

Palestinian Independence and Religious Extremism: Using the Palestinian Issue as a *Khilafah Islamiyah* Propaganda Tool on Instagram

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ABSTRACT

Israel's attack on the Gaza area has become a major human rights issue that has attracted public attention. The genocide, which began on October 7, 2023, has claimed thousands of innocent lives. All Muslims in the world sympathize with the disaster that occurred in Palestine. However, this sympathy is vulnerable to being infiltrated by religious radicalism movements, especially those related to opinions spread on social media. Therefore, this research focuses on looking at these potentials. This research is empirical research using netnographic data collection by the hashtag #khilafah on Instagram. Based on this search, an account was found with the name @bultendakwahkaffah, which is an Instagram account for online bulletins spreading propaganda for the *Khilafah Islamiyah* movement. The propaganda spread by this account revolves around the implementation of an Islamic caliphate, which can guarantee the implementation of Palestinian independence. The form of *Khilafah Islamiyah* as a representation of the unity of the Muslim ummah will liberate Palestine from Israeli colonialism, relying on the unity of all Muslims in the world and the implementation of Islamic law. The author also found that the account in question was affiliated with the ideologies of the Hizbut Tahrir organization, which was disbanded by the government in 2017. The Palestinian issue, which is full of humanity, really attracts the sympathy of the wider community. By hiding behind humanitarian issues, it is feared that the Islamic caliphate movement, which has long been a problem, will attract sympathy from many people on social media.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Recently, the concept of Khilafah Islamiyah (Islamic caliphate) has reappeared after a number of Muslim groups have voiced the importance of ofining the state on the basis of Shariah. It was triggered by a number of failures by secular nationalists in managing the country. In Indonesia, the slogans that direct and demand the establishment of a government on the basis of the caliphate, among others, are introduced by the HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia). Among the slogans that they often use and many that are written on pamphlets or banners that are spread is that "it is time for caliphate to lead the world with Shariah." Their requirement is that the state form uses the caliphate model while the organizer of the state or government is based on Islamic sharia.

As a country with a national consensus of the "four national pillars," Indonesia must uphold Pancasila, UUD 1945, NKRI, and Bhineka Tunggal Ika. Pancasila, as a gift of the One God, became the adhesive of the nation and the ideology of the state. The privilege of Indonesia lies in the uniqueness of Pancasila which is not owned by any other country. However, Pancasila is currently facing the threat of an anti-Pancasila organization seeking to replace it with another ideology. There are also attempts to turn the Republic of Indonesia into a caliphate state, where Pancasila is considered an unreliable concept. In the face of this challenge, it is important to unite and uphold the values of Pancasila as a common foundation for the entire Indonesian society.[1]

The establishment of the Islamic caliphate by a particular group has always been identified with the movement of radicalism. Religious radicalism is religious behavior that demands a drastic change by taking a harsh character aimed at achieving certain goals.[2] Radicalism can also be said to be a notion made by a group of people who want drastic social and political change or reform using violent means. However, if seen from a religious perspective, it can be interpreted as a religious ideology that refers

to a very basic religious foundation with very high religious fanaticism, so it is not uncommon for adherents of this ideology to use violence against people who have different beliefs to actualize their religious understanding by force in order to be accepted.[3] In this context, religious radicalism through the establishment of the Islamic caliphate is a serious threat to the integrity of the NKRI based on pluralism.

The author intends to explore further the discussion of the Islamic caliphate on Instagram, by looking at the hashtag (#) of the Khilafah. Through it, the author found an Instagram account named @buletindakwahkaffah that always voiced the establishment of an Islamic caliphate on social media. What is worse, the spread of the caliphate idea is accompanied and explained by recent issues that capture the sympathy of many people, namely, concerning Palestine. Setia said the issue of violence against Uighur Muslims in Myanmar was also used by the Islamic caliphate movement to spread its ideology.[4] Their involvement in factual humanitarian issues has been used by them to attract the interest of the general public.

