IMĀM AL-GHAZĀLĪ THOUGHTS ON ISLAMIC POLITICS: A STUDY OF THE VALUES OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION

Khamima, Muhammad Lutfi Hakimb, and Mochammad Najmul Afadc

a Politeknik Negeri Pontianak, Indonesia
sahidkhamim@gmail.com

b Institut Agama Islam Negeri Pontianak, Indonesia
mohammadlutfihakim@iainptk.ac.id

c Institut Agama Islam Negeri Pekalongan
m.najmul.afad@iainpekalongan.ac.id

Abstract
This article discusses Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts regarding politics in Islam, the socio-political conditions behind it, and the values of Islamic education contained in it. This discourse is urgent because seeing the political phenomenon in Indonesia is very worrying after the collapse of the authoritarianism regime during the Old Order era. This paper uses a type of literature research using some of the works of Imām Al-Ghazālī as the primary source. The socio-political conditions underlying the beginning of Imām Al-Ghazālī’s writings related to Islamic politics were the weak understanding of society’s religion and disintegration in the political field of Muslims at that time. From some of his works, there are four themes studied by Imām Al-Ghazālī regarding politics in Islam, namely amar ma’rūf nahī munkar in politics, the origin of the emergence of a nation, theories about state leadership, sources of power and authority of the head of state. As for the values of Islamic education contained in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts regarding politics in Islam, namely amar ma’rūf nahī munkar, power comes from God, the authority of leaders in matters of the world and the hereafter, mutualism between the people and leaders, mature, intelligent, free, male, a descendant of Quraish, healthy hearing or vision, real power, guidance, knowledge, and being careful in doing things. The fourteen values of Islamic education above include the spiritual dimension, the cultural dimension, and the intelligence dimension.

Keywords: Imām Al-Ghazālī, Islamic, Politic, the Values of Islamic Education.

INTRODUCTION
The current political conditions in Indonesia are very problematic when compared to the New Order era. There have been many cases of abuse of power perpetrated by political elites, corrupt practices, money laundering, and so on, which impact the people. Some people think that it was better during the Soeharto era than in the reform era. We can see this assumption in several slogans written on trucks, public transportation, t-shirts, and several social media. ¹ One of the factors for the disappointment of the Indonesian people with the current political conditions is the crisis against leaders who have a clear vision and

mission and who adhere to religion as the last bastion in implementing political policy.

This condition of Indonesian politics has more or less happened during the time of Imām Al-Ghazālī. At the time of Imām Al-Ghazālī, many political practices deviated from the Shari’ah path, such as corruption, abuse of power, and the ulama crisis. One of Imām Al-Ghazālī’s sharp criticisms of the condition of the ulama at that time was the existence of scholars who were bound by worldly ambitions. The cleric who served as an advisor to the ruler did not carry out his mission correctly. From this background, Imām Al-Ghazālī wrote books containing his thoughts on politics. From several works of Imām Al-Ghazālī, we need to learn what the values of Islamic education are in it. In the author’s opinion, this is important because we can make it a guideline for improving the political system in Indonesia today.

Several previous studies discuss the values of Islamic education in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts on Islamic politics. In general, the authors classify them into two patterns. The first is research results that focus on Imām Al-Ghazālī’s ideas regarding politics or leadership in Islam. Some of the writings that fall into this category are Sahri, Ade Afriansyah, Kholili Hasib, and Mawar Febrianti. They discussed the concept of the state, government, ideal leader, and their relevance in Indonesian politics. The second pattern focuses on examining the ideas or values of Islamic education from Imām Al-Ghazālī. Those who fall into this category include Muhammad Edi Kurnanto, Imroh Atul Musfioh, Ary Antony Putra, Alwan Suban, and Adi Fadli. Two things concern them, namely the focus on the concept of Islamic education according to Imām Al-Ghazālī and its relevance to the education system in Indonesia.

