governed by international norms, is experiencing a weak situation. Thus, the humanitarian disaster in Gaza is considered difficult to resolve. Nevertheless, NU is among the organizations that continue to reaffirm its stance on Palestinian independence. On the 75th anniversary of the Nakba celebration at the Palestinian Embassy in Jakarta, K.H. Cholil Nafis and Rais Syuriah of PBNU outlined NU's support, which ranges from spiritual efforts to international diplomacy (Indiraphasa, 2024c).

NU Care-LAZISNU conducted crowdfunding through NUcare.id, receiving humanitarian aid donations to be channeled for Palestinian independence, including when NU received IDR 1 billion from Danone Indonesia. Muslimat NU also distributed aid divided into three stages: the first amounting to Rp766,500,000 (November 2023), followed by the second stage of Rp2,275,000,000 (December 2023), and the third worth Rp2 billion (Indiraphasa, 2024a, 2024b).

The aid packages then entered Gaza through a number of NU partners, such as the Althoure-Silwan Women Center (AWC) (based in Jerusalem) and Gazze Destek Dernegi (GDD)/Gaza Support Association (based in Turkey). With the GDD, aid was sent from Egypt with three container trucks containing food packages, flour, and tarpaulins. Food, clean water, eid packages, and psychosocial programs for children were also provided (Noerhadi, 2024a, 2024b). In addition, NU also cooperates with NU Special Branches (PCI) abroad in distributing aid to Palestinian refugee camps, such as Jordan (Solkan, 2024).

3. Salafi Movement

The Salafi movement, also known as Salafism, is a school in Islam derived from the Arabic word "salaf," which means the people of the past (Rosadi, 2015). This movement has the main vision of puritanization (repurification) of Islamic socio-religious life, which refers entirely to the salaf generation, namely, the first generation of Muslims who gained glory and virtue among the three eras: Sahabat, Tabiin, and Tabi'ut-Tabi'in (Rosadi, 2015; Zeidan, n.d.; Poljarevic, 2014). The forerunner of this movement was triggered in 8th-century Hijriyah, marked by the emergence of Salafiyyah (singular) and Salafiyyun (plural) or adherents of manhaj or methodology, which refers to the methods and patterns of da'wah of the salaf generation either in performing madhah worship (such as prayer, zakat, hajj) or ghaira mahdhah (such as politics) (Rosadi, 2015).

The response of the Salafists to the conflict between the Palestinians and Israel generally supports Palestine ideologically by emphasizing the return to early Islamic practices that they consider pure. In the context of the Palestinian-

Israeli conflict, an important point that emerges in their view is to uphold Muslim solidarity and view the conflict as a war between Muslims and non-Muslims. Alignment and assistance to Palestine as fellow Muslims is considered a stance that must be taken and pursued both morally and materially (Salafy Indonesia, 2009).

This conservative Islamic group has three typologies, each with a different movement. First, the traditionalist–reactionary Salafi is apolitical and fully obedient to the government. Second, Salafi Reformists are pragmatic and actively involved in the sociopolitical world. Third, Salafi Jihadists are a Salafi minority who also use armed violence to deal with conflicts (Krismono, 2017; Poljarevic, 2014). As for the current modern Salafism movement, the response of the global Salafi group, especially Indonesia, in response to contemporary Islamic socio-political issues combines many of the three typologies according to the level of urgency of the events that occurred, including the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

In its practice, the Salafi movement group carried out a variety of actions, which were summarized in two points:

One is to educate Muslims through various da'wah tools, including online media (Iqbal, 2017). Dignitaries in the Salafi group provide a lot of knowledge and fatwas in supporting Palestine in terms of Sharia law, attitudes, and things that are necessary and possible for civil society to do globally. For example, the Salafy Indonesia group provides education about the attitudes and obligations of members in supporting Palestine through various teaching references through online media, such as the https://salafy.or.id/ website. The things emphasized in education to provide support for Palestine include giving prayers, providing humanitarian assistance according to their abilities, and taking the path of armed warfare if necessary. A total of 41 educational articles on Palestine have been published on the website (Salafy Indonesia, n.d.; Salafy Indonesia, 2009).

Second, armed attacks were carried out by the Salafist-Jihadist groups. These armed attacks were carried out by the Jund Anshar Allah group, Jaysh Al-Islam, Jaysh Al-Umma, and al-Tawhid Wal-Jihad (Berti, 2010; Clarke, 2017). On the other hand, this Salafi minority group is quite controversial because it often causes internal ideological tensions against Hamas, which is considered to tarnish Islamic principles due to its involvement in Israeli negotiations. Nevertheless, the impact of attacks on Israel by Salafist-Jihadist groups has been proven several times to cause losses and unrest for the Israeli Military (Clarke, 2017).

