

POLITICAL ISLAM AND THE ANTI-CAPITALISM NARRATIVE OF HIZBUT TAHRIR INDONESIA

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Abstract

This research will discuss the narrative of anti-capitalism from the perspective of the Islamic political movement by studying Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's thoughts on the political-economic system in Indonesia. To date, capitalism has been a topic of global discussion, generating criticism due to various damages and social impacts in different countries. This study explores Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's approach in responding to the influence of capitalism through the Islamic ideology they stand for. This research employs a qualitative approach by collecting data through documents and literature and analyzing it through a framing approach in social movement studies. The results showed that Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia views capitalism as a system that does not follow Islamic principles and produces injustice, inequality, and oppression against society. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia presents an alternative Islamic-based political and economic system to solve the problems of capitalism in Indonesia and calls to implement sharia within the framework of an Islamic state or caliphate.

Penelitian ini akan membahas narasi anti-kapitalisme dari perspektif gerakan politik Islam dengan mempelajari pemikiran Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia mengenai sistem ekonomi-politik di Indonesia. Sampai saat ini,

kapitalisme telah menjadi topik diskusi global, menghasilkan kritik karena berbagai kerusakan dan dampak sosial di berbagai negara. Studi ini mengeksplorasi pendekatan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia dalam merespon pengaruh kapitalisme melalui ideologi Islam yang mereka perjuangkan. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan mengumpulkan data melalui dokumen dan literatur dan menganalisisnya melalui pendekatan framing dalam studi gerakan sosial. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia memandang kapitalisme sebagai sistem yang tidak mengikuti prinsip-prinsip Islam dan menghasilkan ketidakadilan, ketidaksetaraan, dan penindasan terhadap masyarakat. Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia menyajikan alternatif sistem politik dan ekonomi berbasis Islam untuk memecahkan masalah-masalah kapitalisme di Indonesia dan mengajak untuk menerapkan syariah dalam bingkai negara Islam atau khilafah.

Keywords: *anti-capitalism narrative; HTI; islamic political movement*

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Introduction

The term "anti-capitalism" refers to theories, movements, and groups that oppose capitalism or the main characteristics of capitalism, such as labour wages and private property. In the current context, the term is often used to describe those who oppose neoliberalism. Anti-capitalism is usually called the anti-globalization movement or the Global Justice Movement (Social Justice movement) (Tormey 2012, 1).

In the context of Islamic political movements and resistance to capitalism, according to Valentine M. Moghadam (2009), one of the causes of the emergence of Islam-based resistance movements in Muslim countries is the process of economic restructuring towards neoliberalism/capitalism. It results in various economic problems such as debt, unemployment, and various other issues. On the other hand, leftist and liberal movements tend to remain silent in authoritarian Islamic world regimes. This paved the way for Islamic leaders to speak out and mobilize the resistance movement against capitalism and its effects (Moghadam 2009, 43). Vedi Hadiz (2011) also found the same thing:

Islamic political movements as the populist's responses toward the impact of neoliberal capitalism in the Islamic world (Hadiz 2011, 5).

As an Islamic political movement, the Hizbut Tahrir movement is also known as a global anti-Capitalism movement when viewed from its mainstream narratives that are always expressed in various places and situations. Hizbut Tahrir (HT) is an international political movement that aims to advance Islamic political ideas and establish an Islamic caliphate. The group is generally regarded as a fundamentalist or radical group due to its rejection of contemporary ideologies and political systems as well as its commitment to Islamic beliefs (Fealy 2007, 153).

HT was founded in 1948 by An-Nabhâni and had since spread to various countries worldwide, including Europe, Asia, Australia, and America. The main objectives of the movement are to promote Sharia law and the Caliphate as a means to unite Muslims, uphold Islamic law, and spread the religion of Islam globally. HT's consistency in following its beliefs has led to the movement being banned, being disbanded, and its members being arrested and intimidated in various countries (Aswar 2018, 69).