The problem did not just stop at that stage, other concerns were directed at the propaganda that was voiced by @buletindakwahkaffah about the establishment of the Islamic caliphate. Such ideology was spread through the #aksibelapalestina narrative on Instagram. It is increasingly demonstrating the propaganda that is being carried out using the question of Palestine. Therefore, the author intends to explore the concept of propaganda that appears in the @buletindakwahkaffah account on the issue of the caliphate and Palestine, while also uncovering the "mastermind" behind the propaganda narrative. The purpose of this study is only to answer these two issues, and to give the public an idea that Islamic caliphate propaganda can enter the breaches of Palestinian humanitarian issues so that people can be careful.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Research on Islamic caliphate propaganda in society has been studied by Paelani. He revealed that former HTI members in the town of Bandung are still carrying out Islamic caliphate propaganda. The spread of propaganda is carried out in two ways, namely through the use of print media and social media. They can take advantage of certain political momentum to attract public interest in the issues discussed because all the latest events must be explained with the invitation to uphold the Islamic caliphate. Sometimes they make fake news and satire that contains disinformation in their propaganda.[5]

Muthohirin also contributed to highlighting the movement of radical groups in Indonesia. He specifically looked at the intensity of radical propaganda in social media, especially related to the Islamic caliphate. Radical groups use social media as propaganda sites because they target young people. It jeopardizes the existence of Pancasila's ideology. Young people who make up the majority of the population could have been exposed to the propaganda of radicalism that is broadcast in an attractive way on social media. Therefore, governments should consider ways of deradicalization that place social media as their object.[6]

3. METHODS

This research falls into the category of empirical research with netnographic data excavation. Netnography is a method of data excavation that puts the visual media as its object, as well as digging into the life of the virtual world. Netnography research is used to look at the forms of propaganda with the hashtag (#) Khilafah di Instagram. Then the netnographic method focuses on @Buletindakwahkaffah posts, to analyze the propaganda of the Islamic caliphate in that account.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 *Social Media as Propaganda Tool*

Etymologically, according to the definition of the Indonesian Dictionary, propaganda can be understood as an attempt to illustrate an understanding, view, or opinion, both right and wrong.[7] This propaganda was developed with the aim of persuading many people to adopt a certain course of thought, attitude, or direction of action. Generally, propaganda also involves excessive promises. In other literature, propaganda is meant to be the systematic dissemination of specific doctrines or fabricated statements. It reflects a certain stream of thought, view, or interest.[8]

Barnays, as Shoelhi quotes, describes modern propaganda as a consistent and sustained effort to create or shape events in order to influence public perception of an enterprise or group. Because the concept of propaganda has unclear boundaries, a number of communications experts have different opinions about the definition of propaganda. Some argue that persuasive communication can basically be considered a form of propaganda communication, while others argue only dishonest messages can be placed in the category of propaganda.[8]

Nevertheless, in a narrower sense, propaganda is often confined to the dissemination of false information aimed at consolidating beliefs already held by the majority of people. The assumption is, if a person believes something that is not true, then they tend to have doubts. These doubters then become a source of anxiety for the individual, encouraging them to enthusiastically reject the belief, and as a result, they become more open to the views expressed by the authority. It's no surprise that propaganda often uses convincing but untrue message delivery techniques. These messages are generally trapped in the wrong logic because the propagandist focuses on his efforts to persuade, without worrying about the validity of the message.[9]

Theoretically, propaganda is divided into several types, including:[8]

4.1.1 According to the Method

According to the method, propaganda can be classified into two main

types: coercive propaganda and persuasive propaganda. Coercive propaganda refers to propaganda that is applied through the method of threat or violence, similar to the concept of propaganda by the deed. The purpose of this propaganda is to make the target feel motivated to take certain actions in response to feelings of fear, threat, or anxiety. These feelings are triggered by messages that convey certain sanctions, such as fear of losing a job or a livelihood, desertion, expulsion, suffering, and other negative feelings. On the other hand, persuasive propaganda is a kind of propaganda that uses the method of delivering messages to create a sense of interest, so that the target of propaganda feels happy and willing to do something. The method is more persuasive and aims to arouse the interest and positive involvement of propaganda targets

4.1.2 According to the System

When referring to the system of categorization, propaganda can be divided into two main categories: symbolic interaction propaganda and propaganda by deed. Symbolic interaction propaganda relies on symbols of communication that have meaning, such as oral or written language, images, and signals that have been designed in such a way as to evoke an emotional response from the propaganda target. In the meantime, propaganda by deed is a kind of propaganda that uses real action to force the target to receive the message and act according to the propaganda desire. In this method, real deeds become the main means of communicating propaganda messages and motivating targets to act as expected.

