

## POLITICAL OPPOSITION IN ISLAMIC POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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**Abstract** - Democracy is a political system that provides space for the opposition because the basis of democracy is the existence of popular sovereignty and freedom. Furthermore, people have the right to participate in political decision-making and win the course of the government. Related to the democratic system, it can be transparent, human, and constitutional. On the other hand, Islamic politics is built with Islamic values that emphasize the people's welfare in the democratic system in Indonesia. Likewise, the actions of the opposition are included in the study of Islamic politics. This research intends to see Indonesia's political opposition from the perspective of Islamic politics. Qualitative and systematic literature review methods are considered appropriate in examining political conflict from an Islamic political perspective. The results of the study stated that in Islamic politics, the people/people were agreed to obey the leaders or the government. However, Muslims are obliged to give advice or ask for permission from the leaders or the government to apply a mistake or wrongdoer. Thus, the political exclusion is a noble political policy, including even the superior people, because they believe in the leaders or the government for wrong behavior. The agreed opposition was for the others: first, Amar Makruf and prevent sleaze. Second, oppose upholding justice. Third, the opposition is for the benefit of the people. Four, Opposition and constitutional;opposition is done politely andgently.

**Keywords:** opposition; Islamic politic, Al-Bagyu, democracy

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

This decade the democratic political system has become a trend in the state, although democracy is not necessarily the best, most countries in the world adhere to the democratic system as a choice in the state(Lührmann et al., 2018, 2019; Olowojolu, 2015). In practice, the applied democracy will be adjusted to the results of the political *ijtihad* of each country (Khodaverdian, 2022). The logical consequence of a democratic political system is opening space for opposition groups (Al Chukwuma & Ali, 2014). Opposition in the understanding of constructive criticism is to align government policy towards the goals of the state or for the common good (*general will/will of all*)(Thompson, 2017)

The opposition means to oppose, reject(Lilja, 2022), and fight a situation (Gamboa, 2022)that does not follow his and his group's wishes. The rejection and hiring are done to avoid the system imposed by



the government. The opposition has a value between shared interests and personal or group interests (Young, 2020). Opposition relates to political groupings, parties, or the looseness of individuals who want to change their government and politics (Al Chukwuma & Ali, 2014). Opposition parties are an alternative for dissatisfied voters (Voogd & Dassonneville, 2020). Other than that, the opposition provides information about government policies and shows its weaknesses (Hasyim, 2016). Those who put themselves in the position of the opposition have a responsibility to provide criticism and propose useful alternatives for government policy (Demirkaya, 2019; Gomez, 2006). Indonesia also experienced the practice of uniformed opposition from 1980 to 1990, during which President Soeharto was in charge. The uniformed opposition arose because of military disappointment at President Soeharto's performance (Yulianto, 2003). So do not be surprised if the opposition becomes a way of unsatisfied individuals or groups in developing and advancing the country.

Interestingly even though opposition is an alternative for dissatisfied groups (Dyrstad & Hillesund, 2020). The opposition is often less positively accepted by the community, even negatively connoted as an anti-establishment group, creating political instability, even more, extreme being regarded as a group that wants to overthrow a legitimate government (Tuswoyo, 2016). With such conditions, making opposition in some countries less well developed, even though the existence of opposition in the democratic system is something inherent and can perfect the democratic system itself (Demirkaya, 2019; Noor, 2016).

On the other hand, the democratic system owned by Indonesia makes it clear that sovereignty is in the hands of the people. Every citizen or community must participate actively in making or overseeing policies issued by the government/country (Gomez, 2006). One of the most basic principles in a democracy is the principle of sovereignty and freedom (Bialasiewicz & Eckes, 2021; Emerson, 2021; Petr & Elena, 2019). This principle protects people from becoming or not becoming opposition.

There are several reasons for the importance of opposition in a democratic system, including; First, democracy demands active participation from the community. Political participation is one of the prerequisites for upholding democracy. The intended participation is not mobilized participation but is independently based on the political awareness of individual citizens.

In the context of participation, the opposition impacts people's freedom to respond and criticize government policies to suit their interests better. David Held stated that the democratic nature from the past (classical) to modern people's involvement became an absolute thing (Held, 1996). Even in the development of modern society, a certain limit of community involvement in government can be seen from the increasingly high level of political participation of society, in contrast to the attitudes of traditional non-participant communities (Huntington, 1994).

