



**KHILAFATUL MUSLIMIN ISLAMIC POLITICAL MOVEMENT IN  
MALLAWA DISTRICT, MAROS REGENCY**  
*GERAKAN POLITIK ISLAM KHILAFATUL MUSLIMINDI KECAMATAN  
MALLAWA KABUPATEN MAROS*

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**ABSTRACT**

This research examines the Islamic Political Movement Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa District, Maros Regency. This type of research is qualitative, using a historical and phenomenological approach. Then the data sources for this research were taken from Khilafatul Muslimin residents, government figures, religious figures, the police, and community figures who had direct contact with Khilafatul Muslimin residents. Furthermore, the data collection methods used are observation, interviews, documentation, and other reference searches. As well as data processing and data analysis techniques, which are carried out through three stages, namely: data selection, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. The results of this research show that the history of the entry of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa, namely, was led by a religious figure named Ust. Hasbih Nur from Istiqamah Maros in 2015, who gathered several Mallawa residents, held a sacrificial ritual, and then formed a structural representative in Mallawa, chaired by M. Usman Palaloi. Khilafatul Muslimin views the concept of a democratic state as one that is not in accordance with Islamic teachings. The Republic of Indonesia, which adheres to Pancasila, is also considered a mistake in thinking because it does not implement Islam in its entirety. According to them, Muslims can only implement Islamic law in its entirety within a Khilafah system. The Khilafah system in question is no longer limited by state territory but is united in a transnational ideology led by the Caliph/Amirul Mukminin Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja'. Meanwhile, the existence and movement of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa are carried out in various ways to recruit members, apart from friendship and direct dialogue with the residents they meet, as well as by establishing free Islamic boarding schools for residents who want to send their children to the Islamic boarding school.

**Keywords:** Movement, Islamic Politics, Khilafatul Muslimin

**ABSTRAK**

*Penelitian ini mengkaji tentang Gerakan Politik Islam Khilafatul Muslimin di Kecamatan Mallawa Kabupaten Maros Jenis penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan menggunakan pendekatan Sejarah dan Fenomenologi. Kemudian sumber data penelitian ini adalah diambil dari Warga Khilafatul Muslimin, Tokoh pemerintah, tokoh agama, Kepolisian, tokoh masyarakat yang bersentuhan langsung kepada Warga Khilafatul Muslimin. Selanjutnya metode pengumpulan data yang digunakan adalah observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi serta penelusuran referensi lainnya. Serta teknik pengolahan data dan analisis data yang dilakukan dengan melalui tiga tahapan, yaitu: seleksi data, penyajian data, dan penarikan kesimpulan. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Sejarah Masuknya Khilafatul Muslimin di Mallawa, yaitu, dibawah oleh tokoh agama bernama Ust. Hasbih Nur dari Istiqamah Maros pada tahun 2015 dengan mengumpulkan beberapa warga Mallawa lalu diadakan pembaitan kemudian dibentuk perwakilan Struktural di Mallawa yang diketuai oleh M. Usman Palalo. Khilafatul Muslimin memandang bahwa konsep Negara Demokrasi merupakan konsep yang tidak sesuai dengan ajaran Islam. Negara Republik Indonesia yang berpaham pancasila juga dinilai sebagai sebuah kesalahan berpikir karena tidak menerapkan Islam secara utuh. Menurut mereka umat Islam baru bisa menjalankan syariat Islam secara utuh di dalam sebuah sistem Khilafah. Adapun sistem Khilafah yang di maksud tidak lagi dibatasi oleh territorial Negara tetapi dipersatukan dalam sebuah ideologi transnasional yang di pimpin oleh Khalifah/Amirul Mukminin Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja". Sedangkan eksistensi dan Gerakan Khilafatul Muslimin di Mallawa, yakni dilakukan dengan berbagai cara untuk merekrut anggota selain silaturahmi dan berdialog secara langsung kepada warga yang dijumpai, juga dengan mendirikan pondok pesantren secara gratis bagi warga yang ingin menyekolahkan anaknya di pesantren tersebut.*