4. Ikhwanul Muslimin

Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimin, or Muslim Brotherhood (literally translated as "Muslim Brotherhood"), is the oldest and largest Islamic organization in Egypt. The movement was founded by Hassan Al-Banna in 1928 in the city of Ismailiyah (Muslim Brotherhood's English Official 2007; (Intisari, 2023). This movement was built in order to spread Islamic values. However, in its development, the teachings of the Muslim Brotherhood spread outside Egypt. They grew into a political movement to end British colonial control and annihilate all its influence (Muslim Brotherhood's English Official, 2007). The Muslim Brotherhood can spread throughout the world, including Indonesia, through political activities and charitable activities (Intisari, 2023)3). The Muslim Brotherhood is an organization in Egypt that spearheads Egyptian support for Indonesian independence (Tahir, 2023).

The Muslim Brotherhood has dominated Palestine's political dynamics for 30 years. The Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine is often referred to as Hamas (Robby, 2023). Before being named Hamas, the Islamic group was a paramilitary force under the command of the Egyptian Armed Forces. In 1950, the Palestinian Muslim Brotherhood represented Egypt in a fight against Israel. In 1988, Hamas drafted a Palestinian declaration of independence by refusing to submit to Israel and fighting Israel (Robby, 2023).

The Brotherhood of al-Muslimin responded to this conflict by siding with Palestine. The outline of the actions carried out by the Brotherhood al-Muslimin is divided into armed military actions and non-violent actions. Armed military actions were carried out at the beginning of the arrival of the Egyptian al-Muslim Brotherhood in fighting Israel until it

gave birth to the Palestinian Hamas (Abu-Amr, 1993). Through Hamas, the Brotherhood of al-Muslimin launched various armed resistance actions against Israel (Intisari, 2023). In addition, Hamas, which has been connected to the Brotherhood al-Muslimin in Egypt since its involvement in the first and second Intifadas, is closely related to various agreements and negotiations with Israel, such as the rejection of the two-state solution because it considers that an independent and sovereign country should not give in to side by side and cede part of its territory to a colonizing country (Putri, 2020; Robby, 2023). The actions of the Ikhwan al-Muslimin Intifada through Hamas also show the role of public mobilization to be involved in the Zionist resistance against Palestine (Putri, 2020).

5. Hizbut Tahrir

Hizbut Tahrir (HT) was a political party that initially emerged in Palestine, founded in 1953 by a Palestinian justice and cleric, al-Azhar University-educated Taqiy al-Din al-Nabhani. The movement was formed due to the collapse of the Ottoman Caliphate and aimed to reestablish a global caliphate for the Muslim umma (Syaoki, 2021). Al-Nabhani believed that liberating Palestine is through reviving the Islamic political entity, including its institutions and functions, through caliphate restoration (Wibisono, 2018). Beyond nationalism, Hizbut Tahrir held a more transnational view. Instead of national leadership limited by borders, Hizbut Tahrir focuses on the ideology that aspires to re-establish a global Islamic caliphate (Khilafah) (Høigilt, 2014).

During its early emergence, Hizbut Tahrir played an opposing role to other factions pursuing Palestinians' independence, including the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It claimed that negotiation agreements between both parties were conspiracies of "unbelievers and hypocrites" against Islam, thereby putting the United Nations (UN), various Arab state leaders, and Palestinian organizations as agents "to fight Islam and secure Western domination" (Taji-Farouki, 2000).

In particular, as the party sees Palestine and its surroundings as Islamic land, peace accords were constructed as betrayals of Islam and treacheries towards past Muslim heroes affiliated with Palestine's history, such as Salah al-Din. Hizbut Tahrir interprets the agreements as opposing Islamic legal rule, and a Jewish state built on Palestine land was deemed prohibited – to the extent that Jews were also prohibited from remaining as residents in Jerusalem, which was considered "in accordance" with Omar ibn Khattab's stipulation (Taji-Farouki, 2000).

Initially, Hizbut Tahrir started as a political movement aimed at liberating Palestine in a national context. However, sources also state Hizbut Tahrir's position that he only considers the occupation of Palestine as "nothing more than one of many issues" (Cordier, 2013; Taji-Farouki, 2000). Hizbut Tahrir argues that Khilafah restoration and Sharia law implementation as the "foremost" and "vital"issues, becoming the organization's major focus. The perspective is constructed based on historical facts that during Ottoman's control – the proclaimed empire bearing caliphal authority over its abolishment in 1924–Palestine was still under Muslim rule. The party tried to build a juxtaposition that the downfall of Palestine to foreign powers was due to the Ottoman caliphate's abolishment (Hizbut Tahrir, 2023). This historical fact showcases a shift from the initial cause of the Hizbut Tahrir establishment, from a mere national context to a "fully transnational and deterritorialized movement" (Taji-Farouki, 2000).

