

The Perspective of Qur'an on *Khilāfah*: Its Implementation towards The Contemporary Political System

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Abstract

The holy Qur'an has introduced a political institution called the *khilāfah*. This can be understood in the context of the appointment of Prophet Dawūd as the caliph, as stated in QS Šād/38: 26. Addition, several terms in the Qur'an were found formed from the same roots as the *khilāfah*, such as *khalā'if*, *khulafā'*, and *istakhlafa*. In practical politics, the institution of the *khilāfah* began when Abū Bakr al-Šiddīq was elected as a political leader after the Prophet Muhammad died. This continued with several dynasties in power after *Khulafā' al-Rasyidīn*. This institution devastated when Mustafa Kemal Attaturk abolished the *khilāfah* system on October 1923. Nowadays, the discourse of re-establishing the *khilāfah* institution appears among some groups of Moslems. Yet, the raising discourse in fact did not get a response from the majority Moslem countries. ISIS which is trying to build a *khilāfah* institution, furthermore, has been silenced by coalition forces.

Keywords: Al-Qur'an, *Khilāfah*, Caliph, Politics, Dynasty

Introduction

The emergence of the term *khilāfah* based on Islamic-political terminology began when the Prophet peace be upon him died. The appearance of Abū Bakr al-Šiddīq as the *khilāfat al-rasūl* (the successor to the Prophet), in his position as a political leader, after being *bai'at* (decided) by the *muhājirīn* and *anšār*, was an early milestone in the era of the *Khulafā' al-Rasyidīn* (Aswan & Muthia, 2017). The writers of Islamic history identified four political leaders who entered this era, namely Abū Bakr al-iddiddq (632-634 AD), 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (634-644 AD), 'Ušmān ibn 'Affān (644-656 M), and 'Ali ibn AbīTālib (656-661 CE).

The use of the title of *khalifah* after *Khulafā' al-Rasyidīn* period, then continued by the BanīUmayyah Dynasty in Damascus (40-132 H / 661-750 AD) with 14 caliphs, the BanīUmayyah Dynasty in Spain (Cordova and Granada) with 57 Caliphs (750-1492 AD), Banī 'Abbās Dynasty in Baghdad (132-656 H / 750-1258 AD) with 37 Saliphs, Fāṭimiyah Dynasty in Egypt (297-567 H / 909-1171 AD) with 14 caliphs, and Ottoman Turks in Istanbul (Istanbul) 1299-1922 AD) with 37 Caliphs³.

The model of Islamic political leadership under the *khilāfah* institution cannot be maintained by Muslims, since Mustafa Kemal Attaturk abolished the *khilāfah* system in October 1923. On March 3, 1924, Attaturk was appointed as the first president of the Turkish Republic⁴. Since then, the institution of the *khilāfah* which is seen as political supremacy and a symbol of the unity of Muslims, has disappeared in the international arena⁵.

Such nostalgia returns to the institution of the *khilāfah* arising from the historical memory of the Islamic reign. At that time, Muslims with technological advances topped world civilization (7-15 century AD). Meanwhile, at the same time, Europe is experiencing an era of darkness (dark age).

The peak of the glory of Islamic civilization was marked by the establishment of Bait al-Ḥikmah in Baghdad, as the largest library in the world in the role of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (Banī Dynasty 'Abbās). Islamic Civilization of Andalusia (Spain) was continued with the establishment of universities which were destinations for students from the European region at that time.

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³ Pulungan & Suyuthi, J., *Fiqh Siyasah: Ajaran, Sejarah dan Pemikiran*, Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2002, p. 56.

⁴ Nasution, H., *Pembaruan dalam Islam, Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan*, Bulan Bintang, Jakarta, 2001, pp. 42-44.

⁵ Zulifan, M., *Menimbang Ide Khilafah di Indonesia*, accessed on (May 16, 2017).

The emergence of *khilāfah* discourse, cannot be separated from the role of the figure Taqī al-Dīn al-Nabhānī (1909-1977). In 1953, he founded a movement called *Ḥizb al-Tahrīr* (liberation party) in Lebanon. The idea of this movement emerged from his disappointment in the reality of Muslims in Middle Eastern countries and in the Muslim world in general, which he considered to be very far from the Islamic system, in addition to disappointment with the policies of the rulers of the Arab countries which resulted in the seizure of the Palestinian holy land and the establishment the state of Israel in the region.

The terms of *khilāfah* and *khalīfah* are two inseparable words, coming from the same root word, namely *kha-lam-fa*. In various derivatives, the root word is repeated over 127 times in the Qur'an, with 12 invented words⁶. From the repetition of the word, it sometimes means to replace (Surah al-A'rāf / 7: 169), back (Surah Yūsuf / 10: 92), generation (Surah Maryam / 19: 64), to come (Surah Yāsīn / 36: 45), violating (QS Hūd / 11: 88), disputing (QS al-Baqarah / 2: 213), making power (QS al-Nur / 24: 55), or leader (QS Šād / 38: 26).

To clearly know about the concept of Al-Qur'an about the *khilāfah* and *khalīfah*, then these verses need to be elaborated by referring to the commentaries written by the scholars. An analysis of these verses will clarify their significance with the *khilāfah* system in political leadership, either those that have been applied by Moslem rulers recorded in history, or those discussed by *Ḥizb al-Tahrīr* and the practices of ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) in the modern era.