Recently, the term "propaganda" has also often been used as a form of "soft power" to modify and influence public opinion through relatively less transparent channels, as well as through lobbying efforts through powerful political and non-political organizations. The media plays a vital role in the dissemination of propaganda messages, and one of the media that is often used for this activity is the mass media. The role of mass media in disseminating propaganda is

recognized as highly effective in influencing public views and perceptions.[10]

Compared to traditional propaganda tools, social media has become one of the means that provides significant advantages. The main advantage of social media is its low cost or even free use, making it an efficient choice for information dissemination or propaganda creators. Furthermore, another advantage of using social media as a political propaganda tool is its ability to reach a larger and wider audience compared to other propaganda tools. Due to the widespread use of the social media by the public and individuals, propagandists can deliver their messages to the audience quickly and easily through this platform.[11]

Chaudhari revealed in his research about the trend of propaganda research that is mostly conducted in the field of social studies of humanities Chudori's findings also show the progress of research on radicalism and terrorism that has been carried out by many researchers. This further confirms that propaganda is often used to spread radical ideas, so many researchers question this.[12] Not only is it an ideological issue, but massive propaganda is also being carried out to find justification for international conflict. In the Russian-Ukrainian war, for example, the Russian side propagated to the public social media in support of its decision to invade Ukrainian sovereignty.[13]

4.2 *Digital Activity of @Buletindakwahkaffah*

This account with 39.5 thousand followers has shared posts 633 times as of November 26, 2023. The posts shared are about current topics such as the Rempang case, religious moderation, politics, etc., which on several occasions have been seen to be linked to the caliphate narrative. As in the Rempang issue, according to him, the seizure of land in Rempang will never happen, as long as the leadership is regulated on the basis of Islamic Shariah.

@Buletindakwahkaffah in his main profile includes the word of Allah Swt in Q.S al-Baqarah: 208 which reads:

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا ادْخُلُوا فِي السِّلْمِ كَآفَّةً
وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا خُطُوَاتِ الشَّيْطَانِ
إِنَّهُ لَكُمْ عَدُوٌّ مُّبِينٌ

"Believers, enter into Submission wholly, and do not follow the footsteps of Satan — indeed he is for you an open enemy".

The inclusion of the sentence is in accordance with the branding account that includes the sentence kaffah. The Kaffah which is conceived in its entirety according to this can mean exercising all abilities to perform the Islamic Shariah one hundred percent, without leaving any distinction, because it is a duty for Muslims. The meaning of the Kaffah in their interpretation can be seen in the post entitled "Menyoal Moderasi Beragama (Inquiring about Religious Moderation)." The kaffah is meant to implement Islamic Shariah as a whole, not only in terms of worship but also in economic, governmental, social, educational, judicial, and sanctional aspects of law and foreign politics.

Basically, this account serves as an alternative to the online newsletters that are usually published on the buletinkaffahid.wordpress.com website. However, the websites are often blocked by the government for presenting ideas that are inconsistent with the ideology of the state, especially in connection with the propagation of the ideological caliphates that are frequently loaded in the bulletins. The physical address of the printing of the bulletin is located at Jalan Raya Market Minggu Kav. 2B-C Pancoran Jakarta, Jakarta, Indonesia. Despite the government's blocking of online newsletters, the parties are still trying to disseminate paper bulletins in some regions of Indonesia.

The Dakwah Kaffah Bulletin was first published on August 11, 2017. Officially, each edition of the bulletin states that it is published by Lembaga Kajian Islam Kaffah (LKIK). Although the appearance and content are similar to the Dakwah Buletin Al-Islam, however, the Buletin Dakwah Kaffah has no direct association with Hizbut Tahrir

Indonesia (HTI). This is because the Dakwah Kaffah Bulletin never mentions the involvement of HTI in its publishing structure. Instead, the bulletin lists the name of LKIK as its publisher. Therefore, the Kaffah Bulletin is still circulating to this day, unlike the Al-Islam Bulletin, which must stop its production after HTI is dissolved.

The history of the Kaffah Bulletin in this section refers to the change in focus of discussion. Initially, this bulletin was just about Islamic discourse. However, as time passed, this bulletin began to cover social issues. In the initial editions, the bulletin only covered themes surrounding Islam, ranging from the 1st to the 10th editions. The focus of the discussion covers aspects such as faith, faith, Islam, the great day of Islam such as Idul Adha, Islamic brotherhood, devotion, and approach to Allah.[14]

As time passed, the Kaffah Bulletin also began to deal with various socio-political and state issues, including issues of leadership. Some examples include the 11th edition entitled "Kepemimpinan yang Amanah (Trusted Leadership)," the 12th with the title "Haram Mendukung Rezim Zalim (Haram Supporting the Wicked Regime)," and the 18th that deals with "Umat, Persatuan, dan Politik (Ummah, Unity, and Politics)." By the end of 2017, the bulletin also began to explore international socio-political topics, seen from the 19th and 20th consecutive editions titled "Arogansi Trump dan Diamnya Para Penguasa Muslim (Trump's Arrogance and the Silence of Muslim Rulers)" and "Solusi Hakiki Masalah Palestina (A Just Solution to the Palestinian Problem)." From these developments, it can be concluded that over time, the topic of discussion of the Bulletin of Dakwah Kaffah has undergone a change from the initial normative-religious to more oriented to the social aspects.[14]

