

GHAZWUL FIKR AND CAPITALISM SPECTRUM: ISLAMIC STUDENTS ON OLIGARCHY SHADES

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ABSTRACT

Ghazwul Fikr as a form of attack that emphasizes the basis of human thought becomes a means of perpetuating the power of the capitalist system and also includes the ideology used by oligarchs in controlling power so that no doubt the younger generation, especially Islamic students are often persuaded and faced with a choice, between individual interests and public interests. This study aims to analyze the working mechanism of *Ghazwul Fikr* as a global political tool in invading the younger generation of Islam and identify oligarchic networks and relations in the lives of Islamic students. This study uses a descriptive method with a literature study approach. The results of this study indicate that *Ghazwul Fikr* is not only a tool of thought invasion for adherents of Islam but also as a tool to perpetuate the power of capitalism in the economic and political system in Indonesia as well as the involvement of Islamic students in the oligarchic structure.

Keywords: *Ghazwul Fikr*, Oligarchy, Islamic Students, Capitalism

1) INTRODUCTION

Indonesia as one of the countries inhabited by the majority of adherents of Islam cannot be separated from the pros and cons diagrams both in terms of teachings and the relationship between other religions recognized by the State (institutionally). One of the variables that often become an arena for cross views or ideas is the occupation of the definition or meaning of Islam.

So far, the definition of religion is still very diverse and no definition is considered representative. Religion from Sanskrit means 'a' is not and 'gama' means not to go. So religion means staying in place; inherited from generation to generation. However, variations of other definitions are also expressed by several experts based on their respective disciplines. Apart from that, Harun Nasution's view of religion is slightly able to bridge between one definition and another.

In terminology, Harun Nasution provides the following definitions of religion:

- 1) Recognition of the existence of human relations with supernatural powers that must be obeyed.
- 2) Recognition of the existence of supernatural powers that control humans.
- 3) Binding oneself to a form of life that contains acknowledgment of a source that is outside of human beings and which influences human actions.
- 4) A system of behavior (code of conduct) that comes from supernatural powers.
- 5) Belief in a supernatural power that gives rise to a certain way of life.

- 6) Recognition of the existence of obligations that are believed to originate from a supernatural power.
- 7) The worship of supernatural powers that arises from feelings of weakness and fear of the mysterious powers that exist in the natural environment around humans.
- 8) The teachings revealed by God to humans through an Apostle.

Meanwhile, Endang Saifuddin Anshari cites "Everyman's Encyclopedia" defines religion (religion) as acceptance of the rule of law rather than powers higher than humans themselves. Furthermore, Ansari also quotes "Vergilius Ferm" who argues that religion is a set of meanings and behaviors that come from religious individuals. From these two views, religion can be interpreted temporarily as a regulation of God that encourages the soul of someone who has reason to hold God's rules with his own will, to achieve the goodness of life and happiness in the hereafter (Khobir, 2017).

Furthermore, apart from religious polemics which have become their own dynamics in Indonesia, economic and political issues also do not escape daily discussion. Both religion (Islam), economics and politics in Indonesia are the arenas for the growth and development of thought invasions (Ghazwul Fikr) launched by foreign countries. This ideological attack is very evident in the lives of young intellectuals in Indonesia, as is the case among cadres in one of the oldest student organizations in Indonesia, namely the Islamic Student Association (HMI), which is inhabited by Islamic students. The organization that was founded on February 5, 1947 is one of the organizations that has been able to stand firm in the midst of the turbulence of an era that continues to move (Huda, 2016).

However, there are all sorts of problems that have plagued the organization so far. In addition to internal dynamics, external maneuvers are also a challenge for this organization to survive, including the Ghazwul Fikr process that inevitably occurs in its cadres so that it has a significant influence both ideologically and practically.

Invasion of thought (Ghazwul Fikr) is an attempt by a nation or state to dominate the thoughts of other nations (the invaded), then make them (the invaded) loyal followers of every thought, idealism, way of life, educational method, culture, language, ethics, as well as the norms of life offered by the invaders, including the offer of individual self-establishment and tend to force humans to be consumptive and materialistic.