Various scholars have carried out studies on Hizbut Tahrir on a global scale. Suzanne Olsson (2021), for example, analyzed HT Sweden's narrative on political Islam, Democracy, and the Caliphate; while, Jan A. Ali & Elisa Orofino (2018) compared HT, Tabligh Jamaat, and al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen movement (Ali & Orofino, 2018; Olsson, 2021). They see the similarities and differences of the three revivalist movements, which emerged as a reaction to the impact of modernity on the Islamic world. In addition, Iqbal Ahnaf (2017) discussed the change strategy carried out by HTI specifically by examining three stages, from development to state implementation (Ahnaf, 2017). In studying HT in Indonesia and Malaysia, Mohamed N. M. Osman (2018 & 2009) conducted a study using the frame of social movements in general with an approach towards political opportunity, framing, and mobilization (Osman 2009, 649; Osman 2018, 5-8).

This study aims to provide an overview of the perspective of Islamic social movements in viewing the ideology of global capitalism and its impact to the state from the Islamic political group perspective. This study focuses to explore HTI's ideas on the influence of capitalist ideology and its impact on Indonesian politics and society. Most studies of ideological criticism toward capitalism come from the perspective of movements that

emerged in the West, such as the environmental, feminism, postmodernism, and socialist movement. Meanwhile, the perspective of the Islamic world and its movements is still very limited. Hence, this study is important to expand people's thinking about various criticisms and studies of capitalism and its effects, especially from the Islamic groups perspective.

Research Method

This research is a qualitative research that explores Hizbut Tahrir's ideas related to capitalism in Indonesia. The data sources used in this study are primary and secondary. Primary sources are taken from HT's works written in the form of online or offline interview manuscripts contained in the published work of this group, such as HT's official book published in Indonesia or in the central office of HT, *al-Wai'e* (online magazine) and *Media Umat*. Secondary sources are obtained from various existing documents from journals, books, magazine articles, and websites discussing HT in Indonesia. Furthermore, the analysis of the results of the research data collection are carried out by manually interpreting the data based on three variables appeared in the framing approach in social movements.

Framing theory is a tool in the social movement study used to mobilize people to engage in social change activities. The framing process builds awareness by identifying problems, providing alternative solutions, and inviting them to fight together (Benford & Snow 2000, 614). The framing process is divided into three dimensions: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. First, the diagnostic dimension is the dimension in which a movement constructs a problem in the society by explaining the problem, the root of the problem, as well as the actors involved or what to blame when the problem occurred. Second, the prognostic dimension is an effort to provide alternatives or solutions to problems presented in the diagnostic dimension. The third one is motivational dimension, which invites the community to participate in movement activities after explaining the problem and providing solutions. Languages used frequently in this dimension include words like emergency/severity, urgency, effectiveness, and feasibility (Benford & Snow 2000, 615-617).

Results and Discussion

Hizbut Tahrir (HT) is a political movement founded in 1948 in Palestine, and it later became the official party in 1953 in Jordan. HT was established by Sheikh Taqî al-Dîn An-Nabhâni, who is an activist, cleric, and judge in Palestine. An-Nabhâni served as the first leader of HT until he died in 1977, after which Sheikh Abd al-Qadîm Zallum led the movement until 2003. Currently, HT is led by Shaykh Khalîl bin Abû Rushtah (Hizbut Tahrir Media Office, 2023).

Hizbut Tahrir is an Islamic political party that seeks to implement the sharia of Islam by establishing the Islamic Caliphate. From the point of view of HT, implementing sharia is the only way to uplift Muslims from their current challenges and free them from non-Islamic thoughts, systems, laws, and the influence of non-Islamic countries including secularism, socialism, liberalism, and other modern ideologies. HT believes that the only way to achieve these objectives is establishing the Islamic Caliphate's rule (Hizbut Tahrir 1953, 5).

HT contended that the Caliphate plays a crucial role in ensuring the implementation of Sharia laws among Muslims and conducting *da'wah* (Islamic preaching) globally as the Prophet Muhammad and the four rightly guided caliphs have shown in their era. The prophet's and his caliphs' practices on implementing politics in their era, for HT, are the parts of *Sunnah* and Islamic commands that should be followed strictly by Muslim and being failed to follow it is a sinful act, as the consequence (an-Nabhâni 2002, 58-61; Karagiannis 2006, 266).