Discussion

1. The Nature of the *Khilāfah* according to the *Qur'an*

The term *khilāfah* is the form maṣdar (noun) derived from the word *khalāfa*, which is etymologically rooted in the letter *kha-lam-fa*. According to Ibn Manūr, the root of this word means "antonym from the front". Whereas al-Jauharī adds the meaning of "century after century", in addition to the meaning of "antonyms from the front". Meanwhile, Ibn Fāris argued that the root word has three main meanings, namely "replace, back, and change"⁷.

In various derivatives, the root word formed from *kha-lam-fa*, is repeated over 127 times in the Qur'an. The patterns used are:

- *Khalāfa* means "to replace", as in QS al-A'rāf / 7: 169.
- *Khalāfun* means "generation", as in QS al-Baqarah / 2: 66; meaning "back", as in Surah al-Baqarah / 2: 255; meaning "to come", as in QS Yāsīn / 36: 45.
- *Khalāftumūmī* means "after my departure", namely in QS al-A'rāf / 7: 150.
- *Yakhalāfun* means "hereditary", namely in Surah al-Zukhruf / 43: 60.
- *Ukhalāfun* means "replace me", as in Surah al-A'rāf / 7: 142.
- *Akhalāfa* means "offending", as in QS al-Taubah / 9: 77.
- *Yukhalāfu* means "breaking", as in Surah al-Baqarah / 2: 80.
- *Yatakhallāfunā* means "to accompany", namely in Surah al-Taubah / 9: 120.
- *Khullāfun* means "suspended", as in Surah al-Taubah / 9: 118.
- *Akhalāfakum* means "offending", namely in QS Hūd / 11: 88.
- *Yukhalāfunā* means "offending", namely in Surah al-Nur / 24: 63.
- *Ikhtalāfa* means "strife", as in QS al-Baqarah / 2: 176 .,
- *Yakhtalāfu*, means "strife", as in Surah al-Baqarah / 2: 113.
- *Khilāf* means "reciprocity", as in Surah al-Mā'idah / 5: 33; means "rear", as in QS al-Taubah / 9: 81.
- *Khilāfab* means "succession", namely in QS al-Furqān / 25: 62.
- *Al-khawālif* means "one who does not participate", as in QS al-Taubah / 9: 87.
- *Al-khālifin* means "one who does not join in the war", that is, in QS al-Taubah / 9: 83.
- *Mukhalāf* means "offending", that is in QS Ibrāhīm / 14: 47.
- *Al-mukhallāfun* means "one who does not participate", as in Surah al-Taubah / 9: 81.
- *Ikhtilāf* means "change", as in Surah al-Baqarah / 2: 164; "Difference", as in QS al-Rūm / 30: 22; means "contradiction", which is in QS al-Nisā' / 4: 82.
- *Mukhtalāf* means "different", as in Surah al-Anam / 6: 141; "Disagree", as in QS Hūd / 11: 118.

⁶Al-Bagdādī, Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Alūsī. *Riḥ al-Ma'ānī Tafsīr al-Qur'an al-'Azīm wa al-Sab' al-Mašānī*. Bairūt: Dār Iḥyā al-Turāṣ al-'Arabī, t.th.

⁷Al-Qurṭubī, Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Anṣārī. *Al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'an*. Miṣr: Dār al-Kutub al-'Arabī, 1967.

- *Mustakblifin* means "to master", ie in Surah al-īadīd / 57: 7.
- *Khalīfah* means "ruler", as in QS Ṣād / 38: 26.
- *Khalāif* means "ruler", as in Surah al-Anam / 6: 165; means "substitute", ie in QS Yūnus / 10: 14.
- *Khulafā'* means "substitute for power", as in Surah al-A'rāf / 7: 69.
- *Istakhlafa* means "to make power", namely in Surah al-Nur / 24: 55.

2. The existence of *Khilafah* on *Al-Qur'an*

2.1. The Existence of *Khilafah*

The existence of *Khilafah* as a political institution, is not particularly emphasized textually in holy Qur'an, as there is no word root of *Khilafah* found which is used as morphological form of *Khalafa*. Moreover, none of Al-Qur'an verses which command the prophet Muhammad to establish such political institution in the form of *Khilafah*.

Regarding the existence of the *khilafah* as a political institution, it can only be understood contextually in the Qur'an. In this connection, there are two verses that can be understood in context regarding the existence of the *khilafah* in the Qur'an, which are:

a. Verse QS al-A'rāf/7: 129

قَالُوا أَوْدِينَا مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَأْتِيَنَا وَمِنْ بَعْدِ مَا جِئْتَنَا قَالَ عَسَىٰ رَبُّكُمْ أَنْ يُهْلِكَ عَدُوَّكُمْ وَيَسْتَخْلِفَكُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَيَنْظُرَ كَيْفَ تَعْمَلُونَ.

Translation:

They (the people of Moses) said: "We had been oppressed (by Pharaoh) before you came to us and after you came". (The prophet Moses) replied: "May your Lord destroy your enemies and make you caliphs on earth, then He will see how you do"⁸

This verse deals with the story of the *Banī Isrā'īl* which had been suppressed by Pharaoh, both before and after the existence of Prophet Moses (as.). It is said that among the oppression of Pharaoh against *Banī Isrā'īl* before the Prophet Moses was sent out, was that he collected high taxes, forced labor, killed children, and abused their wives. Meanwhile, with the failure of Moses' mission in stopping the cruelty of Pharaoh, *Banī Isrā'īl* again re-experience such fear of being threatened with mass murder⁹. To entertain and reduce the psychological burden of his people, the Prophet Moses wished to God that Pharaoh and his followers to be destroyed, while *Banī Isrā'īl* would be made a Caliph (ruler) in Egypt. According to al-Baiḍāwī, Egypt was controlled by *Banī Isrā'īl* during the reign of Prophet Dawud (as.).