From the two patterns above, they missed that in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts about Islamic politics, there were also the values of Islamic education. These values are what the authors offer in this paper. This article

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uses literature studies and makes some of Imām Al-Ghazālī’s works as primary sources. There are three objectives of this study. First, to describe the socio-political conditions at the time of Imām Al-Ghazālī. Second, to explore Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts on politics in Islam. Third, to analyze the values of Islamic education contained in Imām Al-Ghazālī about politics in Islam.

OVERVIEW ON IMĀM AL-GHAZĀLĪ

His full name is Abu Hamid Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad Al-Ghazālī al-Thūni (after this referred to as Imām Al-Ghazālī). He was born in 450 H / 1058 AD in a small village called Ghazalah Thabar, part of the city of Thus (now near Meshed) Khurasan region, Iran. Al-Ghazālī died in his hometown, Thus on 14 Jumadil Akhir 505 AH (December 19, 1111 AD). His father, Muhammad al-Thūsi, was a wool weaver who liked to donate part of his wealth for scientific activities and loved science.

Imām Al-Ghazālī’s struggle in the scientific world began when he was 15 years old. He showed his determination to study from Sheikh Abu Nasr al-Ismaili in Jurjan and al-Juwaini at Madrasah Nisabur. In this Madrasah, he studied and debated with the thoughts that developed at that time. Even with the provision of jurisprudence, theology, interpretation, hadith, ushul fiqh, logic, and other scientific instruments, he has made ijtihad. In his only thirties, he answered and criticized Greek logic and philosophy and disproved his opponents’ opinions.13

After the death of his teacher al-Juwaini, Al-Ghazālī traveled again to wrestle with the world of science. He went to the Muaskar area and met Nizam al-Mulk (Wazir in the Abbasid Daula). In 484 H or 1091 AD, Al-Ghazālī was assigned by Nizam al-Mulk to teach at the Nizamiyah Higher Education Institute, which was founded in Baghdad. As a Professor at the Nizamiyah College, this position was the beginning for Al-Ghazālī to become a well-known Islamic scientist in Iraq. He cadres about 300 students who will become scholars. His fame trumped the popularity of the Abbasid rulers.15

One of the exciting things is the government relations that support Imām Al-Ghazālī’s way of preaching. At the time of Caliph al-Mustazhir Billah, the government was very concerned with developing Islamic thought. Thought that goes outside the Sunni line is trying to be rejected. At that time, the Shi’ah Batiniyah school of thought developed. Seeing that their movements were not good, finally, Imām Al-Ghazālī was fully supported to fight against Batiniyah’s thoughts. Fadā’ih al-Batiniyah wa Fadā’i al-Mustazhiriyah, written by Imām Al-Ghazālī, is an extraordinary book to counter the Shi’ah

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schools of thought. He was supported and given a fee to complete the writing of the book.  


**SOCIOPOLITICS IN THE IMĀM AL-GHAZĀLĪ**

From a political perspective in the Eastern Islamic world, the existence of the Abbasid dynasty (132-656 H) is still recognized. However, adequate power was in the hands of the Sultans, who divided the area into several independent regions. During the time of Al-Ghazālī, there was disintegration in the political field of Muslims and the socio-religious field. There developed the Mur’jiyah, Shia, and Ahlussunnah traditions. The major groups in conflict at that time were Shia and Ahlussunnah. In addition, the power of the Umayyad Caliphate in Andalusia still has remnants that are divided into small kingdoms.

When the Abbasid power declined, the Buwaihi dynasty, under Mu’iz al-Daulah, forced and controlled the Abbasid’s ability to enter Abbasid politics. The Buwaihi dynasty ruled for 110 years. They established the Sultan’s institution, which previously did not exist during the Abbasid era. The Sultan’s institution succeeded in deceiving the Caliph in the Abbasiyah caliphate. The role of the Caliph seemed helpless. The person in power is the Sultan of the Buwaihi people who understand Syiah. Caliph Al-Fadal did not have any strength in dealing with it.

