Deanship of Scientific Research

The Film of Jejak Khilafah di Nusantara (JKDN): Claim of Islamic Caliphate's History in Indonesia

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Abstract

Objectives: The release of the film "Jejak Khilafah di Nusantara" (JKDN) is evidence that Hizbut Tahrir is still actively promoting khilafah Islamiyah ideology in Indonesia, despite the organization's dissolution. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate that Hizbut-Tahrir uses the JKDN film as a means of propagating jihadist ideology.

Methods: This study's data was obtained from the JKDN film as its primary source. The data collection technique is documentation, whereas the data analysis technique uses the Miles and Huberman models.

Results: This study found that the film JKDN contributed to the spread of Islamist ideology in Indonesia by linking the history of the Islamic caliphate to the history of Indonesia.

Conclusions: This study's findings indicate that Hizbut Tahrir's efforts to create a narrative of Indonesia's history with the Islamic Caliphate in the Middle East were intended to create historical awareness and understanding of Islamist ideology in Indonesia. Hizbut Tahrir constructed the logic that Indonesia is a part of the Islamic caliphate based on the historical evidence presented.

Keywords: Hizbut Tahrir, JKDN Film, Islamic Caliphate

فيلم آثار الخلافة في نوسانتارا :(JKDN) المطالبة تاريخ الخلافة الإسلامية في إندونيسيا

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ملخّص

الأهداف: يُعَد عرض فيلم "آثار الخلافة في نوسانتارا (JKDN) "إشارة إلى استمرار وجود حزب التحرير في نشر أيديولوجية الخلافة الإسلامية في إندونيسيا، على الرغم من حظر وحل المنظمة. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إظهار استخدام حزب التحرير لفيلم JKDN كوسيلة لتعزيز أيديولوجيته الخلافية.

المنهجية: استُخدمت البيانات الأساسية في هذه الدراسة من فيلم JKDN. تم جمع البيانات باستخدام تقنيات التوثيق، وتحليلها باستخدام نماذج مايلز وهوبرمان.

النتائج: أظهرت الدراسة أن فيلم JKDN أصبح وسيلة لنشر أيديولوجية الخلافة الإسلامية في إندونيسيا، من خلال إطلاق روايات وخطابات حول العلاقة التاريخية للخلافة الإسلامية بنوسانتارا.

الخلاصة: تشير نتائج الدراسة إلى أن جهود حزب التحرير في خلق خطاب حول العلاقة التاريخية بين نوسانتارا والخلافة الإسلامية تهدف إلى نشر الوعي بأيديولوجية الخلافة في المنطقة. يعتبر الحزب أن إندونيسيا جزء من الخلافة الإسلامية.

الكلمات الدالّة: حزب التحرير، فيلم JKDN، الخلافة الإسلامية.

Introduction

The ideology of the caliphate is still becoming a severe threat to the Indonesian people, especially the ideology of Pancasila. Although Indonesia's Government has dissolved Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia (Aswar, 2018a; Aswar, Yusof, & Hamid, 2020; Muhtadi, 2009) as an organization driving the ideology of the Islamic caliphate, the ideology of the Islamic Caliphate is still alive (Sianturi, Pardede, & Riadi, 2021), and continues to be disseminated in different ways and styles. After the disbandment of Hizbut-Tahrir in Indonesia, on August 20, 2020 (Detiknews, 2020; Nashrullah, 2020), the ideology of the Islamic caliphate was disseminated through the film Trail of the Khilafah in the Archipelago (JKDN).

The Islamic genre documentary (Supriyansah, 2020) which tells the romance of the track record of the caliphate in Indonesia (Wahidin & Gual, 2020) was adopted from the scientific work (thesis) The Ups and Downs of the Pan-Islamism of the Ottoman Caliphate on the People of the Dutch East Indies 1882-1928 (*Pasang dan Surut Pengaruh Pan-Islamisme Khilafah 'Utsmaniyyah Terhadap Rakyat Hindia Belanda 1882-1928*). This work was written by Muhammad Nicko Trisakti, the head of the student wing organization Hizbut Tahrir (Fikroh.com, 2020; Walhadi, 2020), and has been published by the History Study Program, Faculty of Adab and Humanities, Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University Jakarta (Imanjaya, 2020).

The JKDN film has received a lot of criticism because it is considered a make-believe story (Detiknews, 2020), because it is not supported by valid historical data (Permana, 2020), and is full of propaganda interests (Nugraha, 2020). Although this film was banned, and the official website "Khalifah Channel" was blocked (Adil, 2020; Wahidin & Gual, 2020), this film has been spread on social media platforms and has been widely watched through several Youtube channels.[1]

The JKDN film has its own place in Indonesia's Islamic film studies (Rohimi, 2015). Because so far, studies on Islamic films in Indonesia have only focused on film genres (Basri, 2012; Zahida, 2017), film developments and dynamics (Heryanto, 2015), values and messages of Islamic films (Hidayat & Rahmawati 2015; Juliana 2018; Nisa, Fardila & Widodo 2019; Nugroho & Adhrianti 2019; Rahmad 2015; Ritonga 2013; Rohimi 2015; Supriansyah 2019; Syah 2013), religious portraits (A'yun, 2019; Arofat, 2014; Jalaluddin & Syafira, 2019; Mayasari & Junaedi, 2017; Purwati, 2014; Woodrich, 2018), the function of Islamic films (Arifuddin, 2017; Musyafak, 2005), and the impact of Islamic films (Istova & Hartati, 2016).

The first aim of this paper is to examine how JKDN films build the claim that the Nusantara Islamic kingdom directly submitted and pledged allegiance to the Islamic caliphate. This claim is based on the historical parallelism between the Islamic kingdoms in Nusantara and the caliphate system of Islamic rule. Additionally, this article aims to uncover the underlying motives behind this historical claim. The argument built in this article is that film is the most strategic medium for transmitting values and various interests ranging from ideological interests (Stoddard, 2015), to theological values and beliefs (Cloete, 2017; Faimau, Behrens, & Lesitaokana, 2018; Hjarvard, 2016), to identity formation (Halverson, 2010). This is possible because watching is actually an act that requires the audience's imagination to be involved with what is seen, heard, and felt (Cloete, 2017). Although the film is entertainment, according to Herrmann (2003), the film is a source for interpreting the world and forming meaning. For this reason, films have the potential to create experiences (Cloete, 2017), to construct as well as produce meaning (Bawono, 2010).

Methode

This article aims to examine two objects in the film JKDN. Firstly, to examine the construction of the Islamic caliphate history that was built between the Ottoman Islamic caliphate and Islamic kingdoms in Nusantara. Secondly, to examine cultural symbols used to reinforce the constructed Islamic caliphate history plot in the film JKDN. With these two objects, the article constitutes social-historical research with data collection technique using cinematography approach that emphasizes the audio-visual combination in the film. The audio-visual approach can be used as one of the reference methods to collect social phenomena data (Firdaus & Shalihin, 2021) from films or cinema (Coskun, 2017).