In pursuing a change, as HT desires, the implemented method encompasses three main aspects. The first aspect is transforming existing societal thoughts into Islamic thoughts, making these thoughts public opinions among the people, who are then motivated to implement and follow Islam. The second one is altering the emotions of society to align with Islamic values, accepting only what is pleasing to the Almighty Allah, and rebelling against as well as resenting anything that angers the Almighty Allah. Third, it is transforming societal relationships to align with Islamic principles and solutions (Karagiannis & McCauley 2006, 318).

HT ponders that all these *da'wah* activities can be categorized as political activities because they are conducted to manage societal affairs following Sharia principles and resolutions. However, based on HT's definition, politics is not secular but instead is based on Islamic values. Furthermore, the process of political struggle in HT's concept should be

carried out through intellectual efforts involving a struggle against erroneous thoughts and the system of disbelief. It is done by refuting incorrect thoughts, criticizing damaged beliefs, and demonstrating the shortcomings and errors of concepts while explaining Islamic rulings on these matters (Hizbut Tahrir 1953, 12).

In addition, HT contended that political struggle involves resistance against infidel imperialism, whose main objective is to liberate the people from the dominion of this imperialism and eliminate its influence by uprooting its intellectual, cultural, political, economic, and military roots from Islamic countries. The political struggle should also challenge the rulers by exposing their betrayals and conspiracies against the people and assigning as well as changing them. The last act should be done if they violate the rights of the people, refuse to fulfill their obligations to the people or neglect any issues regarding the people (Hizbut Tahrir 1953, 12).

Since its establishment, Hizbut Tahrir has spread to around forty countries, both in states that allow it to operate freely or ones where the governments ban it. HT has branches in Europe, America, Australia, Asia, and Africa. However, almost all Muslim countries have banned HT as an organization and repressed its members, including in some European countries (Baran 2005, 69). Indonesia was the most recent Muslim country to disband HT in 2017 because of having no contribution for Indonesian development, having radical ideology, and creating political disunity in Indonesia (Aswar 2022, 238).

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) began to openly and officially emerge after the democratization era in Indonesia in 1998. During this period, various local and transnational Islamic organizations began advocating for their Islamic aspiration including Salafism, Jihadism, Tablighi, and Hizbut Tahrir. HTI, in particular, was formerly an underground campus movement in the early 1980s, distinguishing itself among other Islamic organizations that emerged after the authoritarian era (Ahnaf 2009, 69).

Hizbut Tahrir became widely known in Indonesia in 2000 when *Al-Islam Bulletin* listed Syabab Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia as its publisher. Since then, HTI's presence has been increasingly felt in society, especially through large gatherings involving hundreds of members and sympathizers, such as in conferences, demonstrations, and marches. Before officially disbanded by the Indonesian government in 2017, Hizbut Tahrir in Indonesia was estimated to have 40,000 registered members

from various backgrounds, including men, women, students, scholars, teachers, lecturers, preachers, and others (Westcott, 2017).

The dissolution of HTI in 2017 doesn't mean that the ideas and figures of this movement ceased to exist. The thoughts on the caliphate and criticism of political, economic, social, cultural, and religious conditions in Indonesia continued to spread to this day, even though they no longer use the official name of Hizbut Tahrir as they did before the dissolution. The presence of Hizbut Tahrir and the dissemination of its ideas can also be seen through various social media accounts, especially on YouTube. Examples include the account of former Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia spokesperson, Ismail Yusanto, the *Media Umat* YouTube account, as well as the websites of *al-Waie* and *Media Umat*, which have always been at the forefront of spreading Hizbut Tahrir's ideological political thoughts (Aswar 2022b, 114).