Ramadhani in his article describes the outline of Ghazwul Fikr's work steps are; (1) Damaging Islam in terms of aqidah, worship, norms and morals; (2) To divide and divide the Muslims on earth with tribalism and narrow nationalism; (3) Bad-mouthing the image of Islam; (4) Empowering the Muslim nation by illustrating that all cultural and civilizational progress is achieved by separating and even destroying Islam from society (Ramdhani, 2018). And the worst thing is to encourage the younger generation, especially Islamic students, to appear individualistic and affiliated with the logic of profit and loss.

In addition to Ghazwul Fikr who attacked the life of the Islamic world in a fairly open way, this thought invasion also promoted his actions in government institutions such as the political, economic and social sectors through the working relations of the capitalist system. On the other hand, capitalism has become an ideology or economic understanding that adopts the working mechanism of Ghazwul Fikr in perpetuating his power.

Capitalism is a social system based on the recognition of individual rights, including property rights, in which all property is privately owned (Rand, A., et al, 1970).

Capitalism necessitates the conquest of society through a series of activities such as indirect coercion through an ideological approach which Antonio Gramsci terms as intellectual hegemony. Gramsci's belief that behind the development of values that affect the culture of

society is the cultivation of ideas from the strong against the weak. In the role model of capitalism, parties with a strong economy will form economic doctrines to maintain their supremacy. The party with a strong economy is able to form and spread a universal ideology that will be followed by other parties to survive in the system.

Meanwhile, the working process of capitalism is also strongly supported by an exclusive system or government order known as oligarchy. In general, oligarchy is defined as a power that is controlled by a few people, but has a dominant influence in government. Oligarchy is a classic type of form of power. The word oligarchy comes from the Greek, namely *oligoi* meaning "a few" or "a few" and *arche* meaning "ruling". Oligarchy is a form of government led by a few people, but for the benefit of those few people (negative form).

Nevertheless, the oligarchs will continue to maneuver to form networks and special relationships to continue to perpetuate their power. Then the network or relationship continues to develop until it forms a circle that will become a shield of power over the group above it.

In the government structure of a country, oligarchs must continue to reorganize power following the logic of cartel politics, namely cartel politics is described as a situation when political parties collectively ignore their ideological commitments and programs in order to remain in the circle of power by choosing to join the new government. In return for the support given they share posts in government. Cartel politics in turn form an oligarchic character government (Nainggolan, 2016).

In post-New Order Indonesia, the power of the oligarchy has strengthened at the level of the government structure. Jeffrey Winters in *Oligarchy* describes in a sequence the power relations in an oligarchic government structure. For him, the oligarchs (the elite with an oligarchic character) did not join the fall after the fall of the Suharto government, on the contrary, they got stronger. The oligarchs who used to be under Suharto's absolute control are now fighting for positions at the top of power. The sultanistic oligarchs with the New Order's authoritarian method allowed oligarchs to be controlled by a dictator, while the post-New Order "democratization" made the oligarchs to compete through the mechanism of general election competition. So Winters wants to emphasize that oligarchy and democracy ride each other (Hernawan, 2011).

The same thing is also true today in Indonesia, between western hegemony through the invasion of thought (Ghazwul Fikr) which was first present during the Soeharto New Order era which was marked by its own facts such as, in the early sixties, the word Indonesia was the words dirty for the development of world capitalism. Under Sukarno's fiery leadership, liberal economic actors and businessmen from the western world were indirectly prevented from maneuvering in Indonesia (Fitri Kumala et al., 2021). This is evident from the takeover of private companies by the Indonesian state, confiscations and rampant nationalism.

Certainly, the ban was not justified by economic actors so that in October 1965, through the generals of the Indonesian military, they entered to direct their revenge against the failed colonial coup, became an anti-communist program, and opened up opportunities for full exploitation of Indonesia's vast natural resources by American companies. It goes without saying that it was the generals of the Indonesian military regime who gave most of their stake to America's success. But standing by their side, and providing a very large and extraordinary long-term stake is a team of Indonesian economists, all of whom were educated in the United States as part of a 20-year strategy sponsored by the world's most powerful private scholarship aid agency, (ARIF, 2021).

Furthermore, towards the end of the Old Order and entering the New Order, Indonesia was shocked by a failed coup by the communists. "An unsuccessful communist coup in 1965 led to an anti-Communist takeover by the military, under the leadership of General Suharto."