Thus, it can be understood that the clause *wayastakhlifakumfi al-ard* in the verse, is not regarded as God's command to build a political institution in the form of a *khilafah* to *Banī Isrā'īl*, but rather as the hope of the Prophet Moses to God. In this case, the existence of the *khilafah* in the context of the verse is human desire, not God's will.

b. QS al-Nur / 24: 55

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَىٰ لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَٰئِكَ هُمُ الْقَاسِيُونَ.

Translation:

God has promised those of you who believe and do good. He will truly make them ruling on earth as He made people before they were in power, and truly He will confirm for them with the religion He has blessed.

He really changed them, after being in fear and then being safe. They (still) worship Me by not associating Me with anything. But, whoever remains disbelieving me after (the promise), they are the ones who are thus wicked.¹⁰

According to al-Wāḥidī, this verse descended during the war between the Muslims of Medina and the Mecca polytheists. In such situation, Muslims do miss for such safe life in carrying out worship, without interference from the polytheists. When they convey such case to the Messenger of Allah, then this verse comes

⁸Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, *Al-Qur'an dam Terjemahnya*. Jakarta:

DirektoratJenderalBimbinganMasyarakat Islam bekerjasama denganDirektoratUrusan Agama Islam danPembinaanSyariah., 2011.

⁹Ramadhan, S, *MenegakkanKembaliKhilafah Islamiyah*. Jakarta: PustakaPanjimas, 2003.

¹⁰Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, *Al-Qur'an dam Terjemahnya*. Jakarta:

DirektoratJenderalBimbinganMasyarakat Islam bekerjasama denganDirektoratUrusan Agama Islam danPembinaanSyariah, 2011.

down confirming the promise of Allah who will give them power (*khilāfah*).¹¹ Therefore, some Qur'an scholars relate this verse to the lives of the Companions, while at the same time affirming the existence of *Khulafā' al-Raṣyidīn* which lasted from the reign of Abū Bakr al-siddiq to 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib.

Understanding the context of the existence of the *khilāfah* as a political institution in the aforementioned verse, was obtained from the *layastakhlifannahumfī al-arḍ* clause. However, it should be noted that the institution of the *khilāfah* promised by Allah will not appear by itself, but must go through a hard struggle. In fact, the *khilāfah* institution will collapse if Moslem communities violate the rules established by Allah. Furthermore, another understanding is that the verse does not explicitly command to build up political institutions in the form of *khilāfah*¹² (An-Nabhani, 1996).

From the interpretation of QS al-A'rāf / 7: 129 and QS al-Nūr / 24: 55, it can be said that the existence of the *khilāfah* as a political institution is recognized in the Qur'an, but there is no such explicit order from the Qur'an to establish a *khilāfah* institution. In fact, Rida stated that the Qur'an introduces several other political institutions that can be used by humans in regulating people's lives, namely *mamlakah*, *imāmah*, *sultānah*, and *imārah*. That is, God already gives authority to humans to choose the model of political institutions applied in their social, national, and state life.¹³

In this matter, Rashīd Riḍā uses three terms of political institution into single definition, namely *khilāfah*, *imāmah* and *imārah*. Furthermore, al-Māwardī preferred to use the term *imāmah* for Islamic political institutions. In contrast to al-Nabhani, who explicitly said that Islamic political institutions are the *khilāfah* system. Therefore, it can be understood that Islamic political experts do not agree on the form of political institutions that can be built or enforced by Muslims, depending on the mutual agreement of the political figures in the region.

Khilāfah, as one of the models of political institutions offered by the Qur'an, can only be realized by humans as a practical political system. M. Quraish Shihab stated that there are three interrelated elements in realizing the *khilāfah* as a political institution, namely: First, the earth (al-arḍ), which is a certain place or region in carrying out the task of power. Second, the caliph, that is, those who are mandated as executors, regulators, and policy makers in setting laws according to the will of God and the aspirations of those who appoint them. Third, the relationship between the owner of power with the territory and his relationship with the giver of power (God).¹⁴

If the supporting elements of the *khilāfah* are related to the theory of the formation of a state, then a common element is found. According to Martasuta & Umar, there are three constitutional elements of the state, namely: (1) territory, (2) people, and (3) sovereign government.¹⁵

First, the territory is regarded as a territorial boundary controlled by a country, whether in the form of land, water, or air. All potentials and natural resources in the region are absolute rights and must not be disturbed by other countries. The word used by the Qur'an as a territory in a *khilāfah* institution is al-arḍ (earth). Second, the citizens are those who live in the country and are must obey to the rules within the country. On this matter, the word used by the Qur'an is al-nas (human). In the institution of the *khilāfah*, humans are called *mustakhlif*, those who choose and appoint the authorities. Third, the sovereign government, namely the person in charge of carrying out the duties and functions of government, both domestic and foreign affairs. In the institution of the *khilāfah*, the word used by the Qur'an is the *khilāfah* (ruler).