The second reason that the opposition is part of the concept of sharing power (share of power). One aspect that can distinguish democratic and non-democratic states is the division of power between State institutions / political institutions. With this share of power, institutions can form state regulations or programs while controlling state implementation, namely the legislative/parliamentary body, and there are also state institutions to implement parliamentary policies, namely executive institutions, as well as other institutions with the constitution of each country that has a democratic system. Besides, institutions that can accommodate and convey the aspirations of the people also develop and control or supervise on behalf of the people.

The third reason for opposition's importance in a democracy is checks and balances. This concept is a continuation of the idea of sharing power, where between political institutions are made equal, so that between political institutions can control or supervise each other, for example between the legislature and executive where the legislature has the authority to supervise the executive, as well as the executive of the legislature, but cannot knock each other down.

Control and balance allow the parties that exist, both in parliament and the executive, to criticize each other and control and remind the government to remain in line with the community's wishes and the constitution (Munadi, 2019). This balancing within the branch of state institutions or among state

institutions opens the space for the birth of opposition to the ruling government. The principles of opposition in the context of democracy apply universally. That is, it can apply in the parliamentary system of government and presidential government system.

Based on the description above, what about Islamic politics views the existence of political opposition in a doctrinal state or Islamic political concepts. Because there are not a few Islamic countries that this decade has accommodated democratic concepts or implemented democratic systems in the state, this study examines the concepts and theories of how Islamic politics is related to the existence of political opposition in the state, especially in Indonesia.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

A qualitative approach is used to understand the political problems of opposition in Indonesia with an Islamic political perspective. Indonesia is taken as an object of a research study because it is a democratic country with the largest Muslim community in the world. The use of systematic literature review methods (Aziz et al., 2023) of national, international journals and books is considered relevant to discuss in depth the study of opposition politics in this Islamic political perspective (Tranfield et al., 2003). The literature review method tries to understand the political context of opposition in Indonesia by analyzing journals or books that discuss opposition politics and Islamic politics.

## 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Democracy is related to the sovereignty and freedom of the people and forms the basis of the right to participate in politics (Noor, 2016). Two basic concepts are priorities in defining democracy, namely freedom/equality and popular sovereignty. These two basic concepts are the leading indicators in upholding of democracy (Rauf, 2000).

The concept of freedom and equality among human beings gives birth to several conditions emphasizing individual agreement as a basis for human relations. All human equality, diversity, broad voting rights, and freedom of speech and assembly. The concept of popular sovereignty produces several democratic requirements, namely the state as a tool, the rule of law, free, open, fair, honest, periodic, and competitive elections, a government that depends on parliament, and a free court (Rauf, 2000).

## 4. OPPOSITION IN THE CONCEPT OF ISLAMIC POLITICS

In Arabic, the opposition is identified with the words *Al Muarodoh* and *Al Muqoowamah* (Fairuz, 2007). *Al Muaradhah*, which means conflicting face to face (Shaliba, 1973). In terms of, Ahmad Shalabi provides an understanding of "disapproval of a decision that has been taken or challenging in making a particular decision" (Syalabiy, 1983). Based on understanding the meaning of the opposition, that the opposition or disagreement with the government's decision, is not only limited to different origins or looking for differences, but the rejection of the government's decision by considering various aspects both from aspects of the constitution, benefits, and sustainability with international relations.

The initial principle in the relationship between leaders and the people in Islamic politics is the obligation of the people to obey the leader/ruler/ *ulilamri* as the Word of Allah SWT in An-Nisa verse 59:

"Hi you who believe, obey Allah and obey His Messenger, and *Ulil Amri* among you...".

The Word of God is clearly a necessity to obey *Ulil Amri*, but in every decision making, it is an inevitability of a different approach or perspective both within government and outside government, so that there is debate and the need for consensus agreement, so that the policy is more many its benefit and reduce its harms as stated in the principles of jurisprudence:

"Refuse damage, and achieve benefit" (Wahab, 1991).

Even the policy of a leader or government must be based on the good and will of the people as in the principles of jurisprudence:

"The policy of a leader depends on the benefit of the people" (Badaruddin, 1985).