4.3 Exploiting the Palestinian Issue: Islamic Caliphate Propaganda on @Buletindakwahkaffah Account

Palestine has become a "promising" issue for the idea promoted by @buletindakwahkaffah, as all the world's attention is focused on the humanitarian issue

that took thousands of innocent human lives. Since the Zionist massacre of Palestine on October 7, 2023, @buletindakwahkaffah has posted 15 content specifically dealing with Palestine. The content presented is divided into images and videos. The images are more or less a redistribution of the text that has been presented in the news of the Kaffah bulletin, both in the form of softcopy and hardcopy. While the narrative in video form reinforces the information that has been shared through images. Videos can increase the audience's interest in a built-in narrative, through a series of visualizations that can enrich a perspective on a topic.[15]

If you look more closely, the posts on the question of Palestine only contain five titles, namely: "Hanya dengan Khilafah dan Jihad Rakyat Palestina dapat Dibebaskan (Only by Caliphate and Jihad can the Palestinian people be liberated)," "Mewujudkan Perisai Umat (Creating the Shield of the Nation)," "Menjernihkan Persoalan Palestina (Clearing the Palestine Question)," "Palestina Butuh Penguasa yang Melindungi (Palestine needs a Protective Ruler)," and "Mereka Mengkhianati Palestina (They betray Palestine)." These titles massively relate to the obligation to establish the Islamic caliphate to protect the Palestinians.



buletindakwahkaffah
Bandung Jawa Barat

1/10

Buletin Dakwah
Buletin Kaffah, No. 314
27 Rabi'ul Awwal 1445 H
13 Oktober 2023 M

**HARAM MEMBIARKAN
PALESTINA TANPA
PEMBELAAN KITA**

Kembali kita menyaksikan keberanian para pemuda Muslim, khususnya HAMAS, dalam berjihad melawan kaum Yahudi penjajah di Palestina. Sejak hari pertama serangan HAMAS, tidak kurang dari 5000 roket ditembakkan dari Gaza ke arah kaum Yahudi penjajah yang telah lama merampas tanah Palestina. Tentu saja serangan HAMAS secara mendadak ini banyak memakan korban di pihak Yahudi. Ratusan Yahudi, khususnya para tentara mereka, terbunuh. Ratusan lainnya terluka.

Namun demikian, seperti biasa, pembalasan kaum Yahudi penjajah jauh lebih besar dan lebih brutal. Mereka membabi-buta menyerang warga Palestina. Sebuah sumber koran lokal menyebutkan, serangan brutal Yahudi penjajah tersebut telah

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The post calls on readers to defend everything related to Palestinian sovereignty, especially the Palestinian territory which has long been occupied by Muslims. Based on the history of occupation during the time of Umar Bin Khattab, Muslims have an obligation to occupy Palestinian territory in its entirety, by implementing the system of Islamic authority of the caliphate. The disappointment of the Arab states that are "strangled" behind the borders of the nation-state, he said, was the reason why they did not defend Palestine. The emergence of the unity of the Muslims in the leadership of the Islamic caliphate can guarantee the implementation of Islamic Shariah, namely the recapture of the land of Palestine (formerly Sham), in accordance with the mandate of the Prophet SAW.

The existence of nation-states is often a source of debate in the Islamic caliphate movement. The formation of modern nations is generally based on the spirit of nationality or nationalism, in which communities have a determination to build a common future under the same state, despite religious, racial, ethnic, or group differences.[16] The concept of these nations contradicts the vision of the Islamic caliphate and emphasizes the inherent identity of Islam in every aspect of human behavior.

Parno stated that the concepts of the Islamic caliphate described by Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani differed from the concept of nations which generally form the majority form of modern states. According to Taqiyuddin An-Nabhani, the caliphate is the general leadership for all Muslims in the world to implement the law of Shariah, which is derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Caliphate stands on four pillars, namely sovereignty in the hands of the Shariah, power in the hands of the people, the obligation to appoint a caliph, and only the Caliph has the right to adopt the law. In order that all the laws that have been established by Allah SWT can be implemented in the life of the family, the nation, and the country, it is considered mandatory for the people of Islam to establish a caliphate.[17]

The Islamic caliphate jargon introduced by the @buletindakwah account is actually intended to form an identity. Identity is not something given naturally, but the result of the process of self-identification.[18] In the individual context, one tries to shape his personal identity in order to be able to protect himself from various external threats, while, in the group context, identity is built to ensure the survival of the group.