2.2. The appointment of the Caliph

Textually, the word *khilāfah* (singular form) is found twice in the Qur'an, namely:

a. QS al-Baqarah/2: 30

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَائِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً قَالُوا أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَنْ يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ قَالَ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ

Translation:

¹¹Al-Wāḥidī, Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī bin Aḥmad. *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*. Miṣr, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-ḤalabīwaAulādu, 1966.

¹²Al-Nabhānī&Taḳī al-Dīn, *Nizām al-Ḥukmī al-Islām*. Beirut: Dār al-Ummah, 1996.

¹³Riḍā, al-SyaikhMuḥammadRasyīd. *Al-Khilāfah*. Al-Qāhirat: al-Zahrā' li al-A'lām al-'Arabī, t.th.

¹⁴Shihab, M. Quraish, *Membumikan al-Qur'an: FungsidanPeranWahyudalamKehidupanMasyarakat*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992.

¹⁵Martasuta, M. & Umar, D, *Negara, Bangsa dan Warga Negara*, accessed (on August 28th, 2018).

And (remember) when your Lord said to the angels: "I want to send the caliph on earth". They say: "Are you going to make people who will spoil and spill blood there, while we glorify You and cleanse Your name?" He said: "Surely I know what you do not know".¹⁶

If you pay attention to the *Munāsabah* of this verse and the following verses (QS al-Baqarah / 2: 30-38), it is known that the series of the mentioned verses are related to the story of the Prophet Adam (as). Thus, the word *khalīfah* referred to the verse is Adam.

Regarding Adam's position as the Caliph, al-Alūsī said that before God created Adam as a human ancestor, there were over 30 (thirty) Adams which had been created before, and the distance between one Adam and another was around 1,000 (one thousand) years (Mahmud, 1998), while the distance between Adam- Adam with Adam as a human ancestor around 100,000 (one hundred thousand) years. Al-Ṭabarī named the creature that existed before Adam as al-Jinn, while al-Barūsawī named the creature as Banū al-Jann.

It can be thus understood that Adam's position as the Caliph has two meanings: First, Adam as a substitute for previous creatures, both in his position as a substitute for generations and as a substitute for the manager of the earth. Second, Adam was given a mandate by God as His substitute in managing the earth. That is, the word caliph in that verse is not related to practical politics.

b. QS Ṣād/38: 26

يَا دَاوُدُ إِنَّا جَعَلْنَاكَ خَلِيفَةً فِي الْأَرْضِ فَاحْكُم بَيْنَ النَّاسِ بِالْحَقِّ وَلَا تَتَّبِعِ الْهَوَىٰ فَيُضِلَّكَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَضِلُّونَ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ لَهُمْ عَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ بِمَا نَسُوا يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ

Translation:

(Allah says): "O Dawud! We have truly made you a Caliph (ruler) on earth, then give a decision (matter) between men with justice, and do not follow the passions, because it will lead you wrong from the way of Allah. Indeed, those who have gone wrong from the direction of Allah will have severe punishment, because they have forgotten the day of hereafter life".¹⁷

Tracking back the previous verses, it is found that the QS Ṣād / 38: 17-26 series are related to the story of the Prophet Dāwūd (as.). Specifically in this verse, it is textually affirmed the position of Dāwūd as the caliph on the earth.

Al-Syaukānī interpreted the word caliph in that verse as the leadership of the prophets in turn in order to enforcing God's law. Meanwhile, al-Zamakhsyarī interpreted the word caliph as something including the position of kings and prophets as a government. Ibn Kašīr and al-Qurṭubī, in similar way, preferred to translate the meaning of the caliph as the head of the Muslim government.

The explanation of the commentators shows such similar approaches, namely they see the concept of the caliph in the verse from the point of instant politics. Thus, Dāwūd's position as a caliph can be understood as a political leader or head of government on earth.

Further analysis regarding the appointment of the caliph can be known through the word *ja'ala*, each of which is stated in QS al-Baqarah / 2: 30 and QS Ṣād / 38: 26. According to Abdul Muin Salim, the word meaning connotes the law, namely to establish a position for something else. Thus, these two verses relate to the functional aspects of humans, so that it can be understood that Adam and Dāwūd were appointed by God as caliphs on earth.

It seems that there are some differences stated in QS al-Baqarah / 2: 30 and QS Ṣād / 38: 26 regarding the appointment of the caliph. The first aforementioned verse uses a single form (*innajā'ilunfi al-ardkhalīfah*), which shows that the appointment of Adam as caliph is the absolute will of God, without the involvement of any other party. In addition, because it was only God's plan, there was no other human being involved in the appointment of Adam as the caliph. In contrast to the second mentioned verse using plural forms and past verbs (*innajā'almākakhalīfatanfi al-ard*), which denotes that although the appointment of Dāwūd as *khalīfah* is God's will, there was human ever involved to state Dāwūd as the state head at that time¹⁸

¹⁶Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, *Al-Qur'an dam Terjemahnya*. Jakarta:

DirektoratJenderalBimbinganMasyarakat Islam bekerjasama denganDirektoratUrusan Agama Islam danPembinaanSyariah, 2011.

¹⁷Ministry of Religious Affairs Republic of Indonesia, *Al-Qur'an dam Terjemahnya*. Jakarta:

DirektoratJenderalBimbinganMasyarakat Islam bekerjasama denganDirektoratUrusan Agama Islam danPembinaanSyariah, 2011.