During the administration, Buwaihi officials committed deviations from Islamic teachings. What was also concerning was that many government officials were corrupt. Under the control of the Buwaihi officials, the spiritual community experienced a decline. Buwaihi aspired to turn the Abbasid empire into a Shi’ah Zaidiyah kingdom. However, in 1055, the Sunni Seljuk dynasty succeeded in taking control of Baghdad. The Buwaihid dynasty became weak because the political authority of the Seljuq State was held by the Sultan, who was delegated to the vizier, not the Caliph. However, what made this dynasty triumphant was the Sultan’s attention in increasing the knowledge of its citizens and improving the thinking of Muslims. This attention was proven by establishing the Nizamiyah Madrasah, one of which was tasked with spreading Sunni ideology.

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The Seljuk dynasty also controlled almost the entire country, although, in some areas, Buwaihi had power. Under the rule of Tughrul Beg, the chaos of society and state officials ended and established essential changes, especially in the increase of public knowledge. The main thing is that they are credited with establishing the Nizamiyah school. At this Nizamiyah college, Imām Al-Ghazālī’s scientific career peaked, and he was promoted to become Professor at the Nizamiyah College by the Caliph. Sultan Seljuk’s concern for knowledge turned out to be a favorable wind for Nizam al-Muluk’s political future. Several kingdoms joined them, Gaznawi in India and the Kingdom in Sudan. At the same time, Shi’a influence declined naturally as far as Egypt.

After the death of Nizam al-Muluk, Abbasiyah’s greatness began to decline in 485 AH. Her death hurt political and scientific life in Iraq. The fall of the Caliph resulted in a return to a culture of corruption among officials, the emergence of ulama sū’ (evil), and disputes with splinter groups. This kind of situation is a big challenge for Imām Al-Ghazālī. He has two big tasks to carry out. First, improve understanding of public science. Second, he had a political obligation to remind officials, as he had done with the officials of the Seljuq dynasty.

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**ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT OF IMĀM AL-GHAZĀLĪ**

1. **Amar Ma’rūf Nahī Munkar in Politics**

As a scientist with a sharp mind and soul, Imām Al-Ghazālī was not directly involved in being a part of the government. However, he was in the position of a scholar obliged to do amar ma’rūf nahī munkar to the Government (Umara). Not as an opposition, but as a partner to spread goodness (ma’rūf) and ward off evil (munkar). That position was because Imām Al-Ghazālī saw the leader of the Seljuq dynasty. Apart from the negative side, such as abuse of authority and moral uncertainty, the Sultan is still very concerned about the development of education and scholarship of citizens. At the level of a theological clash, the Sultan is in the correct position. Therefore, Imām Al-Ghazālī saw that the government could still be maintained and improved, so he wrote a letter containing advice to the Sultan.

By examining his thoughts in al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Nashīḥah al-Mulūk, Imām Al-Ghazālī wanted to carry out moral reforms of government. For Imām Al-Ghazālī, this moral reform was an obligation for Shari’ah scholars and scholars. He said, “An expert in Islamic jurisprudence (fāqih) is a person who masters the political rules of Islam and knows how to become a mediator among humans (state officials). If there is a dispute with a law that is purely due to differences in political views, but more because the Batiniyah group committed many ideological deviations, acts of violence and tried to overthrow the Sultan through political methods of fighting one another.
not true, then a fāqih should be the teacher and guide for the Sultan.”

The main content of this collection of letters of advice can be grouped into two broad points. First, Imām Al-Ghazālī prioritized the power of the monotheistic creed. Second, it contains moral advice, justice for the virtues of science and scholars. The two main discussions were born from the thought of Imām Al-Ghazālī, which probably occurred because of the pressure of the social, religious, and political situation at that time. On that basis, Imām Al-Ghazālī felt he had an obligation to improve public knowledge and the behavior of state officials. In addition, one of the worries that made Imām Al-Ghazālī even more, racked his mind was the slowly spreading phenomenon of Shia Batiniyah. Although the Sultan and the Caliph were not influenced by Batiniyah ideology, Imām Al-Ghazālī felt that monotheism was necessary for state officials in such a situation.