The discourse of the Islamic caliphate movement, according to Muzakka, is depicted the psychology of groups with the framework of international discourses that highlight the unity of Ummah. They see nations as a real threat to the possible establishment of a caliphate with one leadership all over the world. Nations are seen as a product of thought that is inconsistent with the doctrine of Islam and is thought to be influenced by Western orientation. Therefore, the rejection of nations can be interpreted from two perspectives. First, as a measure to consolidate self-identity, and second, as an attempt to convince the constituent of the potential solution to the problem on the assumption that the caliphate can be established and the Chalip is expected to be able to resolve the existing issue.[19]

The findings of Muzakka, it turns out, can also be found in the question of Palestine. In a post entitled "Hanya dengan Khilafah dan Jihad Rakyat Palestina dapat Dibebaskan (Only with Caliphate and Jihad Can the Palestinian People be Liberated)," the enforcement of the Islamic Khilaph through the militaristic path, he said, could be a guarantee of the realization of Palestinian independence, because the movement through the political path is no longer well expected. This refers to the alignment of European countries, which are the central point in the UN, in openly siding with Israeli aggression. Jihad fi Sabilillah has been the main shield in the idea of the caliphate so far. Indeed, to protect against the enemy's cruelty, sometimes violence is needed to balance its strength and regain the rights that have been deprived of it. However, jihad movements through violence are feared to be abused to

expand the caliphate movement in non-conflict countries. Therefore, the movement tends to be the starting point for radicalism and extremism.

@Buletindakwahakaffah always expresses his disappointment with Arab countries that are considered to have allowed Israeli colonization in Palestine. This tendency, as explained at the beginning, is caused by the divisions of nationalism which result in selfish interests between one country and another. Even though Muslims in Arab countries have an obligation to protect their Muslim brothers in Palestine. Emphatically, the bulletin created a sub-chapter "Umat Butuh Khilafah (The Ummah needs a Caliphate!)", to emphasize the need to name a Chalip to become a shield for the Muslim Ummah in Palestine. The inclusion of an exclamation mark above has become a sign of firmness regarding the problems that occur, thus saying "As a result, once again, the muslims of the world really need a chalip as their shield. May the Muslims all over the world soon have a caliphate, led by a brave, nurthing chalip."

The propaganda launched by @buletindakwahkaffah about the Islamic caliphate falls into the category of persuasive propaganda, which is propaganda intended to influence the public through interesting message methods. Unfortunately, the tool used to attract public interest in the idea of a caliphate is a question of Palestinian humanity. The question of humanity is considered part of religion, so there is an implicit message "Supporting the establishment of the caliphate means helping Palestine to be free from colonialism," with the guarantee of Allah's promise that the people who apply Islamic sharia, then will secure their lives.

At this stage, a system of propaganda symbolic interaction emerged, which means propaganda through symbols of messages using images, writing, and video, accompanied by signals that have been formulated to attract public attention. One of the most striking things about this propaganda is the last paragraph in the

content written in capital letters, like the following picture:

Jumlah bom yang dijatuhkan kaum agresor Yahudi mencapai 6 ribu bom dengan total berat 4 ribu ton. Militer Israel juga menggunakan bom fosfor putih. Bom tersebut sesungguhnya telah dilarang penggunaannya di medan perang karena efek merusaknya yang dahsyat pada korban.

Penderitaan warga Palestina semakin bertambah dengan hancurnya fasilitas air bersih, adanya pemadaman listrik dan pemutusan hubungan internet oleh kaum Yahudi. Mereka membunuh warga Palestina, terutama kaum Muslim. Namun, mereka juga berusaha rapat-rapat menutup kejayaan yang mereka lakukan. Lalu mereka menyebarkan hoaks kejayaan pasukan HAMAS yang sama sekali tidak terbukti.

EKSISTENSI KHILAFAH ISLAMIAH ADALAH VITAL DAN WAJIB BAGI KAUM MUSLIM KARENA IA AKAN MENJADI PELINDUNG UMAT

The picture clearly shows the communication pattern of emphasis in the final paragraph. "Eksistensi Khilafah adalah vital dan wajib bagi kaum muslim karena ia akan menjadi pelindung umat (The existence of the Caliphate is vital and mandatory for Muslims because it will be the protector of the Ummah)" indicates a message that Muslims must uphold the Islamic caliphate according to their will. Such communication emphasis is not just in the post. If you look at the 15 posts related to Palestine, then there are at least 8 posts that are accompanied by the highlighting of the capital letters, with the content of the message approximately the same.