¹⁸ShihabQuraish. *Wawasan al-Qur'an: TafsirMaudbn'iatasPelbagaiPersoalan Uma*, Mizan, Bandung, 1997.

The appointment of Dāwūd as the caliph using the plural form (*innā*), also gives an indication that the form of *khilāfab* offered by the Qur'an is called "theo-democracy". According to al-Maududi, the theo-democracy model is a synthesis (merging) of two models of government, namely "theocracy" and "democracy". With the system, Muslims are given limited people's sovereignty under God's absolute power.¹⁹

According to the theo-democratic system, the highest power belongs to the God. Humans are only executors of God's power as caliphs on earth. As executors of God's power, humans and the state must obey the laws set by God. ²⁰Thus, al-Maududi's political theory is: First, political institutions are called *khilāfab*. Second, the head of government is called the caliph. Third, the model of governance is theo-democracy.

2.3. The tasks of the Caliph

To find out the tasks that must be carried out by the caliph in carrying out his leadership, the analysis still refers to the verses that contain word patterns formed from the term *khilāfab*, as described earlier.

The verse QS Šād / 38: 26 outlines that the position of Dāwūd as caliph with enforcing the law in people's lives in the right way (Salim, 2010), as understood from the clause *fahkumbain al-nās bi al-ḥaqq*. According to Al-Nasafī, this clause implies that the caliph, who was appointed by God as the ruler and the regulator of life on earth, is mainly obliged in enforcing God's laws in a just manner.

The verse Al-Nur / 24: 55, which contains the promise of God to give power on earth for people who believe and do good deeds, denotes that the requirements of becoming a caliph is to believe in God and always do good. Only such people are able to enforce God's laws in their government.

The next task of the caliph that can be understood from QS al-Nur / 24: 55 is to establish the religion of Islam as a religion blessed by God. Al-Syaukānī outlines that *tamkīn al-dīn* referred to in this verse is to make Islam as a deeply rooted religion, and spread it throughout the country. It also became a guide of human life in socializing with other religions. Thus, efforts to uphold God's laws in the state and society life must be based on a strong and solid Islamic life.

If the Islamic values are firmly rooted in people's lives, a safe and peaceful atmosphere will be created. This also became the duty of a caliph, as understood from the *walayubaddilannahum min ba'dik* clause, in QS al-Nur / 24: 55. On this matter, Abdul Muin Salim stated that the conditions of faith and good deeds contained in this verse will have implications for political power. The dominance of Islam in people's lives will only be realized, if a caliph has a true and strong faith, accompanied by a development effort in the form of righteous deeds. In such circumstances, the political ideals of the Qur'an will be realized, namely upholding God's laws to create a safe and peaceful atmosphere in people's lives.

In the dialogue between God and the angels as stated in QS al-Baqarah / 2: 30, it can be understood that the caliphs that the angels want are those who always glorify, praise, and purify the name of God. This is an implementation of the strength of the faith embedded in the soul of a caliph. This is the Caliph elevated by God, as confirmed in Surah al-Anam / 6: 165.

3. Implementation of the *Khilāfab* in the Contemporary World

3.1. Implementation of the *Khilāfab* according to the History.

Based on tribal perspective, the practice of *khilāfab* institutions in the history of practical government and Islamic political institutions in the form of *khilāfab* became the terminology after the Prophet's death, precisely during the leadership of *Khulafā 'al-Rāsyidīn* and the leadership of several Moslems, it had a close relationship with the leadership of the Messenger of Allah.

In the history of the reign of *Khulafā 'al-Rāsyidīn*, the first caliph in power was Abū Bakr al-Šiddīq (632–634 AD), then followed by 'Umar ibn al-Khābāb (634–644 CE), 'Ušmān ibn 'Affān (644–634 AD), then followed by 'Umar ibn al-Khābāb (634–644 CE), 'Ušmān ibn 'Affān (644–634 AD) 656 AD), and 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (656–661 AD).

¹⁹Al-Maududi & Abul A'la, *Teori Politik Islam*, in John J. Donohue dan John L. Esposito, *Islam in Transition: Muslim Perspectives*, translated. Machnun Husein, *Islam dan Pembaharuan: Ensiklopedi Masalah-masalah*, PT Raja Grafindo Persada, Bandung, 1984.

²⁰Sjadzali, M., *Islam dan Tata Negara*, UI-Press, Jakarta, 1991.

At this time, the Islamic government territory covered the entire Arabian Peninsula, which in the world map now covered seven countries, namely Saudi Arabia, North Yemen, South Yemen, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain.²¹

The embryo of the institution of *Khulafā 'al-Rāsyidīn* began at a meeting at the Banī Sa'īdah Hall, which was attended by Islamic leaders, friends, and group leaders at that time. The meeting, similar to an extraordinary conference, took place in situation of free and open dialogue. The result was a political decision that has a major influence on the journey of the Moslem community, namely the establishment of the *khilāfah* institution as a model of Islamic government²². During the meeting, it was agreed that Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq would be the leader of the ummah (Moslem community), with the title of Caliph Al-Rasul (the successor of the Prophet). The strong argument supporting the election of Abū Bakr was because he had a high religious position compared to other friends, among others. As the first person to convert to Islam, he had played a significant role in defending Islam, his faith is firm, along with his perfect personality²³.