The dissolution of HTI in 2017 did lead to the official disappearance of this organization's name, and indirectly, it also restricted the movement's space through various labels or stigmatizations given by the state, such as radical, anti-Pancasila, and threats to the NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia). However, this dissolution policy also led to a change in HTI's tactics in pursuing its political and ideological mission in Indonesia by using various names and activity platforms, both online and offline. As a movement that has been disbanded, HT's change in tactics among the community has made this movement unidentifiable by the government. Some observers say that this could backfire on the government itself as a result of the policy regarding the disbandment of HT in 2017 (Aswar 2022b, 114).

Hizbut Tahrir's View on the Issue of Capitalism

Hizbut Tahrir criticizes capitalism from two sides: philosophical and practical or implementation. HT opines that capitalism stands on the foundation of secularism, namely the separation of religion and life. From this foundation, derivative ideas are formed, such as democracy, economic liberalism, and individual freedom (an-Nabhâni 2002, 38).

From an economic-political perspective, HT criticizes capitalism for making the concept of all resources in a country freely owned by individuals. These include agricultural land, plantations, mines, and other public facilities that HT think can prevent the public from easily obtaining their interests and even complicate their lives – for example, oil, which is

currently essential for the economy. If it is controlled by private entities rather than the state, oil would become a commodity for business interests, and it can affect various economic processes within society because oil is used in various industries, including transportation (Hizbut Tahrir 2009, 25).

HT also criticizes capitalist economic management, which makes use of the guiding principle, in blurring the line between *halal* (permissible) and *haram* (forbidden). The instances are the buying and selling of alcohol, the commodification of women's bodies, and other usurious economic transactions such as banking, limited liability companies, cooperatives, and more.

Regarding distribution, HT criticizes capitalism for making the market the sole means of wealth distribution. As indicated by HT, this would allow only those with sufficient wealth to access specific facilities or goods, such as hospital services, schools, universities, and other services (an-Nabhâni 2004). HT's view on Islamic economic politics is based on Islamic beliefs. In HT's perspective, human economic activities must always be based on Islamic rules, including property ownership, management, and wealth distribution.

Regarding ownership, Islam has the concept of public, individual, and state ownership. Public ownership means all economic resources for public welfare, and if it is controlled by a few people, it would make life difficult for the public. The examples include roads, air, sea, and unlimited natural resources such as oil, gas, coal, and gold. Individual ownership is related to goods or services that are not essential to the livelihood of many, such as car drivers, barbers, agriculture workers, factories, and other businesses. State ownership includes taxes, *kharaj* (land tax), *ghanimah*, *fai*, and other sources of state income (an-Nabhâni 2004).

In terms of wealth management, HT explains that in Islam, a Muslim must adhere to Sharia laws, such as dealing with halal goods and services, while avoiding what is haram. Islam allows buying and selling, prohibits usury, fraud, hoarding of wealth, permits partnerships, and more. Regarding wealth distribution, Islam regulates distribution directly or through market mechanisms. Direct distribution involves providing the obligation of livelihood for a head of the family to their family or the state directly distribute it to the society related to the results of public property, such as health, education, and transportation. Meanwhile, distribution

performed through the market involves secondary or tertiary goods or services (al-Nabhâni 2004).

Capitalism and Indonesian Democracy

For HT, Capitalism and Democracy are two things that cannot be separated. Conceptually, HT views that although democracy highlights the idea of freedom and the central role of the people in policy-making processes, what is most prominent in democratic political processes is the economic elements. In a sense, the owners of capital have a significant influence that determines the political process, from selecting leaders to making policies and laws (An-Nabhâni 2012, 51).

In the context of Indonesia, HT admits that democracy is not only a means of fighting the political-economic interests of elites and oligarchs but also the interests of global elites such as the West, and international organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (Yusanto 2018).

The democratic process in Indonesia, according to HT, is used by local political and business elites to use the seat of power for their business interests in Indonesia. Meanwhile, in the global context, democracy is used as a tool of major countries to strengthen their dominance in Indonesia and to drain Indonesia's natural wealth through various treaties and laws and regulations (Muis 2022).