Referring to these rules that a leader or government must be open to the aspirations desired by the people because the people are not only as objects of policy but are subject to the policy. A more beneficial political system is precisely when there is a match between the aspirations or desires of the people with the policies taken by the government. Therefore, the people must be active in controlling and conveying aspirations to the government, so that there is no arbitrariness of the government in taking policies that will not necessarily provide benefits for the State and the people.

Policymaking that is fewer *mashlahat* and even tends to open space will arise disobedience, in Islamic political principles for Muslims can refuse to obey the leader. As the Prophet said, that is:

“It is obligatory for every Muslim to listen and obey his leader whether he is happy or he is not happy as long as the leader does not order to commit immorality. If he orders to commit immorality, then there is no need to listen and obey him”. (Al-Bukhari, 1422)

More emphatically the Prophet Muhammad said related to the attitude of the people towards leaders who do wrong, namely:

"From Ibn Buraidah from his father, the Messenger of Allah said: "Jihad is most important is to convey the truth to the ruler of the wrongdoers, or leaders who wronged" (Hanifah, 2015).

In another hadith the Messenger of Allah said, as narrated by Muslim al-Imams:

“Having said Abu Said, I heard the Messenger of Allah said; If anyone of you sees evil, he must prevent the evil with his hand; if he is unable, he must prevent it verbally, if he is unable, he should prevent it with his heart. That is the weakness of faith”(Ahmad, 2001).

Based on these hadiths, the people must not remain silent or watch it in seeing a policy but must participate to get involved in decision making, while overseeing the policy both in the rules and implementation of the policy. In the second hadith above, people's participation can be done in various stages or professions, and the lowest people can only hate in heart, stay in action.

Correction or control to the government at the highest stage is true with power or strength (hands), power in this decade can vary, both for the authorities or government, political parties (Abbas & Sultana, 2019), NGO (Kelley & Simmons, 2019), interest groups, pressure groups, while verbally it can be done by preaching, lectures (Rochmat et al., 2022), observers, mass media (Lee et al., 2020), seminars, etc., all of which are carried out objectively on the consequences of the policy.

Why is it important that there is control or supervision of any government policy or the actions of the authorities, at least there are several arguments, including; First, the ruler is an ordinary person who is inseparable from the error, so that with the control of the community will minimize from the error. In Islam, reminding one another of these mistakes is part of a Muslim's duty. Second, avoiding the policies or actions of the authorities that will have the effect of tyrannizing some people or damaging the State. In every political policy will not be separated from various political interests both for personal or group interests, so that it forgets the interests or common good, even in the present political phenomenon is inseparable from the global interests that each State has an interest in every strategic policy issued by one State, because will affect other countries. With the opposition, there will be a positive consideration of the birth of strategic policy in the interest of the State. Third, avoid the arbitrariness of the authorities. With the opposition or counterweight, the authoritarianism of a ruler will be minimized, because there is strict supervision of the opposition because the arbitrariness never cared about the negative effects of the policy on society. Fourth, power tends to corrupt. Control will reduce the corrupt behavior of the authorities so that a clean government can be created, and all State policies are directed towards the common good and prosperity. Fifth, the existence of opposition, or control from the community will increase the political sensitivity of the community or as a political education of the community, to give birth to a constructive level of political participation in society, as a prerequisite for democracy.



In the historical perspective of Islam, the first Caliph Saidina Abu Bakar Ash-Shiddiq set an example by considering the importance of advice or control from the people, as he said in the first political speech in his appointment as a caliph after the death of the Prophet, in his appointment speech as khalifah, after his obedience said:

“.....hi people! Truly I have been appointed as your government, and I admit that you are not your best person. So, if I do good and wise, you should support it. If I do bad, you must straighten out ..., obey me as long as I obey Allah and His Messenger. If I act against Allah and His Messenger, then you have no obligation to obey me....”(Al-Dimasyqiy, 1996).

Abu Bakar's speech explained that there was a need for correction and supervision of the performance carried out in building a prosperous government and following Islamic sharia. Besides, being a leader must have shortcomings in actions and actions so that the supervisory measures are appropriate when carried out on the government of a country.