In the history of Islamic politics, there were social dynamics. Such conflict among Moslem groups was inevitable. Disputes that often occurred were motivated by different opinions resulting in physical conflicts between tribes. In fact, among the four caliphs who had ruled out during the era of *Khulafā 'al-Rāsyidīn*, three of them (e.g. Umar bin al-Khābāb, 'Uṣmān bin 'Affān, and 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib) ended their term of office because of being killed. Likewise, in the post-Khulaf 'al-Rashidid era, namely the era of leadership of Islamic dynasties, disputes and inevitable struggle.

Although not all Islamic political leaders were entitled with the call of caliph in his power, the history writers used the title to all Islamic political leaders, both in the *Khulafā 'al-Rashidīn* era and in the eras of several dynasties afterwards. According to their records, there were 14 Caliphs during the Banī Umayyad Dynasty in Damascus (40-132 H / 661-750 AD), the Banī Umayyad Dynasty in Spain (Cordova and Granada) with 57 caliphs (750-1492 AD), the Banī 'Abbās Dynasty in Baghdad (132-656 H / 750-1258 AD) with 37 caliphs, the Fāṭimīyah Dynasty in Egypt (297-567 H / 909-1171 AD) with 14 caliphs, and the Ottoman Turkish dynasty in Istanbul (1299 -1922 AD) with 37 caliphs.

Although it had been active for almost 13 centuries, it turned out that Islamic political institutions of the *Khilāfah* could not be maintained, since Mustafa Kemal Attaturk, Turkey's first President, abolished them on March 3, 1924, after the formation of the secular national state of the Turkish Republic in October 1923. Since then, the institution of the *khilāfah*, which was seen as political supremacy and a symbol of the unity of the Muslims, vanished.

With the disappearance of the *khilāfah* institution, Moslem communities throughout the world today live under various forms of free and sovereign government, either in the form of monarchies or in the form of republics. The only forum that is considerably able to unite Muslims worldwide today is the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), which brings together about 50 countries.

History has recorded that the *khilāfah* institution once ruled and governed the life of the world community, including the social, economic, legal, political, and security aspects²⁴. Such institution was also successful in bringing Islam into political progress that went hand in hand with the advancement of civilization and culture, so that Islam managed to reach its greatest day, glory, and its golden time,

Especially during the reign of the Banī 'Abbās Dynasty in the first period. However, it is unfortunate that after this period ended, Islam suffered a devastating period. Behind this success period of time, many weaknesses also seemed to appear. It also denotes a bad image of the institution of the *khilāfah*, which is something to be proud of in the political history of Muslims.

First, there was murder among Moslem communities. In the era of *Khulafā 'al-Rāsyidīn*, three caliphs were killed at the end of their occupation, namely 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Uṣmān bin 'Affān, and 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib. In this era, the *Ṣiffīn* war also happened between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, which later killed many troops from both groups.

²¹Ra'īs & Muḥammad Diyā' al-Dīn, *Al-Nazariyyah al-Siyāsah al-Islamiyah*, terj. Abdul Hayyie al-Kattani, *Teori Politik Islam*, Gema Insani Press, Jakarta, 2001.

²²Yatim, B., *Sejarah Peradaban Islam*, PT Raja Grafindo Persada, Jakarta, 2004.

²³Al-Nabhānī & Taqī al-Dīn. *Nizām al-Hukmī al-Islām*. Beirut: Dār al-Ummah, 1996.

²⁴Ramadhan, S., *Mengakankan Kembali Khilafah Islamiyah*. Pustaka Panjimas, Jakarta, 2003.

In the period of the BanīUmayyah Dynasty, there was a murder of Abdullah bin Zubair and his followers by the military force of Yazīd bin Mu‘āwiyah. Likewise, the murder of ainsain bin ‘Alī with his followers by Yazīd bin Mu‘āwiyah's army. Similar murder also occurred at each substituting power from one dynasty to another. There were over thousands or even millions of lives lost, in order to establish a political power.

Secondly, since the leadership of Mu‘āwiyah bin AbīSufyān from the BanīUmayyah Dynasty, the election system of *Khalīfah* in the form of deliberation applied during the time of the *Khulafā ‘al-Rasyidin*, was changed into a monarchical system. The change began when Mu‘āwiyah pointed out his son, Yazīd bin Mu‘āwiyah, as the successor prince. This so-called monarchiheridetic (hereditary kingdom) system was then followed by all the ruling dynasties afterwards.

Third, the unification of Islamic politics into a *khalīfah* institution does not seem to be last longer. Although the Banī ‘Abbās Dynasty succeeded in taking over the Banī Umayyad Dynasty in Damascus, one of his officers (‘ Abd al-Rahmān) was able to escape and continue the rule of the Banī Umayyad Dynasty in Cordova. As a result, there was a *khalīfah* dualism. On the next trip, the Fāṭimiyah Dynasty existed in Egypt, which also raised the caliph. Also, in the era of decline of the Banī ‘Abbās Dynasty, many small dynasties broke apart.²⁵

3.2. Opportunities and Challenges of Enforcement of the *Khalīfah* in the Present Era

a. *Khalīfah* Enforcement Opportunities.

The opportunity to re-establish the *khalīfah* as a political institution to unite Muslims worldwide in a country, of course remains possible. Moslems, as a community, have the right to determine their own identity and socio-political rules.