HT thinks that the rise of corruption and nepotism in Indonesia is the fruit of expensive political processes involving financiers. Electoral participation is considered as an economic investment that eventually, when one has an authority, power will be used as a cash cow to return capital and gain wealth through various major state projects (Wadjdi 2018). HTI opines that this reality of democracy in Indonesia cannot be expected to side with the people. Because, as a whole, the political process involving political actors is full of several elements of capital and oligarchic interests (Efendi 2019).

Capitalism and Indonesian Natural Resources

In HT's view, the ownership status of natural resources that are unlimited in nature is public or community property. The state acts as a manager who is obliged to make profits from the results of natural resources to meet the needs of the people in the fields of education, health, social and other services. HT conveys that, if unlimited natural

wealth, such as oil, gas, coal, forests, and gold, is only controlled by a few people or the private sector, it will produce big problems in society because mining goods are directly related to public needs.

For example, HTI criticized the Indonesian government's policy for reducing fuel subsidies in Indonesia by 2022. HTI said that the policy was just a tool used by the government to further liberalize Indonesia's oil and gas sector for private and foreign interests. In accordance with HTI's statement, if oil and gas are still subsidized in Indonesia, it is difficult for private players to do selling activities in Indonesia. Quoting data from ESDM, HTI said that 105 companies have received permits to play in the downstream oil and gas sector, including opening fuel filling stations for the public (SPBU). Among them are giant oil and gas companies such as British Petroleum (American-British), Shell (Netherlands), Petro China (PRC), Petronas (Malaysia), and Chevron-Texaco (America). What is clear is, HTI said, that the policy of reducing fuel subsidies will only increase the burden on the community and benefit for a few people (Yusanto 2022).

HTI also criticized the Omnibus Law issued by the Indonesian government in 2021, arguing that this law is applied only for the benefit of oligarchs, not the benefit of the people. HTI conveyed that shortly after the signing of the Indonesian government's Omnibus Law, coal miners controlling tens of thousands of hectares of territory in Indonesia are among those who benefit from this Omnibus Law. After the passage of this law issued, based on the information given by HTI, mining companies such as PT Arutmin Indonesia, which controls 57,107, have had their contracts renewed. Arutmin Indonesia is just one of 7 companies that control 370,775 hectares of coal mines in Indonesia, with a potential of thousands of trillions of rupiah. HTI thinks that coal has a great potential in contributing to the welfare of the people if it is managed by the state, not by the private sector (Yusanto 2021).

HTI also criticized PT Freeport's decades-long management of gold and copper mines in Indonesia. In fact, HTI asserts that US-owned companies only provide losses that are greater than profits for Indonesia. The example is environmental damage resulting from mining waste, including tax exemption privileges or tax concessions that the government has given to this company. PT Freeport Indonesia, also from 2011 to 2016, did not pay dividends to the State until it finally collected and paid dividends in 2017. HTI also criticized PT Freeport's decades-long

shareholding, which PT Freeport has dominated even though the potential profit obtained from gold and copper mining in Papua is more than 2000 trillion rupiahs. For HTI, the government should control gold and copper mines, not sharing them with foreigners. Even if, for example, state shareholding is greater than foreign, it is still invalid because the people actually own the mine, and it must be fully managed by the state (Man 2018).

In HTI's opinion, the capitalist system that provides opportunities for private companies from within and outside the country to take advantage of natural resources owned by a country will make these natural resources more enjoyed by private companies and make it difficult for the people. Because the economic logic of business, only pursuing profits, they will manipulate the price to seek the greatest profit. This will result in systemic poverty in society. For example, when the price of oil, gas, and electricity rises, it will also increase the production of capital in the community. This will automatically escalate the prices of various goods and services in Indonesia. On the other hand, people's income is not directly proportional to the increased prices of goods and services.

HTI argued Islam stipulates that natural resources, especially energy, are one of the wealth of public property based on the hadith of the prophet Muhammad (PBUH) narrated by Imam Ahmad: "*Muslims are united in three things: water, pasture, and fire.*"

For HTI, it should be the Indonesian people who must enjoy the results of natural resources owned by Indonesia itself through the management of the state through state-owned enterprises (SOEs) for the welfare of the people. The proceeds from these resources can be given for free to citizens or finance other public facilities free of charge or provide an affordable cost (Hizbut Tahrir 2009, 25-26).