The article gathered two main objects from the film "Jejak Khilafah di Nusantara" (JKDN) by Muhammad Nicko T. Pandawa, through primary data sources which can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JUO22SYslS8. The

collected data consisted of two types: narrative objects, including the script and conversations of all narrators in the film, for the purpose of understanding the constructed historical narrative, conversations, and plot in JKDN; and audio-visual objects such as music, songs, artifact images, royal monuments, and cultural activities, to grasp the context and circumstances of the historical plot portrayed in the film JKDN.

Data collection for the two types of data was done using different techniques. First, for the narrative data, the researcher manually created a film transcript using a document technique. This data collection technique was inspired by one of the data analysis stages offered by Creswell (2015), known as data management (Shalihin, Hasibuan, Yusuf, & Muliono, 2021). Second, for visual data such as images, the researcher used a screen capture technique on their working machine to collect the data.

The data analysis approach used in this article employs the qualitative approach by Miles and Huberman (1994). In practice, data analysis is carried out through four stages. The first stage is data management, which involves the process of transcribing the film's narrative. The second stage is memoing data, which includes the process of coding and identifying the vocabulary and historical narratives used in constructing the Islamic khilafah record in the film. The third stage is displaying data, which involves presenting data in three forms: (i) narrative quotations from the JKDN film, (ii) tables, and (iii) images. The fourth stage is data interpretation, which uses a social-historical and cinematography approach, as presented in the discussion section of this article (Shalihin & Yusuf, 2022; Shalihin, Yusuf, & Hulwati, 2023; Yusuf, Afrizal, & Alfiandi, 2022).

Hizbut Tahrir and Khilafah Islamiyah

Hizbut Tahrir is a pan-Islamic political organization that aims to establish an Islamic state or caliphate that governs Muslim society worldwide with Islamic sharia laws (Aitkulova, 2021; Aswar, 2018b). Hizbut-Tahrir is one of the transnational movements (Aksa, 2017), which considers modernization a source of failure for Muslims. The democratic system is branded as a kufr system and forbidden to implement (Muntoha & Yusdani, 2014). The mission of Hizb ut-Tahrir is to reform Islam by applying the ideology of the Islamic caliphate to various countries (Syaoki, 2017). This organization was founded in *Baitul Maqdis* in 1953 by *Taqiy al-Din al-Nabhan* (Republika.co.id, 2017), and entered Indonesia in 1983 (Khadafi, 2017). His movement received a lot of public attention because of his ideological desire to establish a state based on the Islamic caliphate in Indonesia (Arif, 2016).

Khilafah Islamiyah is a belief system that maintains that an Islamic state, or khilafah, is the sole legitimate form of governance in Islam (As'ad, Fridiyanto, & Rafi'i, 2021). Hizbut-Tahrir asserts the khilafah system should replace the current corrupt and unfair systems of government produced by non-believers, which are incapable of providing justice and security to the Muslim Ummah (Olsson, 2021). Hizbut Tahrir holds the view that a state that adopts the khilafah system will adhere to Islamic principles and fully implement Sharia law. They argue that the khilafah can address all the issues and conflicts in the world and promote Islamic da'wah globally through the dissemination of Islamic teachings and the khilafah system.

The post-reformation era in Indonesia has offered Hizbut-Tahrir enough opportunity to express their caliphate ideology and doctrine (Azman, 2018; Wahab, 2019). They have transformed the ideology of the Islamic caliphate into various movements (Hasan, 2008) by making educational institutions the main instrument for spreading the ideology of the caliphate. For example, Azman (2018) and Wahab (2019) studies show that Hizb ut-Tahrir has made universities, campus mosques, student institutions, and Islamic boarding schools as the basis for the movement to spread the ideology of the caliphate. Cadre activities for students through student institutions such as the Campus Da'wah Institute (LDK) face to face, boarding house to boarding house; (Hasanuddin & Edi Sabara, 2018), seminars, public discussions, demonstrations and publication activities through magazines, tabloids and bulletins (Rizal, 2011), are intensely carried out as a fundraising effort as well as instilling the importance of the sharia-khilafah system being enforced.

In May 2000, at an International Conference at the Senayan Stadium, Jakarta, Hizbut-Tahrir declared an Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia (Rizal, 2011; Wahab, 2019). In 2006 the existence of Hizb ut-Tahrir received state recognition as a

community organization through the Decree of the Directorate General of National Unity and Politics of the Ministry of Home Affairs Number   44/D.III.2/VI/2006 (Kesbangpollinmas, 2017). With the recognition of Hizb ut-Tahrir as a community organization, its ideological movements and missions also have a legitimate place in Indonesia. For about 11 years, Hizb ut-Tahrir has been moving to spread its caliphate ideology. Through Perpu Number 2 of 2017 article 80A (Mahkamah Konstitusi RI, 2017), the government dissolved Hizb ut-Tahrir as a community organization because its movement was against the state's ideology; Pancasila (Hasan & Parmudi, 2018). As a result, Hizb ut-Tahrir in Indonesia was officially dissolved and could no longer carry out ideological activities.

Film: Propaganda and Ideology

Basically, discussions about films cannot be separated from the essence of cinematography. This is because films are not just visual works consisting of a series of images, stories, or narratives within them. Rather, films that are constructed with cinematographic techniques contain a message, idea, emotion, and various non-verbal communication formats that the director wants to convey to the audience (Brown, 2016). This technique is a method commonly used by filmmakers in making films that include angle shots, moving images, image composition, and lighting arrangements. So, these images become a sequence of images that can convey ideas (Ramadhan, 2021). This means that films that display cinematic elements, the series of images within them are not just images but rather information, visual language messages conveyed to the audience.

The film is a work of art that is rich in cultural practices (Corrigan & White, 2004). With a creative combination of music, sound, images, and text, films not only can communicate with the audience (Cloete, 2017), but more than that, films also can restore charm and interest in something irrational (Hjarvard, 2016). One of the most prominent features of the film is its ability to create experiences and produce meaning (Bawono, 2010; Cloete, 2017). This is very possible for two reasons. First, watching films requires the examiner's imagination to be involved in what is seen, heard, and felt (Cloete, 2017). Second, with its narrative power, the film takes the audience on a journey and temporarily pulls them into an alternative world (Cloete, 2017). Therefore, films have the potential to create experiences that can be part of making meaning (Bawono, 2010; Cloete, 2017; Herrmann, 2003). Although the film is entertainment, according to Herrmann (2003) film is a source for interpreting the world and forming meaning. Cloete's (2017) study on religion and films, for example, proves that the act of watching movies can create religious experiences in the audience. Even further, Hjarvard (2016), for example, shows that films are able to become agents of religious change themselves.