Hizbut Tahrir believes that only an Islamic caliphate can guarantee Palestine's independence. The reasoning behind this was based on the belief that the existence of Khilafah means a unified representation of the global Muslim community (ummah) and Sharia law implementations, which would lead to Palestinian liberation from Israeli colonialism. Put, liberating Palestine could not be achieved without the reestablishment of the Islamic caliphate, and vice versa – its independence will be "inevitable" with a global Muslim leadership (Fakirra, 2024; Ikhwan & Falah, 2024; Taji-Farouki, 2000).

Hizbut Tahrir uses the occupation of Palestine by Israel, leading to Muslim's "pain and misery," as one among other fundamental arguments for the need for caliphate restoration

(Iqbal & Zulkifli, 2016; Syaoki, 2021). The organization critics envision global citizenship of Muslims, not bordered as nation states, which are deemed as an illusion installed with "puppet rulers" (Mujahiduddin, 2012). According to this view, Hizbut Tahrir believes that Muslims are obliged to participate in liberating any territory that "historically belongs to the Domain of Islam" (dar al-Islam) that is occupied "by unbelievers." Therefore, the solution based on Hizbut Tahrir's perspective should be through an actual war between "Islam and unbelief," aiming to eradicate Israel. The party deemed peaceful negotiations as "impossible to solve the problem of Palestine" (Aitkulova, 2021; Taji-Farouki, 2000).

Studies have shown that the ideology of Hizbut Tahrir overrides the "importance of the rhetoric and practices of the party," thereby virtually isolating itself from the mainstream movements in Palestine. In this regard, Hizbut Tahrir has an opposing view from the Palestine Authority, particularly regarding the two-state solution (Hizb ut Tahrir, 2023; Høigilt, 2014). Hizbut Tahrir pursued various measures to respond to the Palestine issue. In Malaysia's branch, for instance, public demonstrations were conducted, calling for the military to defend the Palestinians (Habibi & Yahya, 2023). A similar case occurs with Hizbut Tahrir's branch in Indonesia, where its demonstrations often showcase the organization's internal prioritization towards global jihad against the "far enemy." This includes the issue of Palestine occupation (Mujahiduddin, 2012).

Moreover, Hizbut Tahrir pursues activism through social media, including Instagram and YouTube, complemented by various campaigns (Aswar, 2022; Habibi & Yahya, 2023; Ikhwan & Falah, 2024). This complements other methods for the party to disseminate its thoughts regarding the Palestine cause, including publishing Al-Wa'ie magazines and Al-Islamic newsletters, which are translated into multiple languages (Aswar, 2022). Compared to other movements in Palestine, such as Harakat al-Muqawwamah al-Islamiyyah (Hamas) in Gaza, which committed armed resistance against the Israeli army, Hizbut Tahrir cadres' presence among Palestinians seems little to none. In practice, Hizbut Tahrir refused to get involved in resistance, as they preferred to "wait for a caliphate army to liberate." Consequently, the actions conducted were limited to several instances, including commemorating the dissolution of the caliphate and "disruptions of political meetings, " which were considered harmful to the Islamic cause (Høigilt, 2014).

Israel, according to Hizbut Tahrir's view, was considered a "historical colonial machination" shared through its public teachings and talks. Through these sermons, the party demands military force mobilization in Muslim or Muslim-majority countries to rise for Palestine's liberation. The argument is based on the consideration that jihad had become an Islamic obligation due to oppression, as it took Muslims' liberty and freedom into account (MEMRI, 2023). The party's branch in Britain, for instance, called for a jihad to oppose Israel through numerous measures. This includes boycotting goods affiliated with Israel, charity, protests, and social media activism, countering pro-Israel narratives. As people in power had a broader significant influence, Hizbut Tahrir also called for leaders to cut off any relations with Israel, such as trade, energy supply, and airspace closure (MEMRI, 2023).

Through the concept of social movements as defined by Tilly and Tarrow (2015), the social movement activities of Muslims and mainstream movements to fight against Israeli Occupation in Palestine are as follows:

A. Ongoing Efforts to Make Claims

Each Islamic organization that responds to the Palestinian issue has a different main narrative in its efforts to advocate for Palestinian independence. Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) emphasize the aspects of humanity and justice, considering support for Palestine as part of the mandate of the constitution and Islamic solidarity. Muhammadiyah specifically highlighted the historical role of Palestine in supporting Indonesia's independence, while NU emphasized Islamic ukhuwah and humanity as the basis of their struggle. Through Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood placed armed resistance as the only way to achieve Palestinian independence, rejecting a peaceful solution with Israel. Meanwhile, Hizb ut-Tahrir sees the

liberation of Palestine as part of a larger mission, namely the re-establishment of the Islamic caliphate as the main solution to ending Israeli occupation.