At the beginning of his advice text, Imām Al-Ghazālī started with the principles of faith. In this chapter, apart from the Sultan remaining loyal to the true faith, Al-Ghazālī also wanted to remind the Sultan that the highest authority in this world is the Creator (Allah SWT). In this case, it seems implicit that Imām Al-Ghazālī is warning the Sultan that power is only trusted from Allah SWT. Allah gave the mandate to the Sultan to stabilize the country’s condition following His Shari’a. In his sub-chapters, Imām Al-Ghazālī writes about His Impression, none of which equals Him, the attributes of Allah, reminds us of the hereafter, and the duties of the Prophet Muhammad.

The advice of tauhid is essential because it protects state officials from Syiah Batiniyah and fortifies the people from these deviant thoughts. After all, Batiniyah is known as a radical splinter group. Suppose we try to refer back to the history of classical Islamic schools of view. In that case, we will find that the Bathiniyah movement is a group or sect isolated and highly hostile to all other schools of thought, both from among the Sunnah Asy’ariah, Maturidiyah or from the Mu’tazilah. Even among the Shi’ah themselves, they joined in their kafirs, such as the Shi’ah Imāmiyah (Itsna’ Asy’ariah) or the Shi’ah Zaidiyah group is a Shi’a sect that has close ties to the Sunnah experts.

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25 Batiniyah’s theological claims contradict the beliefs of the majority of Muslims. They believe that all the texts of the Alquran, without exception, contain physical and mental meanings. Batiniyah is a group that masks Islam. They assume that religious texts have inner and outer substances. The political claim, which is related to Shi’i theology, says that the priesthood is inherited and must be held by the Imāms of Ali r.a. If the priest has passed away, the vice priest will replace him. Apart from that, another Batiniyah thought the majority of scholars opposes that is to believe that the Alquran has a hidden meaning that is different from the definition of zahir. See: Kamaluddin Al-Būgīsī, Mawqif Al-Zaidiyah Wa Aḥl al-Sunnah Min al-Aqīdah al-İsmā’iliyah Wa Falsafatuhā (Bierut: Darul Kutub Al-İmıyah, 2009).
27 Ibid., p. 7.
In addition, there are two essential things emphasized by Imām Al-Ghazālī in his advice, namely strengthening of faith and ethics. For Imām Al-Ghazālī, these two things seem to be the main factors in becoming a faithful servant of Allah SWT. In other terms, the basic principle that the state officials want to affirm is the Islamic view of life (al-tasawwur al-islāmī). Because al-tasawwur al-islāmī is the principle for every human behavior, including scientific and technological activities. In the end, every person’s activity can be traced to his way of life. Thus, the action can be reduced to a picture of life. Therefore, a Caliph who has a solid Islamic view of life, all of his policies cannot be separated from the Islamic mindset.

2. Origin of the Emergence of a Country

Imām Al-Ghazālī argues that the state is such an essential institution because the state is the guardian to carry out solid religious law. Religion is the foundation of world life that delivers true happiness, and the form is needed to make it happen. Imām Al-Ghazālī firmly stated, “Religion is the main (foundation) of a building, while the state is the guardian of it. Every building without foundation will collapse, so a building without support will be in vain.”

Imām Al-Ghazālī analogized the origin of the emergence of a state with a mutual need for one another as a symbiotic mutualism. Humans will create organizations to regulate all their life activities to guarantee rights in their lives from such a situation. For example, humans need food with farmers as processors. Farmers need traders, and traders need buyers. Buyers cannot immediately eat the vegetables from these farmers. Buyers need cooking utensils and so on. This rotation is how humans are tied to each other’s needs and dependencies. Therefore, Imām Al-Ghazālī argued that humans are social beings who cannot possibly live alone due to two factors. First, the need for humans to carry out their offspring through sexual relations between men and women. Second, humans help each other in providing food, clothing, and children’s education.

Several professions form the basis for the establishment of a country. First, agriculture for food procurement. They were second, spinning for clothing procurement. Third, development to build state facilities. Fourth, politicians for the formation and management of the state. The fourth profession is the most important of the four professions because it is influential and decisive in state policy. Therefore, politics demands a higher level of perfection than any other profession.