As one of the mass communication media, film has been widely used as a propaganda tool (Jason, 2013; Jowett S. & OʹDonnel, 2012; McQuail, 2010), as a deliberate and systematic effort to shape perceptions, control opinions, manipulate cognition, establish attitudes, and direct behavior (Casey, 1950; Jowett S. & OʹDonnel, 2012; Lasswell, 1938; McQuail, 2010).

Propaganda is used as a mechanism to influence public opinion, manipulate emotions, and garner support or rejection (Iorgulescu, 2016). Practically, propaganda works by delivering messages from small groups to larger ones. According to Edward Filene (in Fondren, 2021) there are seven steps to how propaganda works: firstly, Name Calling, which aims to create fear and prejudice through negative words. This technique usually draws conclusions without strong evidence. Secondly, Glittering Generalities works by creating words, phrases, slogans, or statements that are associated with values and beliefs held firmly by the audience without providing supporting information or reasons. Thirdly, Transfer is used to transfer authority and approval from something else to respect what is offered by the propagandist. Fourth, testimonial. This technique associates a respected or experienced person to support a product or endorse or claim an idea put forth. Fifth, Plain Folks. This technique is done by approaching the propagandist as a simple and trusted figure with similar interests as the audience. Sixth, Card Stacking. This technique is used by selecting the best case for the propagandist and the worst for the opponent. Seventh, Bandwagon is used to persuade the audience to follow the crowd.

According to Gary Jason (2013) as a propaganda mechanism, film is seen as one of the most philosophically interesting means of propaganda. Bahkan McQuail (2010) even describes film as a propaganda medium with wide reach, emotional

influence, and popularity, with the ability to manipulate photographic reality in messages without losing credibility. Through its techniques, content, characters, reality, and stories, film can stir the emotions of the audience (Jowett S. & O´Donnel, 2012) placing it as a unique force as a propaganda tool (Jason, 2013).

Jason (2013) discovered in his study "Film and Propaganda: The Lessons of the Nazi Film Industry" how films have been used as a propaganda tool. Jason, through the work of Erwin Leiser, a leading German film historian, found that the Nazis had systematically exploited films to create certain emotional attitudes and beliefs in the German people that would make them support the Nazi agenda to the fullest extent possible. According to Jason (2013) Leiser's film provides a good overview of the clever use of film by the Nazis to promote their agenda. As a powerful tool of propaganda, film has led Germany to develop one of the most sophisticated and successful film industries in the world during the 1920s. Hitler and Goebbels, as noted by Leiser (in Jason, 2013) recognized the power of film as a propaganda mechanism, so after Adolf Hitler became Chancellor in 1933, Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Propaganda Minister, moved quickly to take control of the German film industry. Goebbels established a film school to instruct people in the film industry on how to make films in line with Nazi ideology and forced everyone else in the industry to take classes there.

In Indonesia, movies or films have been used as propaganda media (Alkhajar, Yudinigrum, & Sofyan, 2013; Irawanto, 2004), ideological transmission (Zhafirah, 2013), and Islamization (Heryanto, 2015). Under the control of the Dutch East Indies Government, *Tanah Seberang* film was produced by *Algemeen Nederlandsh-Indisch Film* (ANIF) in 1936, and it was used as a propaganda tool. This film is about praise for the transmigration policy of the Dutch colonial government, which moved some people from Java to Sumatra (Alkhajar et al., 2013). In the era of the Japanese government, Indonesians were only allowed to produce propaganda films, which praised the greatness and usefulness of the presence of the Japanese government (Kurnia, 2006) such as *Singapore Soko Geki* (1940), *Eikoku Koezoeroeroe no Hi* (1942), *Shigun to Sanbi to Hei* (1942), *Nankai No Hanataba* (1942), *Berjoeang* (1943), as well as *Koeli dan Romusha* (1945) (Kirana, 2021). During the independence period, especially the New Order era, under Suharto's control, films became a fairly massive propaganda instrument (Heryanto, 2015). *Janur Kuning* film (1979), *Serangan Fajar* (1981), *Pengkhianatan G 30 September* (1984), *Penumpasan Sisa-sisa PKI di Blitar Selatan* (Trisula Operation) (1986), and *Djakarta* 1966 (1982) can be identified as propaganda films that emphasize excellence, Suharto's success, and virtues, and to discriminate against his political opponents.

Apart from being a medium to inflame the spirit of nationalism like *Laskar Pelangi*; *Sang Pemimpi*; *Merah Putih I*; *Darah Garuda-Merah Putih II*; *Hati Merdeka-Merah Putih III*; *Garuda di Dadaku*; *Garuda di Dadaku 2* and *King* (Heryanto, 2015), films are also used as a medium for planting ideology. A film titled *Si Unyil*, which was produced in the 1980s, can be used as an example of how the state instills ideology through films. Kitley's study (in Mustakim, 2019) found that the film Si Unyil is evidence of the shadow of ideology in PAUD management, where at that time, the government carried out supervision in creating children's characters according to the wishes of the authorities. If Si Unyil represents the ideology of "Pancasila", then the Nussa Animation film, for example, is a film that represents a conservative religious ideology; Salafi. The study done by Mustakim (2019) found that *Nussa Animation* was an ideological product of Salafis that offered piety as the identity of early Muslim children and at the same time as competition to compete with the currents of globalism and secular modernism that occurred in Indonesia.

In recent developments, many Islamic genre films have begun to be produced in Indonesia, which Heryanto (2015) sees as a process of Islamization. This has started since the New Order as seen in Cheurul Umam's works such as the films titled *Al Kautsar* (1977), *Titian Serambut di Belah Tujuh* (1982) *Nada dan Dakwah* (1991) and *Fatahillah* (1997) (Heryanto, 2015). More interestingly, there is a conflict of religious ideology coloring the propaganda film between Christianity and Islam in Indonesia. In 2012 the film *Soegija* appeared, which tells the story of Indonesia's first "indigenous" bishop. The film was accused of being a medium for spreading Christian da'wah in a Muslim-majority country. To compensate for *Soegija*'s film, so that Muslim figures also exist on the screen, the majority (Muslims) of Indonesia launched the film *Sang Pencerah* which tells the story of Ahmad Dahlan's life as the founder of the religious organization Muhammadiyah (Heryanto, 2015).

In the context of Islamization in Indonesia, Islamic films show the success of Muslim figures in dealing with a problem, as seen in the film *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* (2008). This film shows the characters who have never apostatized from leaving their faith. The film offers a middle ground between the image of militant Islamists, widely propagated by Western media and domestic Islamic groups, and pious and devout traditional Muslims of the pre-digital era. In this regard, several films with religious nuances emerged that ideologically competed with *Ayat-Ayat Cinta* film (Heryanto, 2015) misalnya film yang beraliran pot-islamisme seperti film *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban* (2009) (compete to AAC I), *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* (2009) (compete to AAC II and *Perempuan Berkalung Sorban*), *Kiamat Sudah dekat* (2003), *Catatan Si Boy* (1987), *Fitnah* (2008), *Dalam Mihrab Cinta* (2010) and film titled *"?" Tanda Tanya* (2011) (Heryanto, 2015).