(Sembodo, M, 2009). Another surprising thing comes from Peter Dale Scott's writing published by the British Journal, *Lobster* that accesses the file of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Pakistan which contains a report by a former ambassador in December 1964 about a conversation between a Dutch intelligence officer and NATO that Indonesia would fall into the lap of the West. like a rotten apple. Western intelligence agencies will organize a premature communist coup that will be doomed to failure (Samantho, 2014).

From all these facts, it gave a new style to the post-Old Order government, namely the New Order as a government system that required an oligarchic style of thought which would provide the widest possible space for other countries to enter Indonesia, as with the enactment of Law no. 2 of 1986 concerning Foreign Investment in the Suharto government. Indirectly, the red carpet for the hegemony of the western world against Indonesia has been laid by Suharto following western control over all sectors in Indonesia, such as religion, government, education and media through control mechanisms over the world population as demonstrated by the Asian Illuminati and Freemasonry (Secret Society).

Ghazwul Fikr incarnated as a form of control over the world population in the religious sector as well as a form of hegemony in the western world. Between western hegemony and Ghazwul Fikr as a form of thought invasion, it is a mutually supportive matter. Gramsci in his analysis also said the same thing that the real form of hegemony is ideological conquest through the basis of mastery of individual consciousness to carry out the process of domination. This view can be found together during the New Order government, everything that is considered dangerous to the State must be eliminated such as cases of human rights violations, silencing in all sectors such as government, education and so on and the kidnapping of student activists.

Up to this point, we can conclude that the link between hegemony through Ghazwul Fikr and the spectrum or scheme of capitalism is an inseparable unit that will last forever and continue to create capitalists. Of course, capitalism in order to continue to survive requires both natural and human resources. For human resources, capitalism must create obedient humans for the smooth working mechanism. Obedient humans can only be created from the start through the education sector, especially higher education.

Departing from this analysis, this study aims to analyze the work scheme of Ghazwul Fikr and its relationship to capitalism both in terms of economics and global politics as well as to unravel the involvement of students who in this study focused on Islamic students in the organization of Islamic Student Association (HMI) as agents or superior seeds to continue to perpetuate capitalism through an oligarchic system.

2) METHODS

This research is a qualitative type through literature study. Qualitative research is research that produces descriptive data both in writing and orally from people related to the object of research. The research stage is carried out by collecting library sources and articles in the media. The research process is carried out by taking literature studies from literature, books, and from the internet. Then, it is carried out studies that are relevant to the research and note everything that has to do with the research topic as material to be packaged in the research results. Furthermore, the research results were collected and described descriptively by connecting literature, books and from the internet. Next, draw conclusions from the results of the study.

3) RESULTS

Basic Concepts of Ghazwul Fikr

Etymologically Ghazwul Fikr comes from the word "Ghazwul" which means war, attack, invasion, and invasion. While "Fikr" is thought. So when the words Ghazwul and Fikri are combined into one, it means a war of thought. Meanwhile, in terminology, Ghazwul Fikri means

attacking in various ways against Muslims in order to expel them from their religion or to minimize the distance between Muslims from the values of divine teachings.

In general, Ghazwul Fikri is often referred to as intellectual war, intelligence war, brain war, unconventional war or proxy war. Where the weapons used are not swords, pistols, spears, kris, or bombs. Rather, thoughts, writings, ideas, theories, arguments, propaganda, agitations, dialogues, and debates are both defensive and open. So Ghazwul Fikri is a war that does not shed blood, does not destroy buildings, schools, houses of worship, destroys territory, clinks of guns and whistles of bullets. However, the explosive power and destructive power are greater than conventional wars (Aravik, 2021).

Furthermore, in order to ensure the success of Ghazwul Fikri, there are at least four ways for Aravik, namely: First, Tasykik, which creates doubts and shallowness in the souls of the Muslims towards their religion. Second, Tasywih, namely obscuration. The trick is with a bad depiction of Islam to eliminate the pride of the Muslims towards Islam. Third, Tadzwiib, namely dissolving, mixing or talbis between Islamic thought and culture with Jahiliyyah thought and culture. Fourth, Taghrib, or westernization, which is to encourage Muslims to like and accept thoughts, culture, lifestyle and anything that comes from the West.