Capitalism and State's Public Responsibility

In the context of public services, especially in education and health, Hizbut Tahrir acknowledges that these two things should not be privatized as applied in the current capitalist system. For HTI, education and health services are basic community needs. If it is charged to the community, the cost will create widespread harm because not all people can afford to pay for the two services mentioned above, especially if they become objects of commercialization (Syams 2020).

In the Indonesian context, HTI criticizes the state policy of the National Health Insurance law and BPJS (Social Health Insurance Administration Body). They are managed in a social security system, and the government state that this is a part of helping citizens. However, as HTI believes, this social security system is a detached attitude of the state towards health services that the state should guarantee to its people (Rahman 2020).

Further, HT affirmed that the Indonesian social security system is the same as the company's insurance practice. In the context of BPJS, the people are the customers, and they must pay the fee monthly whether they need any services or not. HTI considered insurance is haram in Islam. (Syafri 2019).

In addition, the argument stating that BPJS is a part of helping citizens is also considered wrong by HTI because the government imposes this policy on the people. The government has even prepared sanctions for those who are not involved in this process. For HTI, the principle of helping is voluntary, not a coercion. In conclusion, BPJS is a practice of counterfeiting the people in addition to the government's release of social security (Syams 2020).

The details of HT's critique of capitalism are overwhelming. It does not only encompass ownership of natural resources, but also social services and the relationship between capitalism and democracy, as described above. HT also criticizes the concept of taxation in the capitalist system. It criticizes limited liability or investment, insurance, and labour policies, including the financial system using fiat money or paper money. HT also criticizes the system of managing economic outcomes based only on benefits and the market distribution mechanism as an absolute mechanism in the economic system of capitalism.

All elements of the capitalist system mentioned above, as mentioned by HT, are tools for a few countries and wealthy elites to control the global economy and create acute poverty for the world community. HTI contended that the global impact of capitalism can be seen from the global social gap, as published by Oxfam (2020), which showed that in 2019, as many as 2,153 world billionaires had wealth exceeding the total wealth of 4.6 billion people in the world. The wealthiest one percent of people in the world own more than double the total wealth of the entire population of the earth. In the context of Indonesia, conveyed by HTI, and based on the data obtained from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the economic

gap in Indonesia has increased as measured through the *Gini Ratio* index as of March 2023 at the level of 0.388. The index increased compared to the end of September 2022, when it reached 0.381 (Sadik 2024).

Economic inequality also has an impact on the widespread social problems. HTI trusts that various social disorder that had arisen in global society are due to the destructive economic conditions and social system of capitalism. This happens at the global level, such as in Indonesia and the United States. The examples of cases are suicide, armed crime, sexual violence, and so on (Sadik 2024).

To conclude, HTI declares that the state must ensure that economic activities, related to the production, distribution, or consumption of goods and services, should follow Sharia provisions. Also, no party should be treated unjustly and one must avoid doing unjust activities. In doing so, Islam establishes laws related to economic activities, investment, currency, and taxation. These allow everyone to obtain wealth without harming others. Besides, the state uses non-economic distribution patterns to distribute wealth to parties who still do not have wealth through instruments such as *zakât*, *shadaqah*, grants, and state gifts. In this way, those who are economically left behind are not further marginalized.

In the context of framing in social movement studies, Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's narrative portraying the issue of capitalism in Indonesia can be seen from HTI's criticism of various Indonesian government policies in natural resource management, public service policies, and the reality of Indonesian democracy. For HTI, the capitalist system applied in Indonesia only benefits a few people, including foreign interests, and not for the benefit of local people. Democracy is considered an entry point for investors to control Indonesian politics, which, in the end, the policies made only serve capitalists or capital owners. This view of HTI from the framing perspective becomes a part of the diagnostic element.