Historical Claims of the Islamic Caliphate in Indonesia's Archipelago

The JKDN film is a documentary produced by Khilafah Channel, with a duration of 52.36 minutes and was released on the 1st of Muharram 1442 Hijriah. The film depicts the journey of the Islamic caliphate in the Nusantara kingdoms through the Ottoman Islamic caliphate system. The film's production involved various individuals, including director Muhammad Nicko T. Pandawa, who was directed by the supervisory board of Ust. Ismail Yusanto and Muhammad Arief Yunus, as well as producer Sigit Nur Setiyawan. The film editors were Ifal Gifary and Abintoro, with Akhmad Adiasta and Ian Taryan as narrators, Nur Fajaruddin and Septiawan AW as script consultants, Ifal Gifary and Abintor as drone pilots, and Imam Maulana, Dili Kusmanto, Ifal Gifary, Ridho JS, and Abintor as videographers. Additionally, Guslin was responsible for graphic design in the JKDN film.

Muhammad Nicko Trisakti Pandawa, also known as Nicko Pandawa, is the creator of the documentary film "Jejak Khilafah di Nusantara" (JKDN). He was born on October 1, 1997, in Tangerang, Indonesia. In 2015, he continued his education at Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, one of the state Islamic universities in Jakarta, Indonesia, majoring in Islamic Civilization History at the Faculty of Adab and Humanities. He completed his undergraduate program in 2020 with a thesis entitled "*Pasang Dan Surut Pengaruh Pan-Islamisme Khilafah Utsmaniyyah terhadap Hindia-Belanda Tahun 1882-1928*".

Nicko Pandawa, in addition to being a student at UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, is also a member of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) Chapter UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, as evidenced by his affiliation with the writing entitled "Khilafah and Unreasonable Fear of the Rulers" in LPM Institut (LPM Institut, 2017) and his past activism in Gema Pembebasan UIN Jakarta (Prabowo, 2020). herefore, it is not surprising that Nicko Pandawa's writings and works often discuss issues related to khilafah. Three major works developed by Nicko Pandawa from his thesis were published by the Komunitas Literasi Islam (KLI), namely (i) *Khilafah dan Ketakutan Penjajah Belanda: Riwayat Pan-Islamisme dari Istanbul sampai Batavia 1882-1928* (ii) *Dafatir Sulthaniyah: Munguak Loyalitas Muslimin Jawi untuk Khilafah Ustmaniyah* (iii) *Siyasah Sulthaniyah: Aktivitas Muslimin Jawi dan Khilafah Utsmaniyyah Menentang Penjajah Eropa*.

At the KLI, which sponsored the production of the JKDN film (Detiknews, 2020) Nicko Pandawa has become a regular contributor, filling columns on thought, politics, and history that can be accessed at the following link: https://literasiislam.com. Several of Nicko Pandawa's articles on the issue of the caliphate have been published on the Literasi Islam community, including: *Koalisi Jihad Sultan-Sultan di Nusantara Melawan Penjajah* (Pandawa, 2022i), *Bagaimana Islam Memandang Keagungan Sebuah Peradaban?* (Pandawa, 2022c), *Neo-Sufisme: Mengenal Awal Mula Masuknya Tasawuf di Nusantara* (Pandawa, 2022m), *Mengenal Eksistensi Komunitas Jawi di Tanah Suci* (Pandawa, 2022k), *Mengapa Belanda Mempersulit Ibadah Haji di Masa Kolonial?* (Pandawa, 2022j), *Apa Itu Khilafah? Dapatkah Presiden Disebut Khalifah?* (Pandawa, 2022a), *Benarkah Khilafah Tertolak di Indonesia?* (Pandawa, 2022e), *Napoleon Bonaparte: Bagaimana Pemikiran Barat Menghancurkan Umat Islam?* (Pandawa, 2022l), *Bagaimana Orang Singapura Tempo Doeloe Memandang Khilafah dan Jihad?* (Pandawa, 2022d), *Apa yang Salah dengan Nasionalisme?* (Pandawa, 2022b), *Perang Dunia di Abad ke-16: Manuver Politik dan Militer Sultan Sulaiman Al-Qanuni di Nusantara* (Pandawa, 2022p), *Perang Dunia Abad Ke-16: Kisah Para Ghazi: Pembentukan Aliansi Jihad Kaum Muslimin Di Samudra Hindia* (Pandawa, 2022o), *Perang Dunia Abad Ke-16: Benarkah Kolonialisme Eropa Disebabkan oleh Pembebasan*

Konstantinopel? (Pandawa, 2022n), *Kapan Khilafah Mulai Bergabung dengan Keluarga Eropa dan Mengadopsi Hukum Publiknya?* (Pandawa, 2022g), *Ketika Snouck Hurgronje Menyabotase Surat Untuk Khilafah* (Pandawa, 2022h), *Bukan Soekarno, Apalagi Tan Malaka. Mengenal Van Heutsz: Bapak Nasionalisme Indonesia Sesungguhnya* (Pandawa, 2022f), *Ketika Jawara Betawi Syahid Sambil Memanggul Bendera Khilafah* (Pandawa, 2021b) dan *Jejak Khilafah Di Nusantara: Konspirasi Inggris Menghentikan Bantuan Khilafah Dari Singapura* (Pandawa, 2021a). Other articles by Nicko Pandawa on the issue of the caliphate can be accessed on his personal blog at the following link:http://nickopandawa.blogspot.com.

As a film, JKDN reveals several pieces of evidence regarding the relationship of the Islamic caliphate in the Middle East and Turkey with Indonesia's archipelago (Detiknews, 2020; Nugraha, 2020). The tombstones of the Abbasid family in Aceh, the caliph's correspondence with the monarchs of the archipelago, diplomatic contacts (military collaboration), and the influence of the Islamic caliphate on the spread of Islam in Indonesia's archipelago are among the historical evidence presented as reasons (Pandawa, 2020). These historical traces constituted the principal basis for the producer of JKDN's assertion that the Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago submitted and took bai'at straight from the Islamic caliphate in the Middle East and Turkey (Nasrullah, 2020).

Seven episodes serve as the basis for JKDN's existence of historical parallels between the archipelago and the Khilafah Islamiyah. First, the period of the Umayyad Caliphate and Srivijaya (717-720). In this period, the development of the Muslims under the rule of *Khulafaur Rashidin* controlled the sea routes for trade activities. The control of trade is marked by the control of strategic ports in the Indian Ocean, such as in India and China. The expansion of business gave birth to diplomatic and commercial relations with a number of Indian and Chinese kingdoms (Tang Dynasty), which lasted until the reign of the Umayyads.