3. Theory of State Leadership

The purpose of man in society is to fulfill only worldly material welfare, but more than that. The goal of humans from community to the state is to create prosperity in the world and get salvation in the hereafter. The survival of humanity in the future must be supported by a well-ordered, prosperous social and state life, upholding Islamic law, and being religious.

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29 Ibid., p. 11.
30 Al-Ghazali, Ihyā ’Ulūmu al-Dīn, p. 31.
31 Sjadjali, Islam dan Tata Negara; Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran, p. 74.
32 Ibid., p. 75.
These things can be realized by obtaining obeyed leaders and state managers, assigning tasks to each according to their professionalism, and managing all state affairs.\textsuperscript{33}

Based on this, Imām Al-Ghazālī recommended that leaders appoint not only by reason but also on a vital religious aspect. This is intended to obtain welfare in the hereafter. The interest of this hereafter is not easy to achieve without security and order in the world. Imām Ghazali borrowed an expression that religion and king are like twins. Religion is the foundation, and the king is the guardian. Something without foundation will easily collapse, so a foundation without a guard is easy to lose.\textsuperscript{34} Therefore, Imām Al-Ghazālī placed government policy (siyāsah al-khalq) as a tool. Imām Al-Ghazālī revealed that the world is the garden of the afterlife because religion is imperfect without the presence of the government.\textsuperscript{35}

There are at least ten conditions that a king must fulfill according to Imām Al-Ghazālī, namely: adult (aqil baligh), intelligent, free, male, a descendant of Quraish, healthy hearing or vision, real power, guidance, knowledge, and wara’ (be careful in doing).\textsuperscript{36} Specifically for the fifth requirement, other sources say that Imām Al-Ghazālī does not require a head of state from the descendants of Quraish. This is influenced by the condition of the existence of the government at the time of Imām Al-Ghazālī, where the Seljuks played a role in government.\textsuperscript{37} According to Imām Al-Ghazālī, intelligence is not the most important thing for a head of state. The head of state has enough character and is careful about legal and shari‘ah matters. Imām Al-Ghazālī argued that at the time of the Abbasid Caliphate had fulfilled all these requirements.\textsuperscript{38}

4. Source of Power and Authority of Heads of State

Various theories are emerging about the source of power. First, the view of divinity, namely energy, comes from God or the divine rights of the king. Second, the power theory is a theory that says political power is obtained through strength in competition between groups. Third, the social contract theory, which is a theory which states that energy is obtained through community agreements. This means that political power comes from the people and its legitimacy through community agreements.\textsuperscript{39}

In terms of the source of this power, Imām Al-Ghazālī is more inclined towards the first theory. According to him, Allah has chosen two groups from the offspring of the human child. First, the Prophets are tasked with pointing people to the straight path through His shari‘ah to gain prosperity in this world and the hereafter. Second, the kings whose duty is to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} Ibid., p. 76.
\item \textsuperscript{34} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Djazuli, \textit{Fiqh Siyasah} (Jakarta: Kencana, 1991), p. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Sjadzali, \textit{Islam dan Tata Negara; Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran}, p. 78.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Rojak, \textit{Politik Kenegaraan: Pemikiran-Pemikiran Al-Ghazali dan Ibnu Taimiyah}, p. 106.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Sjadzali, \textit{Islam dan Tata Negara; Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran}, p. 78.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Jeje Abdul Rojak, \textit{Politik Kenegaraan: Pemikiran-Pemikiran Al-Ghazali dan Ibnu Taimiyah} (Surabaya: Bina Ilmu, 1999), p. 113.
\end{itemize}
keep God’s servants from fighting against each other, violating regulations, and taking the rights of others. Meanwhile, kings should be respected, and it is forbidden to rebel against them.