**Kata-kata kunci:** Gerakan, Politik Islam, Khilafatul Muslimin

**A. INTRODUCTION**

Islam is a belief system or religion that has a close relationship with politics. The relationship between Islam, politics, and the state system reveals historical facts that are very rich and very complex (Sjadzali, 1990). Basically, in Islam, there is no separation between religion (din) and politics (siyazah). In the early days of Islam, after Islam migrated to Medina, the Prophet Muhammad saw the building of a city-state in Medina that was divine in nature. In the course of history, from this form of state, a concept developed that is called Islamic political thought, such as al-Maududi, as a theo-democratic state because it is also based on the principle of shura (deliberation). The principle of deliberation is built into making a decision. From here, democracy found its momentum in the Islamic tradition. Those who accept democracy generally base their views on deliberation (Misrawi, 2009).

To realize his ideas, he tried to build concepts based on his strong values to organize the lives of Muslims in state and government. According to Maududi, the idea of Islamic sovereignty and

governance is feasible because Islam is more than just a religion in the Western sense, involving only man and God (Nur et al., 2024).

Since its birth, Islam has had a form of government or a political system. Apart from that, this historical data also shows that Islam does not recognize a particular form of government. Islam can accept any form and system of government as long as the form and system of government can uphold justice, prosperity, inner and outer well-being, security, and peace for the entire community (Nata, 2016).

Meanwhile, in the Islamic view, the state is a connecting forum for creating benefits for humans. The state can be a forum for Muslims to enforce Islamic law in all aspects. Of course, as Muslims, we believe that Sharia law applies as a universal legal system. Even though Islam was developed several centuries ago, it is still suitable as a way of life that regulates all issues of human life in all aspects (Fachruddin, 1998). Khilafatul Muslimin, a movement that emerged in Indonesia, has the principle that restoring the Islamic system is mandatory for every Muslim (Muslimin, 2013). The re-emergence of religious groups that promote the Islamic system, namely the Khilafatul Muslimin, which was pioneered by Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja as Caliph, based in Lampung, Khilafatul Muslimin emerged in the name of being the pioneer of the successor to the caliphate, which collapsed under the auspices of the Ottoman Turks in the 14th century.

Khilafatul Muslimin emerged as a pioneer of Muslim unity pioneered by Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja, based on seeing the condition of Muslims who were increasingly backward and oppressed by Western hegemony in terms of politics, economics, and social culture. Therefore, the only way to restore the condition of the Muslim Ummah to how it was in the past is to re-establish the caliphate, which had long fallen. Enforcement of this khilafatul is mandatory because it is enshrined in the Qur'an and As-Sunnah.

Therefore, the absence of this caliph must be ended by re-establishing the Islamic Caliphate, which will re-implement Islamic Sharia in its entirety. Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja himself currently claims to be the 105th Caliph, successor to the Prophet Muhammad, and hierarchically, Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja as the Caliph or Amirul Mukminin is assisted by the Amir of the Regional Daulah. Now the Khilafatul Muslimin is expanding to various regions in Indonesia, especially in Eastern Indonesia and South Sulawesi, and has a base in Maros Regency, Mallawa District, as a gathering center for their group (Abubakar, 2019).

Therefore, the author wants to know more deeply about the Khilafatul Muslimin from the perspective of the religious ideology adhered to as well as the political movement that was built in da'wah, which was developed to spread the movement. Based on the results of initial observations in the field, the Khilafatul Muslimin group indirectly believes that the discourse and practices of running the organization are not in line with government policy. For example, they do not agree with the Pancasila democratic system, they do not respect the Red and White Flag, and in the education system they have built, they do not want to follow the education system implemented by the government. They consider that since the founding of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17, 1945, it has not been a religious state but a state based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The state's obligation is to implement Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. So it is not permissible to force the state to implement the Islamic religion.