Based on this emphasis, we can also see the ideology offered by @buletindakwahkaffah, which is the Islamic caliphate ideology. The spread of caliphate ideology through such emphasis is part of the technique of glittering generalities propaganda, which has more or less the meaning of equating propaganda with noble desires through messages of goodness. @Buletindakwahkaffah shows sympathy for Palestine and relies on the success of Palestinian liberation only by establishing an Islamic caliphate.

4.4 Who is Behind @Buletindakwahkaffah

As in previous discussions, @buletindakwahkaffah is providing alternative means of providing newsletters that are managed by LKIK. In order to identify the key figures behind the account's ideology, initial observations should be directed at the analysis of the original bulletin's content. According to Tri Apriani, the ideology applied in the Dakwah Kaffah Bulletin refers to the understanding of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, in accordance with the common idea adopted, namely the enforcement of the Islamic caliphate. Tri Apriani's research can be the basis of consideration, but it is not immediately justified, because structurally, the management of the Bulletin Dakwah Kaffah is not directly affiliated with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia.[20]

The establishment of Hizbut Tahrir was Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani's response to the ongoing political situation in the Middle East in the 1950s. However, its ideological basis comes from the verse of the Quran, Surah Al-Imran: 104, which states, "And there may spring from you a nation who invite to goodness, and enjoin right conduct and forbid indecency. Such are they who are successful." [21] The establishment of Hizbut Tahrir was based on an-Nabhani's disappointment with the participation of the Islamic movement in the secular system and the use of acts of violence, which eventually triggered repression by the state.[22]

Politically, an-Nabhani rejected reforms carried out by Ikhwanul Muslimin and other Islamist militant groups. Instead, he proposed a concept that he hoped could replace the secular system, namely the Islamic caliphate government. This approach became the basis for the formation of Hizbut Tahrir as an organization committed to achieving these goals in a social and political context.

Hizbut Tahrir's expansion into Indonesia is linked to the role of two main individuals. The first was Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi, a Palestinian activist who moved to Australia in the 1960s. The second was Abdullah bin Nuh, the leader of the al-

Ghazali Islamic Boarding School in Bogor. Abdullah, who was also a teacher and preacher, was disappointed with the Islamic organization in Indonesia in the late 1970s. While visiting Sidney to see his schooling son, Abdullah met Abdurrahman al-Baghdadi. Abdurrahman was later invited to Indonesia to introduce the idea of Taqiyuddin an-Nabhani at the al-Ghazali Islamic Boarding School.

Over time, al-Ghazali Islamic Boarding School became a center of learning the ideology of Hizbut Tahrir. His teaching methods involve two main approaches, namely halaqah (training program) and daurah (intensive study). Through collaboration with campus activists, mainly through the Lembaga Dakwah Kampus (LDK), Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia succeeded in spreading its ideas, even reaching prestigious campuses such as Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta and the University of Indonesia in Jakarta.[23] However, the development of the HTI organization only until June 2017, because in July of the same year, the organization was officially dissolved by the government in Indonesia.[24]

Even though it has disbanded, HTI followers have not immediately abandoned the ideology they believe in, namely the obligation to establish an Islamic caliphate system. Former HTI members continue to carry out da'wah activities in society, although behind closed doors. This is confirmed by Firdaus' findings, based on his investigations, former HTI members are still carrying out da'wah activities in Jember.[25] Such "underground" preaching activities are worrying, because they can spread their ideology, without being monitored by the government. One of the closed preaching movements carried out by former HTI was carried out through social media, without showing membership formalities. The account suspected of being involved in HTI is @buletindakwahkaffah. To find out the figure behind @buletindakwhakaffah, we need to look at the similarity of all aspects of the information presented with the ideology promoted by the Hizbut Tahrir organization.

4.4.1 Ideology

Hizbut Tahrir describes himself as an organization of movement based on Islamic ideology, whose primary purpose is to establish the caliphate and apply the Shariah. Though the establishment of Hizbut Tahrir was the founder's response to the political situation in the Middle East in the 1950s, normatively, Hizbut Tahrir's official books quote Q.S Ali Imron: 104. For Hizbut Tahrir, this verse orders the Muslims to form a community or Jamaah with the aim of performing the devotion.