B. Public Actions

Muhammadiyah and NU played an active role in public action by organizing discussions, seminars, fundraising, and solidarity demonstrations. NU, through PBNU, also uses diplomacy channels in international forums, such as the G20 Religious Forum (R20), to voice support for Palestine. The Salafi movement tends to limit their involvement in the spread of da'wah and religious education. Through Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood took direct military action as a form of resistance against Israel. At the same time, Hizb ut-Tahrir preferred mass mobilization in the form of global demonstrations and campaigns to call for military intervention by Muslim countries to liberate Palestine.

C. Shows of Worthiness, Unity, Numbers, and Commitment

Each Islamic organization has a different way of showing solidarity and collective strength towards the Palestinian issue. Muhammadiyah and NU often hold joint prayer actions, such as the Ghaib prayers, and utilize their community networks to fund and organize solidarity actions in various regions. The organization also organizes large demonstrations involving students and the general public to demonstrate their commitment to Palestine. Salafis, though not active in demonstrations, demonstrated their commitment through lectures calling for moral and material support for Palestinians. The Muslim Brotherhood displays its strength through Hamas' military actions, which are symbols of Palestinian resistance. On the other hand, Hizb ut-Tahrir displayed his commitment through massive demonstrations calling for the restoration of the caliphate as the ultimate solution to the liberation of Palestine, often with rhetoric that opposed diplomacy and a two-state solution.

D. Reliance on Organizations, Networks, Traditions, and Solidarities

This network of Islamic organizations plays an important role in defending their actions against the Palestinian issue. Muhammadiyah relies on charitable efforts, such as Lazismu and the Muhammadiyah Disaster Management Center (MDMC), to distribute humanitarian aid to Palestine, including the construction of hospitals and medical assistance. NU also relies on its charitable organization, NU Care-LAZISNU, which works with various international partners to distribute aid to Gaza. Salafists use their da'wah networks and websites to spread an Islamic understanding of jihad and the obligation to help Palestinians. The Muslim Brotherhood, through the structure of Hamas, is the main tool of resistance against Israel, with the support of its global network spread across various countries. Meanwhile, Hizb ut-Tahrir relies on its international network to organize advocacy and propaganda campaigns regarding the importance of the caliphate in liberating Palestine by utilizing social media, demonstrations, and ideological publications in various countries.

Conclusion

The response of various Islamic organizations to the Palestinian issue reflects a variety of approaches to social movements, as explained by Tilly and Tarrow (2015). Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) emphasize humanitarian and diplomatic aspects of their struggle by conducting fundraising, solidarity actions, and international diplomacy. The Salafi movement focuses more on education and da'wah, although some of its groups are involved in armed jihad. Throughout Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood adopted a strategy of military resistance as the main form of struggle. At the same time, Hizb ut-Tahrir focused on the importance of re-establishing the caliphate as the final solution to Palestinian independence.

Despite having different strategies and orientations, all of these organizations share the same claim, which is to reject Israeli occupation and support Palestinian independence. The sustainability of this movement depends on its organizational network, global solidarity, and public action. With these various approaches, the Islamic world's support for Palestine remains one of the most consistent and influential forms

of social movements in global geopolitical dynamics.

Acknowledgment

This article is the result of a global studies workshop on diplomacy and global governance, an international relations study program, a faculty of psychology, and social and cultural sciences, even in the 2024 semester.

Bibliography

Abu-Amr, Z. (1993). Hamas: A Historical and Political Background. Journal of Palestine Studies, 22(4), 5–19. https://doi.org/10.2307/2538077

Alawi, A. (2023, Oktober 31). Tahun 1938 dan 1939, NU Galang Dana untuk Palestina dan Instruksikan Qunut Nazilah. NU Online. https://www.nu.or.id/fragmen/tahun-1938-dan-1939-nu-galang-dana-untuk-palestina-dan-instruksikan-qunut-nazilah-RjIZn

Amal, M. T., & Olifiani, L. (2023). Peran Ormas Muhammadiyah sebagai Faith-Based Organization dalam Memberikan Respons Kemanusiaan terhadap Rakyat Palestina. Jurnal ICMES, 7(2), 201-220. https://doi.org/10.35748/jurnalicmes.v7i2.176

Aswar, H. (2022). Hizb Ut-Tahrir's Adaptation Strategies against the State Repression in Indonesia: A Social Movement Perspective. SUVANNABHUMI, 14(2), 233–249.