Ḥizb al-Tahrīr as a political party established by *Taqī al-Dīn al-Nabhānī* in Palestine, tried to re-invent the *khalīfah* system in the Islamic world. According to him, an Islamic state is not a republic through a democratic political system, because the concepts born of democracy are in contract to Islamic beliefs. He also rejected the form of an imperial, monarchic, and federated state. All of these forms are not sourced from Islamic values, but rather from human reason. Islam has its own unique of state, called the *Khalīfah*.²⁶ The *Khalīfah* is a general leadership for Muslims around the world to uphold the Islamic Shari'a and carry the Islamic da'wah.

Al-Nabhani's political ideas were offered to all Moslems throughout the world, both by oral and written. According to Sukirno, with good speech and writing skills, his ideas were quite successful in capturing the hearts of some Muslims throughout the world, especially the younger generation who like progressive thinking. Not too long period, the organization *Ḥizb al-Tahrīr* established in over 45 countries, including Indonesia, under the name HizbutTahrir Indonesia (HTI).²⁷

Though it should be noted that the history of *Ḥizb al-Tahrīr* is not encouraging, because it was found that about 20 countries in the world have issued a ban on this aforementioned organization, both by Muslim-majority populations, such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Turkey, and by countries with Muslim minority populations, such as Germany, France, and China.

Of the 20 countries which have prohibited the development of *Ḥizb al-Tahrīr*, showing that the concept of *khalīfah* offered by the organization is not accepted by many countries in the world, either by those with a majority Muslim population, or non-Muslim countries.

Indonesia, as one example of Muslim-majority countries that rejected the existence of HTI as a social organization. The Directorate General of Common Law Administration of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights has revoked the legal entity status of the HTI organization. The revocation of the status of the legal entity is based on the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU-30.AH.01.08 of 2017 concerning revocation of the Decree of the Minister of Law and Human Rights Number AHU- 0028.60.10.2014 concerning legalization of the establishment of a legal entity for the association of HTI. The Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security, Mr. Wiranto, at that time explained three reasons to disband HTI, as follows:

²⁵Hamka. *Sejarah Umat Islam*. Pustaka Nasional Pte Ltd, Singapore, 2002

²⁶Al-Nabhānī & Taqī al-Dīn. *Nizām al-Hukmī al-Islām*. Beirut: Dār al-Ummah, 1996.

²⁷Sukirno, *Indonesia Negara ke-21 Larang HTI, Negara Mana Saja?* Accessed (on November 01th 2018) <https://www.alinea.id/nasional/indonesia-negara-ke-21-larang-hti-negara-mana-saja-b1UyZ9btv>.

First, as a legal entity organization, HTI does not carry out such positive role to take part in the development process, in order to achieve national state goals. Second, the activities carried out by HTI are strongly indicated to have been in conflict with the objectives, principles and characteristics based on the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, as stipulated in Law Number 17 of 2013 concerning Mass Organizations. Third, the activities carried out by HTI are considered to have caused conflicts in the community that can threaten the security and public order, as well as endanger the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia. Thus, Indonesia is the 21st country to dissolve the organization *Ḥizb al-Tahrir*²⁸.

Although *Ḥizb al-Tahrir* has been disbanded as a social organization over several countries in the world, the concept of *khilāfah* remains attached to the minds of every follower of the organization. That is, the discourse of upholding the *khilāfah* by some Muslims will not be able to be dammed, although it remains on individual thought. It is possible that the concept will reappear through a different organization.

If *Ḥizb al-Tahrir* which propagates the *Khilāfah* as a political institution is still in the form of discourse, then ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) has instead appointed their leader, Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī, as the caliph, and changed ISIS into IS (Islamic State) for the Islamic State in order to widely reach Muslims communities around the world.

ISIS is an extreme group of fighters who follow such extreme ideology in carrying out the principles of jihad. ISIS, in addition, is a very extreme anti-Western group. ISIS considers that those who disagree with its ideology are infidels and apostates. ISIS aims to establish *khilāfah* in the Islamic world, which took centre in Iraq and Syria²⁹.

Initially, the ISIS struggle was quite successful, since ISIS was able to rule out in many areas in the Middle East, including cities in Iraq and Syria. In Iraq, for example, it controlled the Southern Regions, such as Diyala Region, Baghdad Region, Kirkuk Region, Salahuddin Region, Anbar Region, and Ninewa Region. Meanwhile, in Syria, ISIS controlled al-Barakah Region (Hasaka), al-Kheir Region (Deir al-Zour), al-Raqqa Region, al-Badiya Region, Halab Region (Aleppo), Idlib Region, Hama Region, Region Damascus, and Coastal Areas (al-Sahel)³⁰.

The influence of ISIS is not only limited to Iraq and Syria, but has become worldwide and entered countries over Southeast Asia. In Indonesia, it became viral and popular with the release of Youtube videos from ISIS in 2014 ago. The video pictured Abu Muhammad al-Indonesi (BahrumSyah) and several other Indonesian citizens who involved in the ISIS movement, and invited Indonesian Muslims to join. The influence of Youtube is very massive, ranging from convoys up to declaration to the ISIS *khilāfah* in Baghdad. A number of areas that responded positively to the ISIS movement are such as Jakarta through car free day, South Tangerang through the Islamic Sharia Activist Forum (FASI), Surakarta pioneered by Abu BakarBa'asyir, Sukoharjo pioneered by Amir Machmud, and Malang by the *AnsharulKhilafah* Group³¹.

Apparently, the *khilāfah* established by ISIS was not able to last long. Since November 2017, it had been reported that the ISIS group was destroyed by both Iran and Iraq, which was indicated by the devastation of ISIS's last base in Rawa Iraq, and Abu Kamal's base in Syria. With the successful eradication of the military organization of the ISIS extremist group showed that the quasi-state, which has a large area, has been destroyed.