The reason is that Hizbut Tahrir believes that da'wah activities are, in substance, closely related to politics. This is due to the fact that an important element of the da'wah is to invite the government to appeal to good and prevent evil in accordance with the Islamic Shariah. Hizbut Tahrir intends to revive the condition of the Muslims from the most severe blasphemy and to free the people from the ideas and systems of laws considered unfaithful, as well as to free them from the hegemony of the power of the unbelieving nations.[26]

The idea of an Islamic caliphate created by Hizbut Tahrir can be seen clearly in some posts posted by @buletindakwahkaffah. For example, in the post entitled "Khilafah itu Mulia, Haram untuk Dinista (Caliphate is Noble, it is Haram to Insult it)." He believed that the Islamic caliphate was the primary part of the Islamic Shariah, based on some of the signs that became the basis. As a result, someone who does not agree with the caliphate intended by HTI could mean that he is not in line with the Shari'a outlined by Allah SWT.

"Blasphemy against Islamic teaching, including the caliphate, automatically constitutes blasphemy against Islamic Sharia. The fuqoha have agreed that anyone who insults Islamic laws is punished as an apostate (kafir), that is, leaving the Islamic religion, and must be punished by death if he does not repent."

In the context of the radical Islamic movement in general, the Hizbut Tahrir (HT) is representative of the founder of the ideal Islamic political system, the Islamic caliphate.

It differs from the Ikhwanul Muslimin (IM) which defines such idealism by fighting for the establishment of the modern Islamic State within the framework of the nation-state. This distinction is obvious because the caliphate implies Islamic rule globally, in accordance with the basic nature of universal Islamic authority. On the other hand, the Islamic State is an adaptation of the system of nations with the placement of Islam as the basis of the constitution.[27]

@Buletindakwahkaffah is clearly inconsistent with the system of nations. Even in several posts, it is said that the nations are the result of westernization that does not conform to the Islamic Shariah, so the implementation of nations does not guarantee the creation of justice and prosperity because it is not in harmony with the religion of Allah. In this case, it is clear that the ideology of the account is contrary to Pancasila, just as the Islamic caliphate Hizbut Tahrir's ideology according to Syamsul Arif's research is also not in line with Pancasila. This is because Pancasila is considered to be inconsistent with the views of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), especially since Pancasila adopts religious pluralism. This discrepancy is evident in the wishes of the Indonesian Union, which emphasizes respect for the integrity of nations, including the diversity of religions. This confession against various religions is contrary to the HTI principle that emphasizes the single truth of Islam. The second argument related to Pancasila is the pluralism of ideologies that are accommodated, including non-Islamic ideologies such as socialism, democracy, and nationalism. This is contrary to the HTI view that the most true ideology is Islam.[28]

4.4.2 *The Religious Figures Shown*

4.4.2.1 *Ismail Yusanto*[29]

H. Muhammad Ismail Yusanto was born in the city of Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta Province, on 2 December 1962 to H. Sadali Abdul Hadi and the mother of H. Mutamimah. The family of Muhammad Ismail Yusanto is known as a religious family, in which his father and mother are known as religious figures in the city and always keep

morality. His father is famous as a highly respected religious figure in the town and works as a teacher, while his mother is a housewife.

Muhammad Ismail Yusanto was the first of six brothers. Her brothers include Bora Darussalam, Ahmad Gadang Pamungkas, Farida Belami, Yuniar Vida Aprilla, and Imamuddin Iluiyadi. Of his five brothers, only Ahmad Gadang Pamungkas was active in his da'wah with Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, while the other four brothers were busy with their respective work activities.

After graduating from UGM, Muhammad Ismail Yusanto got a job offer in Qatar as an oil miner, with a very encouraging salary. However, with his loyalty to the da'wah, he chose to go to Bogor and continue his ministry activity there. Muhammad Ismail Yusanto then decided to pursue his studies in Bogor, especially at Ulul Albaab. In Bogor, he underwent a process of religious learning, as well as obtained his first training from Abdurrahman Al-Baghdadi, a senior in Hizbut Tahrir who brought the organization to Indonesia, especially in the city of Bogor.

By developing the Hizbut Tahrir there, he actively filled the halaqah in various regions of Indonesia, including Yogya, Banjarmasin, and the region of Sumatra. His reputation was growing, and he began to be known by the public as a public figure. When HTI was not dissolved, Muhammad Ismail Yusanto served as the Speaker of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) and held an important position as Amir.

@Buletindakwahkaffah posted Ismail Yusanto's statement in a video titled "Label Terror". The video is directly related to the Palestinian idea of labeling Hamas as a terrorist organization Ismail protested that the United States had repeatedly made noise that had caused millions of lives to be lost, but not once had America been considered a terrorist country. However, Hamas, which is really just defending its homeland, is accused of being a terrorist organization worthy of fighting.