Berti, B. (2010, Mei 3). Salafi-Jihadi Activism in Gaza. Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. https://ctc.westpoint.edu/salafi-jihadi-activism-in-gaza-mapping-the-threat/

Cannon, E. (2019). The BDS and Anti-BDS Campaigns: Propaganda War vs. Legislative Interest-Group Articulation. Jewish Political Studies Review, 30(1/2), 5–64.

Clarke, C. P. (2017). How Salafism's Rise Threatens Gaza. https://www.rand.org/pubs/commentary/2017/10/how-salafisms-rise-threatens-gaza.html

CNN Indonesia. (2021, Mei 24). Muhammadiyah Sebut Dukungan untuk Palestina Sesuai UUD 1945. CNN Indonesia. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20210524152454-20-646306/muhammadiyah-sebut-dukungan-untuk-palestina-sesuai-uud-1945

CNN Indonesia. (2023, November 5). Pentingnya Memahami Beda Arti Yahudi, Zionisme, dan Israel. CNN Indonesia. https://www.cnnindonesia.com/internasional/20231105114015-120-1020158/pentingnya-memahami-beda-arti-yahudi-zionisme-dan-israel

Cordier, B. D. (2013). 'Pan-Islamism' as a form of 'alter-globalism'? Hizb Ut-Tahrir and the Islamic Khilafah State. In Handbook of Research on Development and Religion (pp. 376–401). Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857933577.00030

Dewi, F. S. (2021, Juni 6). Donasi Muhammadiyah untuk Palestina Capai Rp32 M. Solopos.com. https://news.solopos.com/donasi-muhammadiyah-untuk-palestina-capai-rp32-m-1129894

Fakirra, N. I. (2024). Reassessing the Threat of Hizbut Tahrir—RSIS (RSIS Publications). RSIS. https://rsis.edu.sg/rsis-publication/rsis/reassessing-the-threat-of-hizbut-tahrir/

Farikhatin, N. (2019, Februari 3). Cara KH. Hasyim Muzadi Dukung Palestina. NU Online. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/cara-kh-hasyim-muzadi-dukung-palestina-BfRJd

Habibi, M., & Yahya, S. A. B. (2023). Politics and Processing in The Struggle of Hizbut Tahrir in Malaysia. International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences, 13(6), 1827–1835.

https://doi.org/10.6007/IJARBSS/v13-i6/16577

Høigilt, J. (2014). Prophets in their own country? Hizb al-Tahrir in the Palestinian context. Politics, Religion & Ideology, 15(4), 504–520. https://doi.org/10.1080/21567689.2014.965692

Hizb ut Tahrir. (2023, February 17). Palestine Will be Liberated by the Khilafah, So mobilize The Ummah and Its Armies to Establish it. https://www.hizb-uttahrir.info/en/index.php/leaflet/palestine/24287.html

Ikhwan, M., & Falah, M. B. (2024). Palestinian Independence and Religious Extremism: Using the Palestinian Issue as a Khilafah Islamiyah Propaganda Tool on Instagram. West Science Islamic Studies, 2(01), 38–50. https://doi.org/10.58812/wsiss.v2i01.600

Indiraphasa, N. S. (2023, Oktober 31). Gus Yahya Ungkap Alasan PBNU Bakal Bahas Konflik Israel-Palestina di R20 ISORA. NU Online. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/gus-yahya-ungkap-alasan-pbnu-bakal-bahas-konflik-israel-palestina-di-r20-isora-lAfE3

Indiraphasa, N. S. (2024a, Maret 18). NU Care-LAZISNU Terus Galang Bantuan Kemanusiaan untuk Palestina. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/nasional/nu-care-lazisnu-terus-galang-bantuan-kemanusiaan-untuk-palestina-RhqQ4

Indiraphasa, N. S. (2024b, Mei 4). Muslimat NU Salurkan Bantuan Kemanusiaan Rp2 Miliar untuk Rakyat Palestina. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/nasional/muslimat-nu-salurkan-bantuan-kemanusiaan-rp2-miliar-untuk-rakyat-palestina-HLmZp

Indiraphasa, N. S. (2024c, Mei 16). 76 Tahun Nakba, PBNU Tegaskan Dukungan untuk Kemerdekaan Palestina. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/nasional/76-tahun-nakba-pbnu-tegaskan-dukungan-untuk-kemerdekaan-palestina-jTuv1

Intisari. (2023, November 11). Mengenal Hamas, Gerakan Perlawanan Palestina yang Berasal dari Ikhwanul Muslimin. https://intisari.grid.id/read/033914099/mengenal-hamas-gerakan-perlawanan-palestina-yang-berasal-dari-ikhwanul-muslimin

Iqbal, A. M. (2017). Agama dan Adopsi Media Baru: Penggunaan Internet oleh Gerakan Salafisme di Indonesia. Jurnal Komunikasi Indonesia, 2(2), 77–88. https://doi.org/10.7454/jki.v2i2.7834

Iqbal, A. M., & Zulkifli, Z. (2016). Islamic fundamentalism, nation- state and global citizenship: The case of Hizb ut-Tahrir. Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies, 6(1), 35–61. https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v6i1.35-61

Kaslam, K. (2024). Solidaritas Global: Gerakan Kemanusiaan untuk Palestina di Indonesia. Jurnal Ushuluddin: Media Dialog Pemikiran Islam, 26(1).