Likewise, the second Kholifah, Amir al-mu'minin, Umar bin Khathab in a political speech after taking allegiance to become a caliph after the death of the first caliph Abu Bakr Ash-Shiddiq. In his speech, he said, among other things: "Fear Allah, O servant of Allah, help me carry out this task in upholding *amarmakruf* and *nahimunkar*, give me advice on the position that I hold to handle your affairs....”(Haikal, 1963).

Even firmer, Umar said:

”... hi, people! Who among you who find me on the path that is not right then straighten me ...”(Huwaidi, 1993).

The assertiveness and openness of the caliphs above is a form of high morality and belief in the words of Allah and the Hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad, related to power, or leadership to make their personalities open to be reminded, advised or criticized. There are several Hadiths and the words of Allah that are much related to leadership or power, among others: In the Hadith, the Prophet SAW said:

“From Ibn Umar said: Rasulullah SAW said, that each of you is a leader and will be held accountable from everyone he leads. The human Imam is the leader and will be held accountable for those he leads”(Rosyid, 1403).

The hadith can be a moral and spiritual power to make the leadership of the caliphs, to reduce oversight or injustice by the mechanism of opening oneself to be advised, criticized, and reminded, so that it is appropriate that the two caliphs at the beginning of their first political speech asked to be reminded of the error. That is one form of leadership-oriented *ukhrowi* or leadership that has high morality and democratic mechanisms.

In the Qur'an, there are several verses that tell the Muslims to play an active role in telling the good or *amarma'ruf* and *nahimunkar*, both in the community or in the state. The Word of God in the Qur'an; among other things Q.S. Ali Imron (3): 104, mentions:

“And there shall be among you a group of people who call for virtue, command those who are good and prevent them from being evil; they are the lucky ones”.

Likewise, in Q.S. Ali Imran (3): 110 who explains the superiority of Muslims because they carry the task of *amarma'ruf* and *nahimunkar*:

“You are the best people who are born for humans, command to the best, and prevent from evil .....”.

In these two verses, the meaning is that for the people who do criticism, social control or *amarma'ruf* and *nahimunkar* are the best people and the people who are fortunate before Allah SWT. Thus, Islam respects those who do this, and the act is a noble deed. The actions of *Ma'ruf* and *Nahi Munkar* have a very positive impact on the development of a country. *Amar ma'ruf* which means to the



good that can develop and advance the government to achieve shared ideals, as well as unlawful fate associated with preventing acts that are prohibited in religion or the State. Prevention is intended to be able to eliminate the behavior of corruption, collusion, and nepotism so that people become the prosperous and advanced government. The act of *amarma'ruf* and *nahimunkar* is an encouragement of religious values for Muslims always to do good deeds and prevent bad deeds, while for rulers is a moral impulse always to be transparent, aspirational and accommodating towards criticism, suggestions, and advice from the people. Thus, mutual hope in building good governance can be realized.

In this verse, it can also be taken that in Islam, it does not fit for a leader to be authoritarian or totalitarian by covering the advice or criticism of his people. Therefore, in Islam, politics prioritizes the existence of deliberation because, with deliberation, there will be positive, dialogical and cooperative political communication towards differences in perspective and prioritizing benefits and benefits. Allah says in the Ali Imran (3) verse 159:

“...and consult with them in that matter. Then when you have made up your mind, then put your trust in it. Indeed, Allah loves those who put their trust in their trust”.

Being a leader must prioritize discussion with the community or members. The act of dominating power in an authoritarian way can create gaps and compulsion of the community in carrying out the instructions given by the leader. With this compulsion, the public tries to avoid leaders and create community movements or rebellions that can damage the image of the government. Therefore, a democratic government that prioritizes consensus can create a harmonious togetherness between leaders and the community (Hasyim, 2016; Zuhri, 2007). Deliberation of consensus can contribute in providing concepts and thoughts to provide input for the progress of government or overcome the problems of corruption, damage, and disobedience that occur.

In the Qur'an also Allah gives parables for people who do or allow tyranny, destruction, and immorality to run rampant, thus impacting the destruction of human civilization, said Allah in Al-Maidah (5): 78-79;

“(78) The disbelievers of the Children of Israel have spoken by David and Jesus, the son of Mary. That is because they are ungodly and always exceed the limits. (79) They do not always forbid one another from the evil they do. Truly it is very bad what they always do”.