In addition, in carrying out their actions, there are various ideologies that explicitly and implicitly have the potential to distance Muslims from their religion, including: First, secularism. Secularism is a movement in society that tries to separate the affairs of the outside world from this world. Initiated by George Jacob Holyoke in 1864 AD Secularism assumes that this worldly life is absolute and final. There is no life after that, which is usually called by religion as the Last Day, the Day of Resurrection and so on (Saputra, 2019).

Whereas in Islam, every human being is required to be in the corridor of sacred divine rules and must not harm others in the name of the happiness he wants to get. Fifth, positivism is an ideology that is part of the materialism framework and uses rational, empirical, experimental and measurable truth benchmarks. Something is said to be true if it meets these criteria. Obviously, these measures cannot all be used to test the truth of religion. For example, how to believe in the existence of heaven and hell even though empirically and experimentally their existence cannot be proven. Positivism was first developed by Auguste Comte (1798-1857) in the context of law (Aravik, 2021).

Broadly speaking, Ghazwul Fikr is a pattern of attacks by foreign countries against Indonesian society through a structured set of ideologies. Even though it is a form of attack on adherents of the Islamic religion, it gradually becomes a kind of tool of economic and political power that is used by the perennials of capitalism to the controllers of state power or as we are familiarly called the oligarchic circle.

Capitalism, Power and Global Politics

Economics is closely related to the achievement of wealth, while politics is closely related to the achievement of power or power. At the international level, states and markets are at the core of international political economy. Political economy, according to Adam Smith, is a "branch of science of a statesman or legislator" and is a guide for regulating the national economy. Meanwhile, according to Mochtar Mas'oed, political economy focuses on the study of the interrelationships and interactions between political and economic phenomena, between the state and the market, between the domestic environment and the international environment, and between government and society (Rिताudin, 2014).

The focus of the EPI discussion lies in the interaction of the market and the political actors in it. Economic studies are insufficient to explain vital issues in the distribution of wealth and international economic activity, to the impact of the world economy on national interests, and the effectiveness of international regimes. This must be seen from the political boundaries of

the country, which will later be able to describe the economic policies of one country towards another.

In international political economy, it is clear that there is a conflict between the increasing interdependence of the international economy and the desire of states to regulate economic dependence and political autonomy because at the same time, states want maximum benefits from free trade carried out with other countries and want to protect its political autonomy, cultural values, and social structure. It can be said that the activities of the state run through the logic of the market system, where the market is expanded geographically and cooperation between countries in various aspects is expanded through the price mechanism, this is international political economy.

International Political Economy Studies (EPI) according to Oatley (2006) is a study of how economic interests and political processes interact with each other to shape government policies. International Political Economy studies life in the global economy focusing on the political battle between the strong and the weak in the global economic market. This global economic exchange increases the income of some people and also decreases the income of others, to borrow Gilpin's (2005) term "Global Political Economy" is the interaction of markets and powerful actors such as states, multinational corporations, and international organizations (Rani, 2013).

The distributive consequence of this global economic market is the occurrence of political competition at the national and international levels where the strong seek more "connections" in the global economy to increase their income, while the weak try to remove economic constraints at the global and national levels to minimize or even eliminate their losses. International political economy studies how the political struggles between the strong and the weak in the global economic market shape the evolution of the global economy.

The central focus of international political economy as an academic subject is how political struggles between the strong and the weak shape the economic policies adopted by governments. To understand developments in the global economy, we must know economic theories, domestic policies, examine the dynamics of political interaction between governments and know international political organizations.

In general, Oatley divides four central issues of study in the EPI: (a) International Trade System, (b) International Monetary System, (c) Multinational Enterprises (MNCs) and (d) Economic Development. The four issues are interrelated, with issues of trade, MNCs, and the international monetary system having an important role in economic development, but can be studied separately. Academics who study the international trading system examine how the political struggles between the strong and the weak shape the creation, operation, and consequences of the WTO-centered system and the ongoing regional trade framework.

Academics who study the international monetary system focus on how political struggles between the strong and the weak shape the creation, operation, and consequences of this system, where this system provides freedom of economic transactions to people living in different countries. Unlike academics who study multinational companies, the focus is on how the political struggle between the strong and the weak from MNC activities shapes the government's efforts to regulate MNC activities. They also question why an MNC can emerge and have an economic impact on the host country where the MNC's operations are located.