For this trade expansion, according to the JKDN film that trade activities by sea, the caliph's envoys crossed the archipelago, which became the link between the Middle East and East Asia. The link is "Sribuza"; the Arabs called the Sriwijaya Kingdom as a transit center for Arab traders who wanted to continue their trading journey. On this basis, JKDN argues that if this is the case, then "of course the rulers of the Sriwijaya Kingdom (Sri Indrawarman) are aware of the existence of Muslim traders who stop by in their territory".

> The fact that the Kingdom, which was led by Maharaja Sri Indrawarman, had communication with the Umayyad State, sent two letters, the contents of which were from the King by sending an army of a thousand elephants and so on. Shows from the correspondence for centuries that there is a caliphate relationship with the archipelago. And historically, it was very logical at that time the world's superpower was the caliphate (Moeflich Hasbullah, Muslim historian, resource person, JKDN).

Second, the relationship between the Abbasid caliphate and the Samudera Pasai Sultanate (1258-1413). In this period, it is reported that there were descendants of the Abbasid caliphate who were buried in the Samudera Pasai Kingdom such as the tomb of Shadrul Akabir 'Abdullah bin Muhammad Al-'Abbasiy, the descendants of Caliph Al-Muntashir Billah, Siti Rahiman Muadhon bint Malikul, and Shadrul Akabir Yusuf bin Abdullah bin Abbasiy. The three descendants of the Abbasids are buried in the same complex. Sukma Putra, who was one of the speakers for the JKDN film, said;

> The most monumental and the biggest one here (Aceh) we see is a figure who has the title of Asharul Al-Kabir or the guardian of the dignitaries who are at the same level as the prime minister. His name was Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Abdul Qadir bin Abdul Aziz bin al-Mansur abi Za'far al-Abbsih. Which is his genetics from al-Mansur himself, the great-grandfather of Abdullah, a caliph from the Abbasids (Sukarna Putra, Tomb Keeper, Resource Person, JKDN).

Nicko Pandawa reinforces this fact by quoting the work of Ibn Bathutha; *Tufathur Nhadzar* that the father of Shadrul Akabir 'Abdullah bin Muhammad Al-'Abbasiy who was in Pasai, namely Muhammad bin 'Abdul Qadir had been a Governor in the Indian region. He was highly respected, obeyed, and glorified by the sultans in India because of the descendants of the Abbasid Caliph. In another history, according to Nicko Pandawa, the sultans in India also took allegiance to the Abbasid caliph in Egypt. While on the other hand, the sultans in India have close relations with Samudera Pasai. On this basis, the JKDN film claims that the Samudera Pasai Kingdom led by Sultan Malikul Saleh Aceh has also pledged allegiance to the

Abbasid caliph in Egypt.

Third, is the period of the caliphate's relationship with Pasai and Walisongo's da'wah in Java (1419-1475). In the JKDN film, it is told that the actor of the spread of Islam in Java was the envoy of the Kingdom of Samudera Pasai who took allegiance directly to the Islamic caliphate, namely Maulana Malik Ibrahim or known as Sunan Gresik. Maulana Malik Ibrahim is told as one of the actors who had a high position in the Kingdom of Samudera Pasai, and was sent directly to spread Islam in Java with the title *Umdatus Salatin wal Wuzara* or Foundation of Sultans and Hemorrhoids. In JKDN film, it is stated that the title obtained by Maulana Malik Ibrahim is the title of the deputy sultan of Samudera Pasai, Aceh. Niko Pandawa said that;

> Many people from this Sultanate (Samudera Pasai) took allegiance directly to the Islamic caliphate. Many people in Pasai immigrated to other parts of Indonesia. For example, if we pay attention, the oldest tomb is one of the oldest graves in Java, which is now located in Gresik. Who that person is Maulana Malik Ibrahim. Maulana Malik Ibrahim, if we look at the tomb in Gresik, the style is exactly the same as the tombs in Pasai, Aceh. Now this is proof that Sunan Gresik was once in Pasai, he was Maulana Malik Ibrahim who later became known as Sunan Gresik and was one of Walisongo (Nicko Pandawa, Director, Resource Person, JKDN).

Fourth the period of the first Islamic State in Java. In the JKDN film, the first Islamic kingdom in Java was the Demak Kingdom which was founded by the son of the Majapahit Kingdom couple, namely Brawijaya V and a Chinese princess named Princess Jimbun alias Raden Patah. In 1478 the fifth Brawijaya was overthrown by its competitors, namely Girindrawardhana and Fatih Udara. This condition made Raden Patah and all elements of Islam in Java led by Walisongo rise to jihad against Girindrawardhana and his successor Fatih Udara. With the victory on the part of Raden Patah, the Sultanate of Demak was proclaimed the first Islamic State in Java in 1482. For his success, Raden Fatah was given the title *Senapati Jimbun Ningrat Abdurrahman Panembahan Palembang Sayidin Panatagama* or with his title in Arabic *Sultan Syah Alam Akbar al-Fatah*.

JKDN film claims that establishing the Demak Kingdom as the first sovereign Islamic State in Java has strengthened Islamic political bargaining in the Indonesia's archipelago (Pandawa, 2020). The Sultanate of Samudera Pasai in Sumatra, the Sultanate of Malacca in the Malay Peninsula, the Sultanate of Brunei in Borneo, the Sultanate of Sulu in the Philippines, and the Sultanate of Ternate in Maluku under the leadership of Sultan Zainal Abidin, who had studied in Java under the guidance of Sunan Giri. All of these sultanates had pledged allegiance to the Ottoman caliphate (Pandawa, 2020).

Fifth was the period of the emergence of European colonialism (1492-1575). During this time period, the film JKDN depicts the Christian Spanish colonization of Islamic Andalusia. While Portuguese Christian invaders occupied the Indian Ocean and the Indonesian Archipelago, the Indian Ocean and the Indonesian Archipelago remained independent. During the same time period, however, JKDN film describes the triumph of an Ottoman monarch who was not of Arab descent, specifically Sultan Salim, in capturing and ruling Egypt, Syria, and the Hejaz from the Mamluk Empire. It is thought that the strength of the Ottoman rulers will aid in the fight against Portuguese imperialism in the archipelago. This notion is supported by the assertion that every Muslim territory was a member of the Ottoman Caliphate. Salman Iskandar, who was the film's source, stated:

> Likewise, when the Muslims of the Archipelago were zapped by colonialism and imperialism carried out by infidel invaders, be it Portuguese, Spanish, British, French, or Dutch. Muslims who were in the Middle East (Ottoman) at that time still had the sole leadership for the world, namely, khilafah, which also pays attention to, supports, and participates in fighting for the liberation or independence of the Muslim nation in the archipelago (Salman Iskandar, Muslim Historian, Resource Person, JKDN).

Sixth, the period of the Aceh Sultanate. The JKDN film is about the rise of the first Aceh Sultanate led by Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah. Sultan Ali Mughayat Syah or known as Sultan Ali al-Asyid was the sultan who made the first Darul Islam in Sumatra. When the leadership of the Sultanate of Aceh was under Sultan Alauddin Ri'ayat Syah al-Kahar, this sultanate received military assistance from the Ottoman Caliphate to seize the port controlled by the Portuguese in Malacca.