From the prognostic side, Hizbut Tahrir explains that Islam can be a solution to the various economic, social, and political impacts of capitalism through the implementation of sharia and the political institutions of the Caliphate. In the economic aspect, in HTI's point of view, Islam teaches an economic system that focuses on wealth distribution rather than just production. Islam teaches that the state must manage unlimited natural resources for public benefit, including financing health and education as well as guaranteeing other basic needs of the community.

The political system in Islam, namely the Khilafah, as stated by HTI, can close the intervention for wealthy people wanting to control the state because in the Khilafah, the laws are extracted from sharia laws; it is not made for any human's reason. The ruler's function in Islam is only to be the executor of the sharia, and the council as the representatives in Islam (Majlis Ummah), as well as the public, should control the implementation of sharia. Even in Islam, HTI sees that the economic system is clearly explained in terms of ownership, management, and distribution of property. The Islamic economic system closes the gap for oligarchs to control important sources of the country's economy. Besides, HTI argued that Islam has a strict and indiscriminate system of sanctions applicable to rulers and people, both rich and poor (Muis 2022).

From the motivational dimension, HTI invites the implementation of Islamic sharia as an obligation for Muslims in various aspects of life, such as political, economic, social, cultural, and foreign policy aspects. As said by HTI, if Muslims are negligent, then they have sin and must be held accountable before the Almighty Allah. HTI insisted:

"Only by implementing the whole Islamic system will Muslims and human beings as a whole again be able to enjoy a just, peaceful, and prosperous life under the auspices of the pleasure of the Almighty Allah. In such a life, Muslims can realize their submission, obedience, and submission to the Almighty Allah. This is the realization of life's mission to worship the Almighty Allah in a real way" (Hizbut Tahrir 2009, 10).

Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia's (HTI) criticism towards the economic system in Indonesia is a part of its broader critique concerning the secular capitalist ideology implemented in the country. This secular capitalist ideology is seen as the root cause of various issues in Indonesia, affecting political, economic, social, cultural, and other aspects. Therefore, to refine the condition in Indonesia, HTI advocates for the implementation of Islamic law through the institution of Islamic governance, the Caliphate, as a solution to Indonesian problems. HTI's criticism regarding Indonesia has remained consistent both before and after its dissolution.

As a whole, HTI's opportunities to promote and disseminate its political and ideological ideas in Indonesia have become increasingly limited, as the movement is often viewed as exclusive, intolerant, and potentially capable of causing disintegration within society (Umam 2019,

36). Furthermore, the movement was dissolved in Indonesia in 2017 by the government decree. Nonetheless, HTI's critical perspective on Indonesia's economic and political policies might be accepted by the activists or figures who are critical of the implementation of capitalism/neoliberalism in Indonesia, whether from the nationalist economic circles or other critical movements.

Conclusion

Globally, Hizbut Tahrir is known as a group that advocates for Islam as the foundational principle of statehood and civilization. According to HT, Islam can only be implemented through a strong state apparatus that functions to uphold Sharia law and lead the propagation of Islamic teachings worldwide. HT believes that all aspects of life should be governed by Islam, from individual matters to state affairs and international relations. If Muslims do not adhere to and apply Islamic teachings, HT affirms that they will suffer while engaging in social, economic, political, and other aspects in life. Based on these ideas, HT rejects all concepts and philosophies that do not originate from the Islamic intellectual tradition especially capitalism and its derivative ideas including democracy, free market, human rights and freedom.

Using a framing approach in the study of social movements, HTI provides criticism towards the political economic system in Indonesia based on the ideology of capitalism through criticism of natural resource management, democracy, and public services in the education and health sectors. HTI also provides a solution that Islam should teach the state to manage unlimited natural resources that are used to ensure public services such as education and health. The Islamic political system also closes the gap in the entry of laws that benefit only a few rich people. HTI believes that and invites Muslims to follow sharia laws from all levels of society, both individuals and the state so that Islam can be a solution to problems in the midst of society.

Until now, HTI still continues to spread its ideological thoughts in Indonesia even though it is not formally registered as an official mass organization in Indonesia after being dissolved in 2017. HTI's thinking is still spreading through online media as well as figures and activists in Indonesia.

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