They emphasize how the political struggles which are the distributive consequences in the global economy shape the development strategies adopted by governments. The foreign economic policies adopted by the government in terms of trade policies, exchange rate policies, and policies towards MNCs have an impact on the use of existing resources in a country. Therefore, the study of International Political Economy is a study that studies how the political

struggle between the strong and the weak shapes state policies in allocating the resources they have.

Islamic Students on Oligarchy Shades

The state does not exist by itself but is created from social facts. Although so far there are various definitions of the state, for Karl Marx himself, the state appears first in the life of people who already know social division based on class or in other words the state emerges from an unjust society.

Although Marx previously did not have a systematic explanation of the state, both Marx and Engels had their own views on the state. In anthropology, Marx's theory of the state is often referred to as the theory of conflict. Marx held the view that the State was the "executive committee of the ruling class".

Furthermore, Marx and Engels view the State as a political body whose main task is to protect the economic and political interests of the dominant social class. The emergence of the State is not based on individual desires in social life but is born out of class struggles fighting for material interests. The winning class emerges as the holder of complete control over the State.

Marx and Engels view that the State has never basically been in a neutral position but in favor of the class in control. The material life of individuals in a State does not depend on the aspect of their will, the modes of production and the forms of relations between them that determine each other are the real foundation of the State and will continue to take place in all stages of history when the system of division of labor and private property is still needed.

The state as an institution of power must of course be strongly supported by legal instruments as a form of legitimizing power. Political anthropologist Morton Fried in his analysis of the origin of the State also said the same thing that rulers are always supported by a set of simple bureaucracies regardless of their form and the State itself makes the ruler who holds power as the most important element.

The stature of the State like this is merely an arena for class struggle and a tool to achieve the interests of the ruling class in this case the capitalist class as the main control holder of the State. The state is formed from the interests of the dominant class, so no doubt as it develops, the state must make capitalism the main mecca in all sectors of life.

Since the beginning, capitalism has become a hue in the journey of a country, including Indonesia. Capitalism itself as an economic and political system with the main point in the free market mechanism is a long nightmare for the constitution adopted by Indonesia in the 1945 Constitution. One of the real forms of the conquest of capitalism in the Indonesian government system, namely in the capitalist system, the need for fees to become an official the public is certainly so large that even a salary or allowance during the term of office is not sufficient to finance a candidacy. The candidate's enormous enthusiasm for the public office with the sacrifice of wealth, energy, thoughts and others is certainly comparable to access to power.

However, the facts on the ground show that the costs that are too large for the nomination process cannot be handled by them alone, so they need outside assistance, namely from entrepreneurs. It is then formed the union between entrepreneurs and rulers. Entrepreneurs who succeed in raising the rulers to power will certainly not give aid free of charge and those who are elected must accommodate the interests of the rulers. On that basis, the authorities who are indebted to entrepreneurs are willing to establish regulations in favor of entrepreneurs.

Such a system continues and develops until it reaches a phase where entrepreneurs are dissatisfied with the performance of the authorities regarding the agreements made. Finally, businessmen also decided to become rulers by selling out sweet promises and justifying all means to achieve their goals, including doing money politics which is of course very contradictory to

the aspects of democracy adopted in Indonesia. However, the base of material wealth owned by the ruler was able to overcome all obstacles, including the law.

Between entrepreneurs and rulers are like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated, and this is the dark side of capitalism and oligarchy that is happening both in Indonesia and the world. In line with that, Vedi R. Hadiz and Richard Robison in *Reorganizing Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an age of Markets*, the oligarchy system in Indonesia is a structured system in which there is a process of merging between bureaucratic political power and economic power or with In other words, a symbiotic relationship of mutualism between rulers and entrepreneurs. Oligarchy is a system that connects the bureaucratic power that controls economic resources with groups that have business interests to continue to make profits.

In Indonesia, capitalism and oligarchy are inseparable. Both run on a commitment of reciprocity to continue to accumulate profits. Thanks to capitalism, oligarchs are able to thrive in all sectors in Indonesia and are always developing in terms of human resources. Even today, oligarchic circles are formed among the younger generation and community organizations that drag a number of names of student activists. One of the oldest student organizations in Indonesia has long been included in the oligarchy, namely the Islamic Student Association (HMI).