During the reign of Sultan Alauddin Ri'ayat Syah al-Kahar, Aceh launched a massive attack on Malacca to destroy

the Portuguese. These attacks were carried out in 1537, 1564, and 1568. In the third attack in 1568, a giant fleet of 15 thousand ghazi Acehnese 400 janissaries from the Ottoman Caliphate, and 200 monster cannons made by Ottoman weapons experts went directly to Malacca under the command of the Ottoman Empire. Sultan Alauddin Ri'ayat Shah al-Kahar. The Portuguese, entrenched in Malacca, was completely overwhelmed and fell apart when Acehnese troops repeatedly attacked them.

Seventh, the Ternate Ottoman alliance period 1570-1575. During this period, the JKDN film tells about the existence of the Ottoman military cooperation with the Sultanate of Ternate. This collaboration was carried out against Portuguese soldiers hiding in the forts of Ternate for 5 years (1570-1575). Under the leadership of Sultan Babullah, and with the help of 20 weapons experts from the Ottomans, the Sultanate of Ternate succeeded in making the Portuguese troops surrender.

Sultan Babullah employed about 20 military experts from the Ottoman Caliphate. These Ottomans made these supplies of weapons. And they taught the Maluku people the troops of Sultan Babullah to make weapons (Nicko Pendawa, Director, Resource Person, JKDN).

Based on the preceding statements, the JKDN film producer asserts definitely that the archipelago is a region with a caliphate history and a strong relationship under one leadership, namely the Islamic caliphate's authority.

Ideological Diction and Symbols of Locality in the Traces of the Islamic Khilafah in the Archipelago

JKDN films are filled with a choice of ideological diction. Ideological diction is repeated in every historical claim of the Islamic caliphate in the archipelago. The dictions are first, caliphate (*khilafah*), second, caliph (*khalifah)*, third, *bai'at*, fourth, *Darul Islam*, fifth, *leadership*, sixth, *da'wah*, and seventh *jihad*. The diction of the Khilafah is repeated 32 times, Caliph 18 mentions, Bai'at 10 mentions, Darul Islam 9 times, Leadership 8 mentions, Da'wah 8 mentions and Jihad 6 times. Placement and distribution of diction and words in the JKDN can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: Ideological Diction on JKDN Film

Dictions	Minutes	Total
Caliphate / Khilafah	01:04, 01:38, 01:48, 02:16, 02:38, 02:46, 05:20, 06:10, 06:12, 06:24, 06:28, 06:41, 06:55, 07:09, 09:50, 10:02, 10:04, 10:14, 10:21, 11:33, 11:42, 12:41, 13:13, 18:34, 18:41, 18:50, 24:19, 34:20, 34:38, 34:52, 48:58, 51:38	32 times
Caliph / Khalifah	05:47, 06:19, 06:31, 09:59, 11:45, 12:19, 13:46, 14:01, 15:02, 16:03, 16:57, 17:00, 17:14, 19:28, 32:48, 33:25, 35:58, 45:29	18 times
Bai'at	17:13, 17:28, 17:33, 17:57, 18:12, 18:23, 19:06, 23:06, 24:18, 45:26	10 times
Darul Islam	14:05, 19:15, 20:29, 21:12, 27:28, 41:15, 47:08, 50:32, 50,46	9 times
Leadership	04:09, 05:21, 06:29, 06:07, 12:38, 32:54, 34:18, 51:32	8 times
Da'wah	06:57, 18:52, 18:58, 21:17, 21:24, 22:56, 24:20, 25:24	8 times
Jihad	06:28, 26:39, 26:46, 36:14, 49:38, 51:30	6 times

In addition to the use of diction, the JKDN film also uses local symbols to strengthen the claim of the caliphate trail. In the JKDN film, the term "Indonesia" uses the word "Nusantara" more. The archipelago is described as an archipelago that has a strategic position and has abundant resources. As for his life, the Indonesia's archipelago is described as an area that is still shrouded in darkness and untouched by Islam.

Jauh di sebelah Timur terhampar sebuah kepulauan yang teramat luas wilayahnya. Masing-masing pulau ini begitu

hijau hutannya. Mata air mengalir begitu derasnya, disertai kekayaan alam yang melimpah ruah jumlahnya, baik di bawah maupun di atas tanah, baik sebelum maupun selepas pantai. Negeri itu dikenal sebagai Nusantara. Diapit oleh dua benua dan dua samudera, amatlah strategis posisi wilayah Nusantara, menjadikan ia pelabuhan dagang yang ramai, tempat bertemunya bangsa-bangsa dunia. Kala itu belumlah penduduk Nusantara mengenal Islam, sementara kehidupan mereka sedang diselimuti oleh kegelapan. Namun, tatkala Islam sedang membara di timur tengah tentu sampailah pengaruhnya ke Nusantara.

English version: Far to the east lies an archipelago that is very wide in the territory. Each of these islands is so green the forest. The springs flow so fast, accompanied by abundant natural wealth, both below and above the ground before and after the coast. The country is known as Nusantara. Flanked by two continents and two oceans, the archipelago's position is very strategic, making it a bustling trading port, a meeting place for the world's nations. At that time, the archipelago people did not know Islam, and their lives were being shrouded in darkness. However, when Islam was smoldering in the Middle East, of course, its influence came to the archipelago

The JKDN film also tells that the connection between Islam and the archipelago did not originate from Gujarat in the 12-15th century AD. By citing the opinion of the great cleric of the archipelago, namely Buya Hamka, JKDN used Hamka's view as a basis for bringing the archipelago closer to the Islamic caliphate. Salman Iskandar, who was the resource person for the JKDN film,

> I want to quote what Buya Hamka has said in his book from the Old Treasury, including his book entitled "History of the Islamic Ummah that in fact, the theory that we know that Islam entered the archipelago originated from Gujarat in the 12-15th century AD., that's actually not entirely correct. Cause what? Because Buya Hamka has views or explanations regarding when Islam actually entered the archipelago Indonesia. He stated that Islam entered the archipelago long before the Gujarat theory (Salman Iskandar, Muslim Historian, Resource Person, JKDN).