4.4.2.2 *Rokhmat S. Labib*

Rokhmat S. Labib was born in Bojonegoro on June 26, 1971. He spent his

childhood until high school with his parents in Tuban. After graduating from high school in 1989, he continued his education at IKIP Surabaya (Now: State University of Surabaya). On this campus, Rokhmat is active as an activist and manager of the UKKI (Unit of Islamic Spiritual Activities), a community that serves as a reservoir to follow various Islamic studies, such as Arabic, tafsir, hadith, and fiqh intensively. Rokhmat also studied Arabic at Sunan Ampel Arabic Language Academi and Ma'had al-Manar Surabaya. After graduating from university, he continued his master's program and earned a Master's degree in Islamic Economics in 2004.[30]

Since his college in Surabaya, Rokhmat S. Labib has been involved in several Islamic movements, until he finally established his heart to fight in Hizbut Tahrir. In this movement, his Islamic thinking is becoming more and more polluted. Through this movement, he had the opportunity to preach in various cities, involving almost all major cities from Aceh to Papua, as well as visits to Australia and Malaysia. In 1997, together with fellow activists, Rokhmat S. Labib also founded the Ma'had 'Umdatul Ummah in Surabaya. This Islamic Boarding School organized various religious programs that were followed by many students.[30] This religious movement led Rokhmat to become the Central Council of Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia when the organization still existed.[31]

Rohmat S. Labib became one of the figures given space by @Buletindakwahkaffah to convey his ideas. The statement delivered within 4 minutes and 48 seconds contains an invitation to the Muslims to defend Palestine. Muslims have a duty to defend the al-Aqsha mosque because it is an icon that is preserved by Islam. The jihad movement will be effective when Muslims have their own state based on Islamic Shariah (the Islamic caliphate). The Arab nations' indifference to the current Palestinian situation is a concrete reason why Muslims must unite and form a Daulah Islamiyah ala Manhajin Nubuawah (Islamic state according to prophetic manhaj).

4.4.2.3 *Felix Siauwo*

Felix Yanwar Siauwo was born in Palembang, South Sumatra, on January 31, 1984. Before embracing Islam, Felix Siauwo sought answers about the origin, purpose, and end of life. Despite having studied the Bible for years, the answers found were unsatisfactory, and Felix Siauwo realized that half of the contents of the Bible were written by humans. Therefore, he decided not to follow a particular religion, but still believed in the existence of God. The answer to his question was finally found while discussing God with a young Islamic teacher who was an activist in the international worship movement, so Felix Siauwo finally embraced Islam.[32] When he entered Islam, he later joined the Indonesian Hizbut Tahrir.[4]

Felix Siauwo's idea video was posted twice by @buletindakwahkaffah. Both videos talk about the conflict in Palestine. Initially, Felix talked about the colonization of thought carried out by anti-Islamic groups, such as the propaganda of figures who say that the conflict in Palestine is only a political issue. However, according to him, the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land is also a matter of Islamic creed, so all Muslims are obliged to join in defending the Palestinians from Israeli colonization. Felix's video contains his reaction to the statement issued by Buya ar-Razi on Deddy Corbuzier's podcast. Felix said that Buya al-Razzi's statements relating to Hamas were not directly related to the main point, namely the Israeli colonialism, rather the idea would increase public concern that there would be negative things if they helped Palestine.

Based on the three figures shown in the account, only Rokhmat S. Labib expressly supported the realization of the Islamic caliphate, while Felix Siauwo and Ismail Yunanto explicitly did not say so. Interestingly, the three figures talk about the question of Palestine with different arguments. In fact, figures affiliated with HTI on @buletindakwahkafaah appeared after the Israeli military aggression against Palestinian territory (October 7, 2023). It suggests that the figures associated with HTI will only talk

about the question of Palestine that invites the sympathy of millions of the world's people, so that symbolically the situation reflects the technique of glittering generalities to indicate that the characters involved with the HTI are very sympathetic to the Palestinian problem. This propaganda can attract the interest of a public that is focused on the question of

Palestine, to follow the view of the account. Because, the ideology, the figures, and the humanitarian vision presented by the account aligned with their desire to liberate Palestine. The reality at the same time shows that @buletindakwahkaffah is indeed an account related to HTI propaganda on social media.

5. CONCLUSION

@Buletindakwahkaffah account exploits Palestinian issues to spread the idea of the Islamic caliphate. Palestinian independence became an "accessory" to the accounts to embellish their propaganda so that it could be accepted by the general public. Their public targets are sympathizers who have a desire for the liberation of Palestine.

After further investigation, it turns out that the account was affiliated with the HTI organization that had been disbanded by the government in 2017. These connections arise as a result of the common ideology and the figures shown. With such a reality, it seems that governments and the public are more cautious of propaganda of radicalism on social media hiding behind humanitarian issues

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