KBBI. (n.d.). Arti kata boikot—Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI) Online. Retrieved 2 April 2024, from https://kbbi.web.id/boikot

Krismono, K. (2017). Salafisme Di Indonesia: Ideologi, Politik Negara, Dan Fragmentasi. Millah, 16(2), 173–202. https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol16.iss2.art2

Lagervall, R. (2021). The Muslim Brotherhood. In Handbook of Islamic Sects and Movements (pp. 73–85). https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004435544_006

Lazismu. (2023, November 23). Muhammadiyah Siap Distribusikan Bantuan untuk Palestina Melalui Mesir. Lazismu. https://lazismu.org/view/muhammadiyah-siap-distribusikan-bantuan-untuk-palestina-melalui-mesir

Lembaga Ta'lif wan Nasyr PBNU. (2016). Hasil-Hasil Muktamar ke-33 Nahdlatul Ulama. Lembaga Ta'lif wan Nasyr PBNU. https://storage.nu.or.id/storage/archive/145431428156af132901f0e.pdf

Maulana, M. A. (2021, Mei 2). Diskusi Publik Dan Galang Dana Untuk Palestina. Universitas Muhammadiyah Sidoarjo. https://umsida.ac.id/diskusi-publik-dan-galang-dana-untuk-palestina/

Medistiara, Y. (2021, Mei 23). Ketum PP Muhammadiyah: Bela Palestina Sama dengan Tegakkan Konstitusi. detiknews. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-5579521/ketum-pp-muhammadiyah-bela-palestina-sama-dengan-tegakkan-konstitusi

Meidiana, D. (2023, Oktober 27). Dukung Palestina, LPP AIK UMJ Gelar Kajian Integrasi Ilmu. Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta. https://umj.ac.id/kabar-kampus/2023/10/dukung-palestina-lpp-aik-umj-gelar-kajian-integrasi-ilmu/

MEMRI. (2023, December 28). Speech At London Conference By Hizb Ut-Tahrir Britain Calls To Pressure Muslim Armies To "Liberate Palestine" Through Jihad. Middle East Media Research Institute. https://www.memri.org/jttm/speech-london-conference-hizb-ut-tahrir-britain-calls-pressure-muslim-armies-liberate-palestine

Mikaputri, B. E. (2024, Januari 24). Bangun Rumah Sakit Darurat, Muhammadiyah Kirim Tim ke Perbatasan Gaza. BeritaSatu.com. https://www.beritasatu.com/internasional/2795983/bangun-rumah-sakit-darurat-muhammadiyah-kirim-tim-ke-perbatasan-gaza

Mu'arif. (2023, Oktober 20). Abdul Kahar Muzakkir dan Diplomasi Muhammadiyah untuk Palestina. Suara Muhammadiyah. https://www.suaramuhammadiyah.id/read/abdul-kahar-muzakkir-dan-diplomasi-muhammadiyah-untuk-palestina

Muhammad, H. (2017, Desember 8). Inilah Aksi Warga NU di Kedubes AS. Republika Online. https://republika.co.id/share/p0mwxc380

Muhammadiyah. (2021, Mei 25). Banyak Elit Tak Paham, Haedar: Mendukung Palestina Adalah Amanat Konstitusi. Muhammadiyah. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/2021/05/banyak-elit-tak-paham-haedar-mendukung-palestina-adalah-amanat-konstitusi/

Muhammadiyah. (2023a, Oktober 11). Perang Israel dan Palestina, Muhammadiyah Keluarkan Tujuh Poin Pernyataan Sikap. Muhammadiyah. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/2023/10/perang-israel-dan-palestina-muhammadiyah-keluarkan-tujuh-poin-pernyataan-sikap/

Muhammadiyah. (2023b, Oktober 11). PP Muhammadiyah Serukan Perdamaian Israel-Palestina. Muhammadiyah. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/2023/10/pp-muhammadiyah-serukan-perdamaian-israel-palestina/