The JKDN film also uses many local symbols and instruments as a historical frame for the Islamic caliphate in the archipelago. Locality elements such as the mention of Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago, temples, and the use of music are deliberately capitalized for the purpose of supporting the ideology of the Islamic caliphate. The kingdoms of the archipelago that are used as a reference to see the history of the Islamic caliphate in the archipelago are the Sriwijaya Kingdom 712-720, the Sumatra Pasai Sultanate 1258-1413, the Demak Kingdom 1419-1475, the Aceh Sultanate, the Ternate Kingdom 1570-1575, the Majapahit Kingdom.
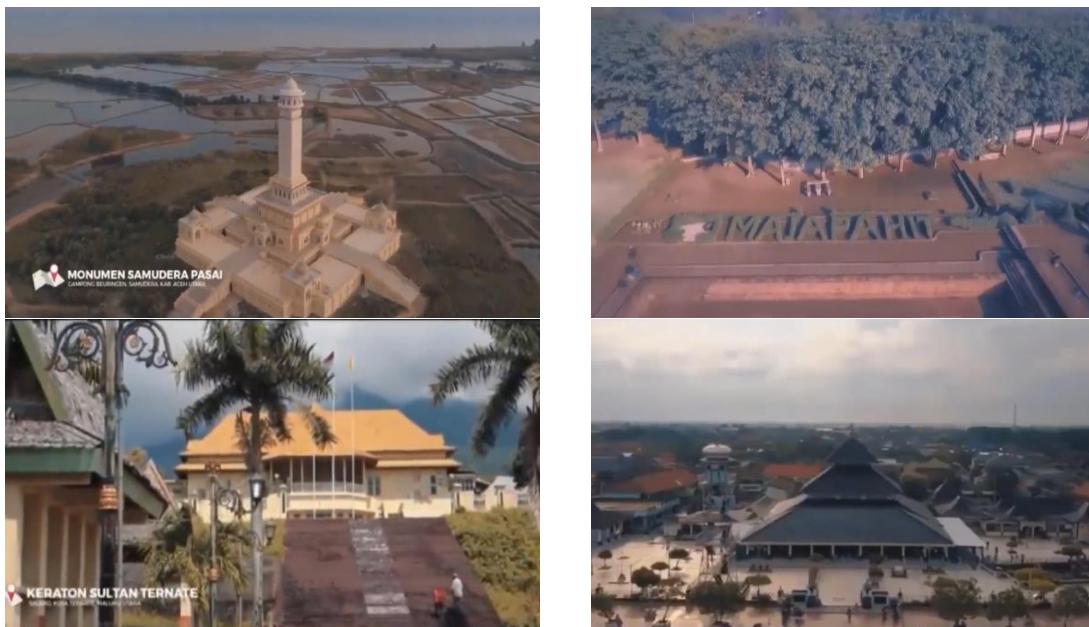

Figure 1: The Islamic Kingdoms of the Archipelago in the JKDN Movie

Borobudur Temple (Buddhist), Prambanan Temple (Hinduism) and several Javanese practices or rituals as shown in Figure 2 became JKDN's choice to track the connection of the Islamic caliphate with the archipelago.

Figure 2: Archipelago Locality Symbols in JKDN Film

In addition to kingdoms, temples, and rituals, Nusantara music is an essential support for JKDN in building the historical narrative of the Islamic caliphate in the archipelago. JKDN uses Nusantara music as the soundtrack to the track record of the caliphate in the archipelago. JKDN uses two Nusantara genre music, namely Gamelan music and Lir-Ilir music. Gamelan music is used at 07.00 minutes, while Lir-ilir is used at 22.18 minutes.

The Absurdity of the Historical Narrative of the Islamic Caliphate in the Archipelago

This research indicates that Hizbut-Tahrir utilizes the JKDN film to construct a historical narrative that draws parallels between the Islamic kingdoms in the Nusantara region and the caliphate in the Middle East. Through this historical narrative, the JKDN film aims to assert that the Nusantara kingdoms once adhered to the Islamic caliphate system. Secondly, the film also employs the cultural resources of the Nusantara region as an alternative narrative to promote the ideology of the Islamic caliphate. The findings of this study reflect that, first, Hizb ut-Tahrir is trying to build a collective awareness that Indonesia, which was once an archipelago, has become part of the Islamic caliphate system. Second, by framing the narrative of the Islamic caliphate with cultural symbols, Hizbut-Tahrir is adapting its ideology to the culture of the archipelago.

The choice of film as a medium for transforming the ideology of the caliphate, Hizbut-Tahrir is creating a liminal space (Demartoto, 2020) as a new home, where the ideology of the caliphate is reproduced. The JKDN film as a production space for the caliphate ideology is a strategic choice, considering first, a film with a strong narrative (Browne, 1997) have the ability to communicate in moving awareness. Second, because watching movies requires the audience's imagination to be involved in what they see, hear, and feel (Cloete, 2017), then the film goes beyond its cognitive limits to become a creator of experiences that can be part of the production of meaning (Herrmann, 2003; Cloete, 2017; Bawono, 2010). Third, the film is not limited to an industry but also as a mental machine, where the audience consumes a certain ideology through what they watch (Bawono, 2010). For this reason, it is reasonable for JKDN to be used as a mediator to communicate the ideology of the Islamic caliphate by using cultural resources as an alternative narrative.

As Browne (1997) mentions that films with their narrative power take the audience on a journey, the JKDN film brings the history of the nation's journey to a phase, where the archipelago has a historical relationship with the history of the Islamic caliphate. These historical narratives are assembled to build a collective memory that the Islamic caliphate has strong historical roots in Indonesia. The message that JKDN wants to convey is that the ideology of the Islamic caliphate is contextual, factual, and realistic for Indonesia. This logic finds its basis because films have the ability to return the charm and attraction to something irrational (Hjarvard, 2016) o be rational.

Adapting local sources as a basis, Hizbut-Tahrir is negotiating the caliphate's ideological character, which is not friendly to local authorities (Aksa, 2017) with the cultural character of the archipelago. By mixing various elements that bridge the two elements (Aldea, 2006); Khilafah ideology and locality are strategic choices in easing tensions between Hizb ut-Tahrir

and the state. Indeed, by incorporating elements of locality such as temples, artifacts, music, and various local traditions into the narrative of the Islamic caliphate, Hizb ut-Tahrir is trying to rebuild their identity.

In this context, it can be understood why the JKDN film introduces the kingdoms of Sriwijaya, the Sultanate of Sumatra Pasai, the Demak Kingdom, the Aceh Sultanate, the Ternate Kingdom, the Majapahit Kingdom, Borobudur Temple, Prambanan Temple, Gamelan music, and Lir-Ilir as an integral part of the Islamic caliphate. These kingdoms, temples, and music are used as symbols by Hizbut Tahrir to present themselves and how they want to be perceived, judged, and recognized. Ideally, through these local symbols that they want to present or highlight, the identity that they are trying to convey is one where the khilafah ideology is adaptable to cultural sources. This is done because the easiest way to obtain and recognize an identity is by trying to undergo the process of identification (Shalihin, 2016). Therefore, kingdoms, temples, and music are used as objects of identification in order to strengthen the identity of the Khilafah ideology so that it is recognized by others. Hence, the use of cultural attributes becomes very important for Hizbut Tahrir in transmitting the Khilafah ideology as well as influencing people to recognize and accept the ideology. Symbols are like homes where meanings reside, and meanings greatly require places such as cultural symbols, ethnicity, clothing, and others, such as text, and sound (Shalihin, 2016).