The above verse explains the curse given by God to those who allow acts of immorality, disobedience, and acts of destruction that occur around him. The action is related to one's apathy in the environment so that it can damage the environment and himself. Besides, apathetic actions in government show a person's indifference to the sustainability of government, his life and the lives of others.

##### 5. OPPOSING IS NOT POLITICAL BEHAVIOR PLOTS (*AL-BAGHYU*)

The opposition is a logical consequence of the democratic political system model, whereby protests or criticisms are directed at the State or the government/authorities in the corridors of the country's constitution. The constitution is a product of political consensus in a country concerning the rules of regulation in a state. If it has come out of the corridors of the constitution even to the point of carrying out political movements aimed at overthrowing a legitimate and unconstitutional government, it can be categorized as treason or in the term Fiqh called "*Al-Baghyu*", ie group activities that come out of obedience to imams by force (Al-Audah, 1957), or activities that violate the law and try to seize power (Shihab, 2007).

The basis of *Bughat* as the word of God in Al-Hujurat (49) verse 9:

“And if there are two groups of believers at war, then make peace between the two. If one of the groups is persecuting the other groups, then fight the group that is doing the persecution so that the group returns (to God's command), then reconcile them fairly and apply justly. Indeed, Allah loves those who are just.”

There are several understandings of the understanding of Al-Baghyu or treason, among others, the opinions of Hanafiyah scholars who mention (Al-Audah, 1957):

“rebellion is ... out of obedience to the right Imam (head of State) (legal) in an incorrect way (not legal)”. (Al-Audah, 1957)

Or the opinion of Malikiyah scholars who said:

“Rebels are a group of Muslims who cross with Al-Imam Al-Ahzam (head of state) or his deputy, by denying rights and obligations or intending to overthrow him” (Al-Audah, 1957).

Thus, that the *Bughat* is a group of Muslim ummah organized out of obedience from the just, legitimate and constitutional authorities by carrying out a radical and unconstitutional resistance movement or rebellion to overthrow the legitimate ruler. The disobedience was carried out not because of an element of objectivity of error or oversight of the authorities but only solely to seize power.

From some definitions of *Bughat*, it can be determined that it is not said that the act of *Bughat* if the action has not met the criteria include: (1) having political power or mass/followers even accompanied by weapons. (2) Refusing to carry out the obligations which are assigned to it deliberately and consciously. (3) Having a leader among those who are always obeyed. (4) make unconstitutional efforts, by carrying out social, economic and even political chaos. (5) carried out in a coercive, radicalize, revolutionary and unconstitutional manner.

Thus the political behavior of the opposition is different from the *Bughat* or treason or rebellion, because the act of opposition is only an act or behavior of active political participation recommended in a democratic system to play a role in political policy-making, while controlling the implementation of the policy, within the constitutional corridor, because of freedom opinion and gather to express hope or control are citizens' rights guaranteed by the constitution in a democratic system. Likewise, with the institutionalization of opposition in one country, for example in parliament or an opposition party, all of that is regulated in the constitution.

In contrast to treason political behavior that is, political behavior to carry out unconstitutional actions by means of opposing State policy or denying State policy with the aim of overthrowing power even by engaging in armed resistance. In every state constitution, it is always regulated how to dismiss a wicked government, so also there are criteria, for example in Indonesia it is regulated in the 1945 Constitution as a State constitution, in the 1945 Constitution stipulated in Articles 7A and 7B, which states that the dismissal of the President and/or The Vice President can be dismissed because of a violation of the law after the Constitutional Court has decided it through the DPR RI's (The Indonesian People's Representative Council) proposal, then the DPR RI submits it to the MPR RI (The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia). Thus, there are constitutional ways to dismiss the President. It is not necessary to carry out unconstitutional treason or coup. Therefore, different opposition to treason.

## 6. PRINCIPLES OF OPPOSITION IN ISLAMIC POLITICS

Opposition behavior will have an impact on the dynamic political atmosphere so that in one aspect, the State is always in a state of constant conflict. That for some parties might give rise to political upheaval so that they feel less comfortable, but from the other side, that the existence of a dynamic politics will have a positive effect as a vehicle for political socialization, political education and increase people's political participation (Arabi Idid & Souket, 2017).