HMI as one of the organizations that still stands firmly in the midst of the swift currents of development has a number of blue notes related to its relationship with oligarchs or elites with oligarchic character. For example, in a congress event that is held every 5 years, it is suspected that it has links with power holders in Indonesia. The presence of forms of intervention from outside parties (elite and elite alumni) behind the candidates or candidates for general chairman at the HMI congress is a bad signal that the congress is no longer purely a battle of ideas and independence by association cadres based on the interpretation of HMI independence. But it is more for the battle of political interests which is always colored by the will of the elites or rulers in the country. Or what we often call the oligarchy within the HMI.

Simply put, oligarchy can be defined as an actor who controls and controls a concentration on a large scale in terms of material resources which can later be used to maintain or increase personal wealth and social exclusive position.

Jeffrey A. Winters distinguishes oligarchy into two dimensions. The first dimension, oligarchy has a base of power and material wealth that is very difficult to break down and balance. While the second dimension explains that oligarchs have a fairly broad and systemic range of power, even though they have minority status in a community.

Furthermore, Jeffrey said the distribution of power in politics in Indonesia is unfair because of the oligarchy by using materials to carry out political activities. He assessed that the principle of equality in politics is important so that everyone gets the right vote. The way to fix it is that there must be a sterilization of the political system so that material power, namely money, is reduced.

These are the things that characterize HMI's body today. HMI is like a space for fighting interests for the rulers. It is no longer an organization that stands on a business foothold in realizing the concept of a just and prosperous society according to the Al-Quran and Hadith foundations. Furthermore, this case is also exacerbated by the position of HMI alumni today in several government positions who continue to maneuver so that HMI cadres continue to support everything they do.

4) DISCUSSION

Although the thought invasion (Ghazwul Fikr) has been present and has become a deadly ideological weapon, especially in Indonesia long after independence. However, the phenomenon is felt so close at this time. In the midst of the current rapid flow of information, the invasion of thought also contributes to perpetuating its power. This case is also supported by the global economic and political system which also generally has the character of individual control through the mechanism of spreading ideology.

The process of creating human characters according to the context of the times is increasingly felt in the midst of the blurry economic and political system in Indonesia which is increasingly showing its true character. The economic and political process has shifted away from the mandate of the Indonesian constitution. This is marked by the erosion of the spirit of the people's economy, which is more dominated by globalization maneuvers. Centralized economic and political control is often known as oligarchy.

Conceptually, the term oligarchy has long been known in political studies. This term stretches from Ancient Greece to the contemporary era today. In the International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Oligarchy is defined as "a form of government in which power is in the hands of a small minority". The term is taken from the Greek, "Oligarchia", which means rule by the few, consisting of the words oligoi (a few), and arkhein (to rule).

However, this brief understanding is very problematic and inadequate to define Oligarchy. That's because it still creates ambiguity about the meaning of the Oligarchy itself. Especially, it is pinned only on the concept of "minority that dominates the majority". If the concept of Oligarchy is based on this, then almost every power, influence, or government, which places a minority in the lead, can be referred to as Oligarchy. For example, the Soviets, the cardinals of the Church, the board of directors of companies, even representative democracy itself, because there are only a few people who govern. In fact, in its understanding, what is meant by Oligarchy is not that simple. It is at this point that Jeffrey A. Winters, a Professor at Northwestern University, attempts to reconstruct the notion of oligarchy (Febriani et al., 2021).

What is called Oligarchy, according to Winters in his book, it is important to place it in two dimensions. The first dimension, Oligarchy has a basis of power, material wealth, which is very difficult to break down and balance. Second, the oligarchy has a broad and systemic reach of power, even though it is a minority in a community. Thus, an oligarchic power must be based on a form of power that is difficult to break and its reach must be systemic.

According to Winters, Oligarchy theorizing begins with the fact that extreme material inequalities produce extreme political inequalities. Although in a democracy, position and access to the political process are interpreted as equal, the enormous wealth in the hands of a small minority creates a significant excess of power in the political realm for this group. This claim is based on the distribution of material resources among members of a political community, democracy or other system, which has a great influence on power. The more unequal the distribution of material wealth, the greater the power and influence of the rich in their political motives and goals. Thus, large inequalities in wealth result in inequalities in political power and influence (Sunardi, 2020).