The choice to use a cultural adaptation strategy is a logical (Shalihin & Sholihin, 2022) one considering that cultural symbols have significant power to evoke collective memory and move public participation (Shalihin, 2014). According to Barnnet (1998) culture makes life and the world understandable, culture makes everything speak, and it is culture that fundamentally shapes and determines social life (Shalihin, Darmaiza, Sholihin, & Yusuf, 2023).

Two things fall from framing the ideology of the caliphate with elements of locality into the narrative of the Islamic caliphate. First, this framing is a form of reciprocity or resistance of Hizb ut-Tahrir to state treatment (Sayuti, 2008). The reason for the prohibition of Hizb ut-Tahrir in Indonesia is because the ideology of the Islamic caliphate is considered threatening and contradicts the state ideology of Pancasila (Aly, 2018; Muhsin, 2019). Due to the weak position of Hizb ut-Tahrir in the face of state domination, the *"hidden transcript"* resistance model (Scott, 2000) is more likely and realistic to be carried out by Hizb ut-Tahrir as a subordinate group. Second, this framing is also a mobilization strategy to gain ideological support (Klandermans, 1997). Choosing the JKDN film as the third space (Aldea, 2006; Bhabha, 1994) to negotiate identity, Hizb ut-Tahrir seems to be reformulating their identity. The locale of the archipelago's imitation of a new identity was exploited to lend a sense of adaptability, contextuality, and history to the ideology of the Islamic caliphate. Thus, the ideology of the Islamic caliphate is neither inflexible nor in opposition to the concept of Pancasila (Kurniawan, 2019).

In this context, it can be understood that disclosing the historical parallels of the Islamic caliphate with the Islamic kingdoms in the archipelago aims to build awareness and romanticism so that the ideology of the Islamic caliphate can be felt and accepted. This choice became a rational choice for Hizb ut-Tahrir to collectively create imaginative memories of the Islamic caliphate (Qiu, 2019). It's just that the romance becomes absurd and obscures the truth. Because even though film has the ability to create reality, at the same time, it also distorts reality itself (Lyden, 2003). That is because the historical reality of the Islamic caliphate in the archipelago is actually an ideological cloak; what appears is not the historical reality but a historical illusion.

The JKDN film portrays the idea of khilafah in Indonesia or Nusantara, which is not supported by the historian Azyumardi Azra. He states that there is no evidence of a khilafah in this region as claimed by the Hizbut Tahrir supporters (Ferdiansyah, 2020). Azra believes that the Islamic caliphate only applied during the leadership of the Rashidun Caliphs, namely Abu Bakr as-Siddiq, Umar bin Khattab, Uthman bin Affan, and Ali bin Abi Talib, not under the Abbasid, Umayyad, and Ottoman dynasties as conveyed in the JKDN film (TvOne, 2020).

Filolog Oman Fatturrahman explained in the program "Dialog Sejarah: Khilafah di Nusantara, benarkah Ada Jejaknya?" (Historia.id, 2020) that among the sultanates in the Nusantara region (Aceh, Palembang, Java, and Cirebon), there are no manuscripts that indicate these kingdoms were part of the Ottoman caliphate, if they could even be considered as such (BincangSyariah, 2020). According to Oman, during that time, in order to establish or build a khilafah system in the

Nusantara region, there had to be approval, bai'at or an oath of allegiance from the Ottoman Empire to the Sultan who was considered as the khilafah. However, this did not happen in the Nusantara region, where there was only diplomatic relations between the Aceh Sultanate and the Ottoman Empire (Rifaldi, 2020).

Azra argues that the JKDN film produced by Hizbut Tahrir is a forced historical narrative (Inisiatifnews, 2020; UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2020) and an attempt at manipulating history made as romantic as possible with the goal of deceiving people who are not knowledgeable about history (Mahamid, 2022). According to the English historian Peter Carey, the JKDN film lacks a solid historical foundation and relies solely on imagination, and therefore it is not history but propaganda (Detik.com, 2020).

Based on the above, the historical narrative of the Islamic caliphate in the archipelago becomes an absurd narrative. A historical narrative that is built on the logic of the absence of a relationship between what is and what should be (Arinze & Onwuatuegwu, 2020) which Eric Form calls the breaking of the connecting link that unites two things (Formm, 1969) because the two poles do not have a the same link (Arinze & Onwuatuegwu, 2020).

Hizbut-Tahrir's use of film as a production space for the ideology of the Islamic caliphate not only creates an absurd and illusory history and creates ambivalent conditions. The ambivalence occurred because, at the time, Hizb ut-Tahrir made the JKDN film space for resistance to the dominant ideology in Indonesia. So, at the same time, JKDN films as part of popular culture have hegemonized and eroded the identity of Hizb ut-Tahrir. Because as a transnational organization that is anti-western products, Hizb ut-Tahrir is forced to redefine itself as a result of the development of globalization (Mujahiduddin, 2012; Ward, 2009).

This ambivalence cannot be avoided because the use of popular culture such as films in Indonesia is an implication of globalization. It's just that when referring to Trihastutie's (2014), study, where films are used for economic and industrial interests, Hizb ut-Tahrir instead uses films as a medium of resistance and mobilization of the ideology of the Islamic caliphate.

Conclusion

The findings of this research demonstrate that the assertion made in JKDN film that the Islamic kingdoms in Nusantara pledged their allegiance directly to the Islamic caliphate is founded on a historical account in which the Islamic kingdoms in Nusantara were historically linked to the caliphate in the Middle East that followed the Islamic caliphate system. The JKDN film became a liminal space for Hizb ut-Tahrir to transform the Islamic caliphate's ideology. Adapting the ideology of the Islamic caliphate with cultural resources is part of Hizbut-Tahrir's strategy to mobilize ideological support so that the ideology of the Islamic caliphate can be accepted. Framing the Islamic caliphate's narrative with the archipelago's treasures, Hizbut Tahrir, through the JKDN film wants to say that Indonesia has a historical relationship with the Islamic caliphate. Hizbut-Tahrir builds a narrative of absurdity about Indonesia being part of the Islamic caliphate on this historical foundation.

Footnotes

[1]"Fakta Politik" 147.116 times viewed, "JKDN Production" 14.454 times viewed, "Ensiklopedia Islam" 15.262 times viewed, "Dakwah 1453" 2.300 times viewed, "Syafaat TV" 3.328 times viewed, "Rayah TV" 41. 305 times viewed, "Opposite6890" 10.394 times viewed "Majelis Positif" 533 times viewed, "Calon Mujahid" 946 times viewed, "Bengkulu Beriman" 6.453 times viewed, "Khopiah Chanel" 2.047 times viewed, "Dakwah Giri" 647 times viewed, "Mejelis Ta'lim Miftahul Muttaqin" 309 times viewed. Data obtained from 20 Agustus 2020 to 01 Mei 2022.

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