Khilafatul Muslimin considers that Muslims who are in a democracy use man-made laws based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, abandoning the laws and regulations that come from Allah; this is called Thagut. And Khilafatul Muslimin emphatically disengages (baro') from the democratic system, its rules, and the people who willingly support it. We have our own business in upholding Dienul Islam in the Islamic system. It is impossible for Islam to stand with a man-made system (thagut), whether Democratic, Capitalist, Liberalist, Communist, or others. If you want to improve Islam, you have to start from the base, or roots. The root of all the problems facing Muslims today is the wrong choice of leadership system. Allah commands us to unite and uphold Islam in the Islamic system so that we will experience the new Izzah (glory) of Islam. It is impossible to achieve Islamic Izzah with the Thagut system (Makrullah, 2016).

To reveal this understanding, the author explored data by searching related books and documents via the internet and conducting dialogue with several Khilafatul Muslimin figures and community figures who had direct contact with Khilafatul Muslimin residents. The reason the researcher took the title of this movement is because Indonesia, which in fact has a majority Muslim population but has a diversity of ethnicities, religions, and cultures, applies the Republic of Indonesia system, namely democracy based on Pancasila, not based on the Khilafah/Islamic State system. Therefore, the emergence of the Khilafatul Muslim community can increase insight into the development of Islamic movements that want to up-

hold the Khilafah, especially those in Indonesia. If implemented in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, it would be the same as forcing a change in the form of the state and would destroy the diversity that already exists in Indonesia. Because the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa since the existence of the Islamic boarding school was founded, making their movement increasingly exist and develop, the Islamic boarding school does not follow the education system in Indonesia. Apart from that, there are no state symbols found in the Islamic boarding school, and one of its residents who works in the Mallawa sub-district government never attended a flag ceremony. This problem is quite interesting to study in more depth because it is related to the scientific disciplines that we study.

## **B. LITERATURE REVIEW**

In Islamic political thought, at least we always focus on the relationship between religion and state. The relationship between religion and state is something that complements each other, so that the two cannot be separated. Religion needs the state, and vice versa. However, the issue of political relations in relation to religion (Islam) and the state is often misunderstood, even debated, because Islamic politics cannot be separated from the history of the journey and development of Islam itself, which has multiple interpretations. On the one hand, some Muslims believe in the importance of Islamic principles in political life. Meanwhile, on the other hand, because of the multi-interpretive nature of Islam, there is no single view regarding how Islam and politics should be related appropriately. In fact, as far as can be seen from the course of intellectual and historical discourse on Islamic political practice, there are many different opinions regarding the appropriate relationship between Islam and politics (Sjadzali, 1990).

In Islamic politics, we can divide several aspects of perspective. First, how can the role of Islam develop in an atmosphere of developing nationalist movements in a country? Second, how Islam plays a role in defining, from the beginning, the institutionalization process of a country. Third, the role played by the da'wah movement in influencing political action in favor of Islam in the Indonesian context. Fourth, how the Islamization program is implemented by Islamic mass organizations, especially Islamic parties.

In Indonesia itself, the concept of an Islamic state has been debated since the founding of this country. A debate emerged regarding the concept of the Indonesian state, which would adopt either "Islam" or "Nationalism" before Indonesian independence.

The first state concept wanted Islam to be accepted as the basis and ideology of the state, but the secular nationalist group did not agree, and there was a debate between the two that culminated in the BPUPKI session in 1945.

Several figures and Kiai, such as KH. Mas Mansyur, H. Agus Salim, and KH. Wachid Hasyim, voiced their opinions regarding the concept of an Islamic state on the grounds that the majority of Indonesian people are Muslims. However, the Nationalist group refused on the grounds that the Indonesian people who fought for independence were not only Muslims but consisted of various religions, tribes, and languages who fought against the invaders. The Secular Nationalist Group believes that the pluralism of the Indonesian nation is the reason for establishing a non-religious (secular) state. Sukarno is a pioneer. Third, the role played by the da'wah movement, which influenced political action in favor of Islam in the Indonesian context, Fourth, how the Islamization program is implemented by Islamic mass organizations, especially Islamic parties.

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### **C. METHOD**

The research uses a type of qualitative research, namely research based on events that occur in the field in accordance with existing reality and research that has never been researched before

regarding the history and political movement of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa District, Maros Regency. The location of this research is Mallawa District, Maros Regency. This research location was chosen based on several considerations, including the fact that the research location to be studied had never been studied by researchers before. Apart from that, the choice of location was also based on the consideration that the Khilafatul Muslimin Movement Group in South Sulawesi was based in Mallawa District, Maros Regency.