Furthermore, two famous Greek philosophers, namely Plato and Aristotle, built a discourse around oligarchy within the framework of political philosophy, especially in discussions about the state and forms of government. In essence, Plato and Aristotle rested on the belief that oligarchy is a form of government that emerged as degeneration from a better form of government. Oligarchy, according to Plato and Aristotle, is a form of state government that absolutizes the role of wealth and the only people who have the right to lead a country are rich people who have abundant wealth. Plato and Aristotle also base themselves on the same

belief that oligarchy will only create a wider gap between a few rich people and the majority of poor people in a given country in the context of oligarchy (Sahasrad, 2014).

In addition to Winters' understanding of oligarchy as a contemporary thinker, the concept of oligarchy, especially in Indonesia, is not just as conceptualized by Winters. There are other thinkers with a similar focus. Other thinkers such as Richard Robison and Vedi R. Hadiz also developed the concept of oligarchy within the framework of explaining the economic and political system in Indonesia. Both are trying to elaborate the economic system and political system in Indonesia within the framework of an oligarchy. Winters with the title of his book *Oligarchy* and Robison and Hadiz with the title of their book *Reorganizing Power in Indonesia: The Politics of Oligarchy in an Age of Market*, both have a starting point that the superiority of material resources can be used in political power (Maiwan, 2015).

Unlike the oligarchs, the elite individually have their own agenda. There is always a clash of interests between the elites. Realities like this make it difficult for elites to influence the economic and political system in Indonesia. Robison and Hadiz propose a deeper and more specific discussion of oligarchy in Indonesia. They argue that the oligarchy in Indonesia is the result of continued conditions of capitalism in the periphery. This started with the existence of a kind of "capital revival" in Indonesia since the New Order was established.

For Robison and Hadiz, oligarchy as a system of collective power relations in Indonesia is related to the strengthening of relations between the state and the bourgeoisie which was marked by the combination of wealth accumulation and political power during the New Order era under Suharto as the main oligarch. The political system and economic system which was controlled centrally by Suharto brought maximum benefits to the sandalwood family because it could occupy important positions, thus creating extreme wealth stratification in society. In the late 1970s, Suharto's sons, such as Sigit Hardjojudanto and Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana (Tutut), each became 16 percent shareholders in Liem's Bank Central Asia, Indonesia's leading private bank (Febriani et al., 2021).

Robison and Hadiz are more sensitive to focus attention on the role of local oligarchs. Observing that decentralization has created a new arena of political conflict, they argue that the local political-bureaucratic elite inherited from the New Order has transformed using democracy in the reform era marked by decentralization to continue to accumulate wealth. Responding to the destructive effect of the increasingly wild oligarchic work during the reform era, Robison and Hadiz proposed populism as a form of transformative power in Indonesian politics. In a number of countries in Latin America, populism has succeeded in becoming a force of resistance against the grip of the oligarchy.

However, such a reality does not occur in Indonesia because the democratization process in Indonesia is being marked by the absence of individual rights struggles and leftist movements that prioritize the achievement of social justice. Civil society which is highly expected to be involved in fighting for individual rights and social justice cannot be expected because they choose to obey state instructions and corporatist ideologies that are counter to people's welfare. Middle class workers, peasants and professionals joined together to serve the work of the State.

The concept of oligarchy described by Winters, Hadiz, and Robison is a further and more complex development of the concept of oligarchy described by Plato and Aristotle in the frame of political philosophy. In discussing oligarchy, the approach used by Winters is different from the approach used by Robison and Hadiz. Winters represents the Weberian camp which focuses its discussion on the role and locus of coercion in wealth-oriented politics, while Robison and Hadiz belong to the neo-Marxist camp which sees oligarchic work as part of the development of global capitalism that penetrates into all areas of human life.

Both Winters and Robison and Hadiz have similarities in viewing oligarchy, especially in the perspective of the political and economic system in Indonesia. According to them, post-Soeharto Indonesia was characterized by political changes as part of the process of decentralization and democratization, but these changes did not get rid of the oligarchy that had been built since the emergence of the Suharto regime. Both Winters and Robison and Hadiz are of the view that the formal structure of electoral democracy can coexist with oligarchic power, especially if the democracy is only procedural.

It is the same view that makes actors in oligarchic circles also to affect Islamic students in general. Post-reform the involvement of oligarchs in the economic and political system in Indonesia can be seen through the control of power. Strength and power are completely in the hands of the oligarchs, as a result, students, especially Islamic students, are mostly tempted by the persuasion of the oligarchs and get into an oligarchic circle with establishment offers such as a seat in government.