Muhammadiyah. (2023c, Oktober 13). Pimpinan Pusat Muhammadiyah Serukan Salat Ghaib untuk Korban Konflik Israel-Palestina. Muhammadiyah. https://muhammadiyah.or.id/2023/10/pimpinan-pusat-muhammadiyah-serukan-salat-ghaib-untuk-korban-konflik-israel-palestina/

Mujahiduddin, M. (2012). Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's View toward Democracy and Nation State and Its Implication in Indonesian Democracy. JICSA (Journal of Islamic Civilization in Southeast Asia), 1(1), Article 1. https://doi.org/10.24252/jicsa.v1i1.716

Muslim Brotherhood's English Official. (2007, Juni). History of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Ikhwanweb. https://ikhwanweb.com/history-of-the-muslim-brotherh/

Muttaqin, A. A. (2024). Konsistensi Muhammadiyah dalam Mendukung Kemerdekaan Palestina. JURNAL KEMUHAMMADIYAHAN DAN INTEGRASI ILMU, 2(1), 125–135. https://doi.org/10.24853/jkii.2.1.125-135

Noerhadi, W. (2024a, April 2). LAZISNU Salurkan Makanan, Air Bersih hingga Dukungan Psikososial untuk Anak-anak Palestina. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/internasional/lazisnu-salurkan-makanan-air-bersih-hingga-dukungan-psikososial-untuk-anak-anak-palestina-FWj9j

Noerhadi, W. (2024b, April 24). Melalui Turki, LAZISNU Distribusikan 3 Kontainer Bantuan Kemanusiaan untuk Palestina. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/internasional/melalui-turki-lazisnu-distribusikan-3-kontainer-bantuan-kemanusiaan-untuk-palestina-soVD9

Osman, M. N. B. M. (2020). Hizb-ut-Tahrir in the age of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). In Routledge Handbook of Political Islam (2nd ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429425165-23

Patoni. (2021, Mei 31). Sejarah Perjuangan NU Membela Palestina. NU Online. https://www.nu.or.id/fragmen/sejarah-perjuangan-nu-membela-palestina-PXftV

Patoni. (2023, Oktober 9). 7 Pernyataan Sikap PBNU soal Eskalasi Kekerasan Israel-Palestina. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/nasional/7-pernyataan-sikap-pbnu-soal-eskalasi-kekerasan-israel-palestina-6bvyI

Poljarevic, E. (2014). Global Salafism: Islam's New Religious Movement By Roel Meijer, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013. 463 pages.). American Journal of Islam and Society, 31(3), 126–129. https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v31i3.1059

Prasetia, A. (2019, Mei 25). RI Jadi Presiden DK PBB, PBNU Dorong Upaya Perdamaian Palestina. detiknews. https://news.detik.com/berita/d-4564781/ri-jadi-presiden-dk-pbb-pbnu-dorong-upaya-perdamaian-palestina

Putri, G. E. (2020). Implikasi Perjanjian Damai Terhadap Aksi Intifadah Hamas. POLITEA, 3(1), 45. https://doi.org/10.21043/politea.v3i1.7502

PWM Jawa Tengah. (2024, Januari 31). Langkah Revolusioner Muhammadiyah: Penyerahan Peralatan Medis ke Palestina, Terobosan Baru untuk Membuka Jalan Menuju Gaza! PWM Jawa Tengah. https://pwmjateng.com/langkah-revolusioner-muhammadiyah-penyerahan-peralatan-medis-ke-palestina-terobosan-baru-untuk-membuka-jalan-menuju-gaza/

Riski, P. (2023, November 7). Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah Gelar Aksi Solidaritas bagi Palestina. VOA Indonesia. https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/ikatan-mahasiswa-muhammadiyah-gelar-aksi-solidaritas-bagi-palestina/7344836.html

Robby, H. M. F. (2023, October 19). Asal-usul dan ideologi Hamas yang sering disalahpahami. The Conversation. http://theconversation.com/asal-usul-dan-ideologi-hamas-yang-sering-disalahpahami-215895

Rosadi, A. (2015). Gerakan Salaf. Toleransi, 7(2), 194–205. https://doi.org/10.24014/trs.v7i2.1430

Salafy Indonesia. (2009, Januari 13). Sikap & Kewajiban Ummat Islam atas Tragedi Palestina – Salafy.or.id. https://salafy.or.id/sikap-kewajiban-ummat-islam-atas-tragedi-palestina/

Salafy Indonesia. (t.t.). Hasil Pencarian untuk "palestina" – Salafy.or.id. Diambil 14 Februari 2025, dari https://salafy.or.id/page/1/?s=palestina

Salam, H. (2023a, Oktober 31). Nahdlatul Ulama Serukan Penghentian Kekerasan di Jalur Gaza. Kompas.id. https://www.kompas.id/baca/internasional/2023/10/31/nahdlatul-ulama-serukan-penghentian-kekerasan-di-jalur-gaza