The approach method used in this research is: 1.) Historical approach, with a multidisciplinary Islamic study model, namely a model that combines contextual Islamic studies with a historical approach. In relation to religious research, the historical approach aims to understand social phenomena by tracing historical facts and data that influence their existence. 2.) The phenomenological approach itself is a type of qualitative research that is applied to reveal the similarities in meaning that are the essence of a concept or phenomenon that is consciously and individually experienced or that occurs in human life. This phenomenological approach reveals the meaning of a symptom so that the symptom can be understood and applied in normative teachings, religious activities, religious institutions, religious traditions, and religious symbols (Kahmad, 2000).

Based on this research, the data sources obtained are: 1.) Primary data, namely data taken from direct research in the field from sources. 2.) Secondary data is data obtained from certain agencies or institutions. Secondary data is data obtained from other parties or indirect data obtained from other subjects.

In the data collection process in this research, the researcher collected the strongest data from this research—data that had been clarified or analyzed to make it easier to find solutions to problems (Sutinah, 2007). By using several methods, namely: 1.) observation; 2.) interview; 3.) Documentation. The instruments are supported by observation guidelines, interview guidelines, and cameras for documentation in the form of images, information, and other data that can support the data collection process. Data analysis techniques: To analyze the collected data later in order to obtain valid conclusions, the Miles and Huberman model data processing and analysis techniques will be used with the following steps: 1.) Selection (data reduction); 2.) Data presentation; 3.) Drawing conclusions (verification).

## **D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### **The entry of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa**

The beginning of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa was when Ustad Hasbih Nur and Ustad Qayyim met M. Usman Palaloi from Mallawa. They developed an emotional relationship until they joined together to fight for the Khilafatul Muslimin. M. Usman Palaloi is a resident of Bentenge Village, Mallawa District, who works as a farmer, while Ustad Qayyim is known as a convert from Ambon who once lived at the Istiqamah Islamic boarding school and married a Mallawa resident. Initially, he was known in Mallawa as a Koran teacher and also as a village Ustad in general who went from mosque to mosque, delivering lectures and recitations at the mosque. Gradually, until it developed in 2017, Ustad Hasbi Nur returned to Mallawa and held a meeting in Bentenge Village, Mallawa District. They gathered together with several residents and then carried out the initiation (Abidin, 2022). After several Mallawa residents joined, Mas'ul Ummah Mallawa was formed, namely the lowest structural member of the Khilafatul Muslimin organization, first chaired by Ustad. M. Usman Palaloi in 2017. After its development, Mas'ul Ummah succeeded in adding three achievements, so the Amir Ummul Quro's Mallawa representative was established. In June 2020, an election was held for the chairman, or Amir, of Ummul Quro'. In this deliberation, Brother M. Ilyas Yunus was elected as chairman of Ummul Quro' Mallawa. Initially, Khilafatul Muslimin carried out preaching behind closed doors. However, as it developed, after several residents joined, they began to open up by visiting residents from house to house or people they met both at the mosque and on the street. They invited them to join together to fight for the Khilafah (Makmun, 2022).

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Hasbi Nur was the figure in charge of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa; of course, they were the pioneers of the existence of the Khilafatul Muslimin in the region. All forms of questions related to the organization that its members receive are always directed to him to find out clearly. However, if you look at the structure formed, their name is not included as structural.

### **The State View of the Khilafatul Muslimin**

Khilafatul Muslimin recognizes that the Indonesian nation is a democratic country based on Pancasila and UUD 45. Not a country based on a particular religion. The obligation of the state is to implement Pancasila and UUD 45. Meanwhile, we, as Muslims, must implement Islamic teachings. Islamic teachings can only be applied freely within their own system, not in a democratic system. Implementing sharia in a democratic country that is not based on Islam is actually a mistake for Muslims. Because, in reality, we are not in an Islamic government country. Islamic leaders, Islamic Sharia, and the glory of Islam itself can be realized in the Islamic system itself. Previously, during the time of the Prophet, Muslims were in the prophetic system (An-Nubuah), and after that, what was practiced by the Companions was called the caliphate system, and it should not be replaced by another system until the end of time. People who claim to be believers fight in the way of Allah (Fisabilillah), while those who are disbelievers, hypocrites, or wicked fight in the way of Satan (Thagut). Democracy is the path of the Thagut, so as a believer, you should free yourself from the Thagut system.