The greatest strength of the oligarchy in the Islamic world, especially in terms of influencing Islamic students, is through the economic aspect after the life process was controlled by capitalism which utilizes the working mechanism of the invasion of thought (Ghazwul Fikr). However, this hegemony certainly has a gap, as Peter Mayo said that every form of hegemony is never perfect. This is something that Muslim youths must pay attention to. One form of counter hegemony is through student political movements in intervening in government policies that are contaminated with oligarchy.

In addition, the form of oligarchic bondage against students, especially Islamic students at HMI along with all forms of student actions that have been contaminated with oligarchs can be seen through the essay "*Suspicion Behind Human Faces*" written by Mulya Sarmono about fighting interests in the novel "*Conspirata*" by Robert Harris.

A novel that tells the story of a country called Rome which is filled with humans who arrange plans for each other to gain power in the government, overthrow and get rid of each other in a cunning way. Cicero as the main character in the novel often uses his shrewdness in rhetoric to justify his actions to gain power.

Likewise with Caesar who used money and power to gain even higher power. Then Pompey used the military sector to control the government and large lands. The three compete and conspire with each other to bring each other down for personal gain.

Meanwhile, the same story often occurs in the real world. Scenes of dropping each other or even reaching an extreme level: betrayal, often occur around us. The route of interest moves indiscriminately, regardless of kinship. He walks on the waves of capital accumulation and often has a "rice plate" political tone.

When I heard the term "rice plate", I remembered one of the moments I was in it, specifically the moment of a change of leadership in an organization. There, I witnessed the commitment and consistency that is like feces scattered in a public toilet that is not maintained, easy to come out when you need to but leaves a pungent smell.

I innocently questioned the transfer of one of my friends to a political rival's camp.

"Well, this is normal. It's about the rice plate", he answered briefly

As if this phenomenon is a natural thing. I was shocked and again recalled one of the Bugis proverbs that my parents used to say in the village which when translated into Indonesian means something like this "if you hold the animal with the rope, if you hold the human, the word is held". So if a human whose words can't be kept, is he a bin.....?

Suddenly that imagination was cut off by a new imagination. Well, about the “rice plate” earlier. If he suddenly changes his choice with the excuse of “rice plate”, it means that the rice plate which is usually under the serving hood on the dining table then turns into a “rice plate” under the hood of interests on the political table. Weird isn't it?

I hope that's how the arena of the current process of life rolls with oligarchic upbringing. Full of intrigue, weirdness and humor and behind it all there is a conspiracy that is carried out from, by and for the interests of the people.

It is to quote the story of Napoleon, the clever and cunning pig, in *Animal Farm*. Why not, whether we realize it or not, the character of Napoleon roams in humans in the modern era or even in the post-modern era. The once ideal Napoleon fought for the rights of the animals on the farm and against human domination, and in the end he could be tamed with a plate of rice under the hood of interest offered by Mr. Fredrich.

The same thing happened to one of his contemporaries and contemporaries in an organization, just because of the “rice plate” he destroyed trust and even sacrificed the sacred mission of the organization. He is willing to pawn everything including his stance and self-esteem in order to keep his “rice plate”.

The phenomenon above illustrates how the lives of some Islamic students have been far regulated and controlled by great powers. These forces are what make capitalism and oligarchy remain the prima donna in this country.

5) CONCLUSION

In today's modern life, the struggle of Ghazwul Fikr and Capitalism becomes two different variables but with the same invasion style. The attack of thought and the offer of consumptive life is a condition that we all face today. The international political situation has become the center of economic and political growth in Indonesia. In addition, Ghazwul Fikr is also used as a tool of domination by capitalism and the oligarchs in influencing the minds of the younger generation, especially Islamic students at the Islamic Student Association (HMI) to affiliate with these forces. The working process can be observed carefully through the method of controlling social movements which is carried out on critical students by persuading and giving offers and the lure of power so that some of them, Islamic students, indirectly contributed to the process of Ghazwul Fikr and continued to perpetuate the power of the oligarchy. This is considered a challenge for the younger generation, especially Islamic students in the midst of the swift currents of global economic and political power.

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