In a democratic political system where sovereignty is in the hands of the people so that the people have the right to know about the policies taken by the State so that the State is obliged to socialize every political policy. With the dynamic political atmosphere, people automatically come to know and understand what is being questioned in the policy, especially with the rapid development of information technology, the people can know both from print media, electronic media, and social



media. This knowledge can give birth to people's participation to participate in an opinion or attitude in politics so that it can give birth to support or rejection of the policy (Arabi Idid & Souket, 2017).

The atmosphere of political upheaval maybe those who use the momentum to overthrow unconstitutional power or behavior, therefore norms or principles are needed in the opposition as political ethics so that the opposition brings the common good. These principles include:

First, Opposition in the context of the rage of the *Maruf* and *Nahi Munkar*. The actions of *amarmakruf* and *nahimunkar*, as explained above, are noble deeds, as well as opposition political behavior aimed at *amarmakruf* and *nahimunkar* (Hasyim, 2016). However, *Amar ma'ruf* and *nahimunkar* referred to must have clear reasons both from the aspects of sharia, constitution, community utilities (Munadi, 2019). The clarity of *amarmakruf* and the evil forehead can be studied scientifically so that the accuracy and objectivity can be accounted for, and avoid making up excuses, or because the element of hatred let alone contain elements of political revenge.

Second, opposing to uphold justice. Enforcement of justice is a fundamental principle in Islam. Islam is often called the Religious of Justice (religion of Justice) so that opposition must be to uphold justice. The law is sometimes a tool to suppress political opponents, or the implementation of the law is only the benefit of a handful of people so that some parties are wronged or persecuted.

Third, Opposition in the constitutional corridor. The constitution is a political consensus in one country. Therefore, all elements of citizens are obliged to obey the constitution, as a legal basis in development as well as in resolving political conflicts or conflicts. With the constitution, it can avoid the resolution of conflicts that are barbarian or arbitrary (Awofeso & Irabor, 2018).

Fourth, Opposition is for the benefit of the Ummah/people. Philosophical and state politics aim to realize the common good or common good, as described above. These principles can be a barometer of whether the development or criticism carried out by the good-bad or right-wrong opposition can be measured by how much the benefit of the people manifested. Proof of prosperity can be made research or scientific surveys, especially those that are often done by the Statistics Agency. Marijan states that in fact, in any political system, the most substance is creating people's trust in a handful of elites to govern the country and its people. Then the elite, prove their beliefs by presenting evidence of the achievement of the objectives of the state namely, the people get a sense of security, justice, welfare, and freedom of expression (Marijan, 2010).

Fifth, delivered politely, gentle and communicative. Political communication or deliberation will occur dialogically which leads to substantive if the one who communicates or deliberates in expressing his opinion is done politely and with mutual respect. Conversely, if done roughly, radically or disrespectfully, the result is not an agreement, but the conflict will become even more violent and there may even be physical clashes, due to the offence of all parties, so that the substance of the conversation, although good or *mashlahat* be ignored.

## 7. CONCLUSION

Opposition political behavior is a logical consequence of the State implementing the political system of democracy because the opposition is inherent in democracy and even flushes the application of democracy itself. In a democratic system in the constitution, the existence of people's sovereignty is guaranteed, but also freedom of expression and assembly is guaranteed. These elements become an open space for the growth of opposition political behavior. Besides, in the opposition, there is a monitoring mission, controlling that it can criticize the government as a form of establishing a democratic system.

Opposing is different from *Bughat* or treason behavior. *Bughat* / treason political behavior is a radical, revolutionary and unconstitutional political behavior that aims only to overthrow *ulilamri* or solely to seize legitimate political power. Islamic politics prioritizes the obligation to obey the leader, but if the leader is doing wrong or unjust, the people are encouraged to give advice, criticism and extreme refuse to obey. Thus, political opposition in Islamic politics is noble behavior even including

the category of jihad. The opposition is certainly different from the treason that expects the split of an ongoing government. Opposition in the Islamic political perspective is limited by the measure of welfare and justice of a leader by always relying on the constitution or constitutional whereas treason is unconstitutional and radical so that it can divide the nation and state for the sake of personal interests and certain groups.

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