This bekhilafah is a congregation, namely, uniting people in an Islamic system that is universal without national territorial bounda-

ries. So it's not a country. Congregation is worship, and in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), every person is given the freedom to carry out worship according to their individual beliefs. In fact, the Khilafah is not a state. Khilafatul Muslimin understands that the Khilafah is a congregation led by a Caliph; what is meant by congregation here is the congregation that follows him. Like the congregation of Abu Bakar As Siddiq and the friends who followed him. Neither Rasulullah SAW nor Abu Bakar are heads of state, presidents, or kings, but leaders of congregations who are also called imams. Good when in Mecca to Medina. Because, actually, the Khilafah is not creating a state within a state.

For example, in the Christian religious community. They have their own leadership in implementing their religious teachings. They have a structure from pastor, bishop, and cardinal to the highest leader called the Pope (Abdul Haris, 2022). As Muslims, they should also have their own independent institution to manage their religious affairs internationally, called the Khilafah. Islam has its own system for implementing its teachings, namely the Khilafah system, which is its own home for Muslims. Khilafatul Muslimin clearly emphasizes that since the re-promulgation of the Khilafah system pioneered by Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja, they have separated themselves from all systems created by human thought with all their rules. As they understand that democracy is based on Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution that applies in Indonesia is man-made, not God-made.

This understanding is the same as that of Hizbut Tahir Indonesia (HTI) activists, even though Khilafatul Muslimin refuses to be linked to HTI. HTI activists reject democracy following the opinion expressed by its founder in the Middle East, namely Abd al-Qadim Zallum. For him and HTI, democracy is a kufr/non-Islamic system (*ad-dimuqarytiyah nizham kufr*), which is contrary to Islam. The argument, among other things, is that democracy is a product of human reason, not God. Meanwhile, the Khilafatul Muslimin is an Islamic leadership that has been running by fighting for the re-establishment of the Caliphate system, which applies Islamic law, and the strategy used is a peaceful strategy through preaching within a unified Khilafatul Muslimin. Under the pretext that, as Muslims, society cannot make laws because the lawmaker is God.

The Khilafatul Muslimin movement is more directed towards a *da'wah* movement, the development of the people, either by building Islamic boarding schools or providing direct guidance to the community, and the importance of the leadership of all Muslims

under the auspices of the Khilafah Islamiyah. The Khilafah referred to here is a forum for the unity of Muslims that is universal and not limited by territorial territory or the state. In terms of strength, Khilafatul Muslimin focuses on developing the people through the establishment of Islamic boarding schools with the Khilafah system. Each regional amir was ordered to establish a Khilafah-based Islamic boarding school. One of the attractions is that Islamic boarding schools are free. However, the students, parents, or guardians of the students will receive allegiance first. To join Khilafatul Muslimin, you only need to take allegiance to the allegiance text issued by the founder.

### **Existence and Movement of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa**

Khilafatul Muslimin entered Mallawa in 2015, but its development is still within the family and closest relatives. Mallawa itself, as the level of Amir Ummul Quro', which oversees the four Mas'ul Ummah, operates in its own structural manner. All activities carried out include recitation from mosque to mosque and the construction of Islamic boarding schools (Ambo Asse, 2022). Since the establishment of the Khilafah-based Islamic boarding school, their children are no longer sent to public schools under the auspices of the government. However, all of them were educated and sent to school at the Islamic boarding school. The celebration of Islamic holidays is also the same; when the Eid al-Fitr/Adha prayers are held, they are no longer with the community at the nearest mosque, but they are usually with the Khilafatul Muslim residents themselves in the field or a designated place. Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa is also seen regularly conducting archery and self-defense training. Meanwhile, the martial arts school under the auspices of Khilafatul Muslimin was named White Bee Martial Arts.