Salam, H. (2023b, November 21). PBNU: R20 Diharapkan Dapat Suarakan Penghentian Kekerasan di Gaza. Kompas.id. https://www.kompas.id/baca/internasio

nal/2023/11/21/pbnu-gerakkan-tokoh-agama-dunia-suarakan-gencatan-senjata-di-gaza-palestina

Salam, H., & Wulan, M. K. (2023, November 27). ISORA R20 Forum, President: Religion Plays a Role in Creating World Peace. Kompas.id. https://www.kompas.id/baca/english/2023/11/27/en-buka-forum-r20-isora-agama-berperan-wujudkan-perdamaian-dunia

Setiawan, K. (2024, Januari 1). Krisis Palestina dan Kekompakan Nahdliyin Himpun Dana Bantuan. NU Online. https://www.nu.or.id/nasional/krisis-palestina-dan-kekompakan-nahdliyin-himpun-dana-bantuan-ZiKOZ

Solkan, A. (2024, April 2). Warga Palestina Terima Bantuan Kemanusiaan dari NU Care-LAZISNU Lasem Jateng. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/internasional/warga-palestina-terima-bantuan-kemanusiaan-dari-nu-care-lazisnu-lasem-jateng-Fo16Q

Suara Muhammadiyah. (2023, November 15). LHKI PP Muhammadiyah Mendukung Langkah Internasional untuk Palestina. Suara Muhammadiyah. https://www.suaramuhammadiyah.id/read/lhki-pp-muhammadiyah-mendukung-langkah-internasional-untuk-palestina

Syakir NF, M. (2023, November 21). Soal Gerakan Boikot Produk Israel, Ini Tanggapan Ketua Umum PBNU. NU Online. https://nu.or.id/nasional/soal-gerakan-boikot-produk-israel-ini-tanggapan-ketua-umum-pbnu-FfFYV

Syaoki, M. (2021). Khilafatism In Islam: The Concept Of The Khilafah In The View Of Hizbu Tahrir And Ahmadiyah. Politea : Jurnal Politik Islam, 4(2), 69–84. https://doi.org/10.20414/politea.v4i2.4263

Tahir, G. (2023). Ikhwan al-Muslimin and Political Movement : Al-Hikmah, 25(1), 26–37. https://doi.org/10.24252/al-hikmah.v25i1.37958

Taji-Farouki, S. (2000b). Islamists and the Threat of Jihad: Hizb al-Tahrir and al-Muhajiroun on Israel and the Jews. Middle Eastern Studies, 36(4), 21–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200008701330

Tashadi. (1986). Prof. K.H. Abdul Kahar Mudzakkir: Riwayat Hidup dan Perjuangan. Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. https://repositori.kemdikbud.go.id/24443/1/PROF.%20K.H.%20ABDUL%20KAHAR%20MUDZAKKIR%20RIWAYAT%20HIDUP%20DAN%20PERJUANGAN.pdf

Tilly, C., & Tarrow, S. (2015). Contentious Politics (Second Edition, New to this Edition: Second Edition, New to this Edition:). Oxford University Press.

Waspada.id. (2023, November 10). Angkatan Muda Muhammadiyah Sumut Gelar Demo Bela Palestina. Waspada.id. https://www.waspada.id/medan/angkatan-muda-muhammadiyah-sumut-gelar-demo-bela-palestina/

Wardah, F. (2021, November 30). Indonesia Bangun Rumah Sakit di Hebron, Palestina. VOA Indonesia. https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/indonesia-bangun-rumah-sakit-di-hebron-palestina/6333165.html

Wibisono, A. A. (2018, February 27). Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia: Riding the Wave of the Islamization Agenda. Middle East Institute. https://www.mei.edu/publications/hizbut-tahrir-indonesia-riding-wave-islamization-agenda

Wiryono, S., & Asril, S. (2023, Oktober 11). Kritik Peran PBB di Konflik Palestina-Israel, Muhammadiyah: Fungsi PBB Seperti Impotensi. KOMPAS.com. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2023/10/11/18454161/kritik-peran-pbb-di-konflik-palestina-israel-muhammadiyah-fungsi-pbb-seperti

Zeidan, A. (n.d.). Salafi movement | Islam, Scholars, & Beliefs | Britannica. Britannica. Retrieved February 11, 2025, from

https://www.britannica.com/topic/Salafi-movement

Zidni, E. E. S. Z. (2023). Analisis Konsistensi Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Mendorong Kemerdekaan Palestina. ISLAM NUSANTARA: Journal for the Study of Islamic History and Culture, 4(1), 55–81. https://doi.org/10.47776/islamnusantara.v4i1.681