THE VALUES OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION ON THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF IMĀM AL-GHAZĀLĪ

Islamic education is a process of guidance from educators to students, aiming to improve attitudes and mentality, manifested in deeds and behavior to form a wonderful Muslim personality. 40 Islamic education is different from education because it has Islamic characteristics in empowering people based on texts, both the Koran and the hadith. Thus, Islamic education is normative, but its implementation in materials, institutions, culture, and values has implications for the empowerment of the people. 41

The classification of values in Islamic education is very diverse. In this paper, the author uses the division developed by Said Agil Husin Al Munawar, taken from the text. Munawar divides the values in Islamic education into three. 42 First, the spiritual dimension such as faith, holiness, and noble morals can be seen in worship and congregation. Second, cultural dimensions such as independence, responsibility, and so on lead to the development and enhancement of primary and environmental factors. Third, the dimensions of intelligence lead to progress, such as disciplined, intelligent, creative, innovative, professional, productive, and so on. The values of Islamic education are urgent to be instilled from an early age in students or children in general and the importance of Islamic education in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts regarding Islamic politics.

If the writer analyzes the values in Islamic education in the Islamic political thought of Imām Al-Ghazālī, then fourteen values of Islamic education are classified into three dimensions. There are three values of Islamic education in the spiritual dimension in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s Islamic political thought. The three values are amar ma’rūf nahi munkar, power comes from God, and the authority of leaders is not only a matter of the world but of the hereafter as well. These three values show that Islamic politics regulates matters relating to the welfare of the Muslim community living in the world and can make the issues relating to the world as a path of the matters relating to the hereafter.

There is one value of Islamic education in the cultural dimension in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s Islamic political thought, namely the mutualism relationship between the people and leaders in a country. This value shows that a leader cannot claim that he is the most influential person and is free to do everything. Leaders need people to

be recognized and legalize their power. Likewise, the people cannot live safely and prosperously if there is no leader. That matter is because the people need clear rules made and applied by leaders to their people. Therefore, there is a need for mutually beneficial cooperation between the two parties in a country.

Finally, there are ten values of Islamic education in the dimension of intelligence in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s Islamic political thought. These ten values are the conditions set by Imām Al-Ghazālī to become a mature, intelligent, free male, a descendant of Quraish, healthy hearing or vision, real power, guidance, knowledge, and be careful in doing. These ten requirements are more individual and cover the intellectual aspect and the religious aspect. The chosen leader can provide goodness to Muslims in the world and the hereafter.

These three dimensions are essential in Islamic education because when students become leaders or participate in politics in Indonesia, they can apply these values in their leadership. Moreover, most of Indonesia’s population is Muslim and has a crucial influence on the nation’s ideology. The cultivation of educational values is essential for teachers to teach to their students. This value education can be used as assistance by students to be understood, experienced, and placed internally in their lives, both in politics and civil society.

CONCLUSION

The values of Islamic education in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts on politics in Islam become an organ if you see the condition of politics in Indonesia, which is very worrying after the collapse of the authoritarian regime in the old order era. In this article, there are three conclusions. First, the socio-political conditions underlying the birth of Imām Al-Ghazālī’s works related to Islamic politics were the weak understanding of society’s religion. There was disintegration in the political field of Muslims at that time. Second, there are four themes studied by Imām Al-Ghazālī related to politics in Islam, namely amar ma‘rūf nahī munkar in politics, the origin of the emergence of a state, the theory of state leadership, sources of power and authority of the head of state. Third, the values of Islamic education contained in Imām Al-Ghazālī’s thoughts regarding politics in Islam are amar ma‘rūf nahī munkar, power comes from God, the authority of leaders in world and afterlife issues, mutualism between people and leaders, adults, intelligent, free, male, a descendant of Quraish, healthy hearing or vision, real power, guidance, knowledge, and being careful in doing things. The fourteen values of Islamic education

45 Moch Riza Fahmi, “Penguatan Pendidikan Nilai di Bidang Fiqh; Studi Pemikiran Falak KH. Abdul Rani Mahmud,” At-Turats 9, no. 2 (December 1, 2015): p. 57.
include the spiritual dimension, the cultural dimension, and the intelligence dimension.

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