Most of the Mallawa residents who join Khilafatul Muslimin are farmers, but there are also government employees and retirees. Starting from parents, adults, youth, students, and small children, All those who join the Khilafatul Muslimin will be registered in an orderly manner until they are given a Citizen Identification Number (NIK). Every member of Khilafatul Muslimin is obliged to donate to Baitul Maal belonging to Khilafatul Muslimin, starting from the central level to the lowest structural level. They are obliged to give alms donations of at least Rp. 1,000 every day. With these funds, that is what was used to establish the Islamic boarding school. So in Islamic boarding school education, to recruit or cadre students, edu-

cation is free, so entry is free. But the student's parents will be given allegiance and must donate (Yusuf, 2022).

Khilafatul Muslimin has a structural structure starting from the central level to the Mas'ul Ummah structural level as the lowest level. They have the principle that if we have prepared and started something structural, then we have to start from the bottom. Mas'ul Ummah is formed if at least four people join together in a village. To facilitate consolidation and development, one of the four was chosen as Mas'ul, two became Baitul Maal officers, and one served as security. If anyone else joins, they will become citizens or members of Khilafatul Muslimin. In one community, they have an obligation to make friends once a month with residents or congregations of at least 20 residents in that community. In this way, the Ummul Quro structure can be established (Hasbi Nur, 2022).

In Mallawa itself, as representatives of Ummul Quro' or equivalent at the sub-district level, a structure has been formed that works together and oversees the four mas'ul Ummah Mas'ul, namely Mas'ul Ummah Bentenge, Mas'ul Ummah Barugae, Mas'ul Ummah Camba, and Mas'ul Ummah Kolaka. The four Mas'ul Ummah, under the coordination of Ummul Quro', have the duty and responsibility to invite citizens to join together to fight for the Khilafah, which has been re-proclaimed.

## E. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research conducted by the author, it can be concluded that mapping the history of the entry of the Khilafatul Muslimin in Mallawa District was pioneered by a religious figure who was also a teacher at the Darul Istiqamah Maros Islamic Boarding School named Ust. Hasbi Nur. In 2015, he then had a meeting with Usman Palaloi and Ust. Qayyim in Mallawa, where these two figures are Mallawa residents and work in Mallawa District as farmers and Koran teachers in Mallawa. After this meeting, Mas'ul Ummah was formed, chaired by M. Usman Palaloi. Until its development in 2021, they established the Ukhuwah Islamiyah Islamic Boarding School as well as a place for the development of the Khilafatul Muslim political movement.

Khilafatul Muslimin views the concept of a democratic state as one that is not in accordance with Islamic teachings. The Republic of Indonesia, which adheres to Pancasila, is also considered a mistake in thinking because it does not implement Islam in its entirety. According to them, Muslims can only implement Islamic law in its entirety within a Khilafah system. The Khilafah system in question is

no longer limited by state territory but is united in a transnational ideology led by the Caliph/Amirul Mukminin Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja. This is where one of the differences lies between Hizbut Tahrir and Khilafatul Muslimin, where Hizbut Tahrir has not appointed a leader while Khilafatul Muslimin already has a supreme leader named Abdul Qadir Hasan Baraja.

The existence of the Khilafatul Muslimin Political Movement in Mallawa is carried out by recruiting Mallawa residents from all circles, starting with the elderly, youth, and children, and then giving them a Citizen Identification Number as the identity of Khilafatul Muslimin membership. Apart from establishing Islamic boarding schools, the da'wah movement they carried out was also an inviting, gentle movement, not a violent system. Namely, a direct approach to society under the pretext of the importance of shared awareness to fight for the caliphate of the Islamic system. Apart from that, for Islamic holidays such as Eid al-Fitr, they commemorate the Islamic New Year exclusively among themselves. Apart from that, they also broadcast the Khilafah every four years to all Khilafatul Muslim citizens in order to gain public participation in the movement they are carrying out. Many of their activities are also published on social media, Al Khilafah magazine, and the official Khilafatul Muslimin website.

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