It is undeniable that although the *khilāfah* institution established by ISIS has disappeared in the international political arena, not all ISIS followers died in battle. Thus, it is quite possible for the remaining followers to rise again and try to establish the *khilāfah* in the near future.

c. The Challenges of Regulating the *Khilāfah*

To strengthen the *Khilāfah* as the only Muslim political institution in the world faces many obstacles. The constraint vary from the readiness or willingness of each country to obey under the leadership from other country.

²⁸Movanita, A & Nadia, K, *HTI Resmi Dibubarkan Pemerintah*, accessed (November 01th 2018) <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/07/19/10180761/hti-resmi-dibubarkan-pemerintah>.

²⁹Haryadi, A. & Muthia, N. *Gerakan Politik Negara Islam Irak dan Suriah (ISIS) dan Pengaruhnya terhadap Indonesia*. Journal Transborder, Vol. 1(1), Indonesia, 2017.

³⁰Khan, A, *Asal-Usul Terbentuknya ISIS*, accessed on (September 30th 2018) <http://www.hellsangelssonomaco>.

³¹Haryanto, J.T, *Perkembangan Gerakan ISIS dan Strategi Penanggulangannya (Kasus Perkembangan Awal ISIS di Surakarta)*. Journal Multikultural dan Multiregion, Vol. 14(3), 2015.

But, concerning the nationalism spirit which is quite strong from almost all Muslim-populated countries that exist today, then the hope of realizing the institution of the *khilāfab*, in accordance with its ideal norms, can be concluded such impossible. The spirit of nationalism is evidenced by two things: First, several Muslim countries have disclosed the organization of *Ḥizb al-Tahrir*, which discusses the institution of the *khilāfab*. Secondly, all Muslim countries rejected the existence of the *khilāfab* established by ISIS, they even work together to destroy it.

The countries and societies of the world have divided themselves into various groups and certain ideologies. These bonds have existed along with the existence of that society, or even formed due to the development of the critical analytical of humans. The development of pluralism and secularism in religion is a symptom that depicts the condition of a multicultural society. The ideas of this group strengthened and showed such greater support from the community. This understanding, however, will be in contrast to other groups who believe in the efficacy of the *khilāfab* as the political unification of Muslims today.

The view that requires Muslims to obey to a political leadership is no longer relevant. The main problem of the Islamic world today is its backwardness in the fields of science and technology, which then discourage Muslims in other fields, such as in the politics, military and economic fields.

Regarding the political life in Indonesia, since the founding of this country, Muslim political figures had never thought of establishing a *khilāfab*. Islamic organizations that have long been existing, even long before Indonesia's independence, such as Muhammadiyah which was founded in 1912 and, or NU (Nahdhatul Ulama) which was established in 1926, which both never discussed the *khilāfab*. The history records that from the group of both Muhammadiyah and NU, a group of national heroes died in fighting for Indonesian independence³².

M. Natsir, as one of the Muslim politicians, who significantly played a role in uniting dependent states made by the Dutch government with his famous motion: "Natsir Integral Motion", that later formed the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), not the *khilāfab*. Likewise, Agus Salim, who is well-known for the nickname "the grand old man", in responding to Indonesian Islamic mass organizations which had formed the CalifatComite, following the abolition of the *Khilafah* in Turkey in 1924. He said that the committee and the *Khilafah* were irrelevant to Indonesian context. According to him, what is called the *khilāfab* in Turkey is actually a despotic and corrupt kingdom that was not needed to protect, or followed by Indonesian Muslims.

Saleh PartaonanDaulay, the chairman of the Muhammadiyah Youth Center, said that the *khilāfab* was not suitable in Indonesia because it would only end up with pragmatic political interests, not sharia. This discrepancy was related to the form of the *khilāfab*, which later leads to the problem of people who deserve to be a caliph. Such debate on this matter will rather enter the pragmatic political sphere, not the Shari'a. According to him, Indonesia must be proud to be a politically stable country compared to Middle Eastern countries that are very close to Islamic law. Indonesia is far more mature in democracy. Such gift thus should be grateful for by keeping something that has been good so far³³.

NU as in the Alim Ulama National Conference which was held on November 1-2, 2104, decided several important points regarding the *khilāfab*, including: First, appointing a leader, because human life would be chaotic without a leader. Secondly, Islam does not determine or even oblige a particular form of state and government system for its followers. Muslims are given their own authority to regulate and design their government systems in accordance with the demands of the development of the times and places. The most important thing is that a government must be able to protect and guarantee its citizens to practice and implement its religious values and become a conducive place for prosperity, prosperity, and justice.

Third, the *khilāfab* as a system of government was a historical fact that was once practiced by al-Khulafā 'al-Rasyidīn. The *Khilāfab* is a model that is very relevant with the era, namely when human life is not under the auspices of the nation states (nation states). At that time, it was very possible for Muslims to live in a *Khilāfab* system. However, when humanity is under the nation states (nation states), the *khilāfab* system for Muslims worldwide loses its relevance. In fact, reviving the idea of the *khilāfab* in our time is quite impossible. Fourth, the Republic of Indonesia is the result of a noble national agreement between the children of the nation's founding fathers. Homeland was formed to accommodate all elements of the nation that are very diverse in terms of ethnicity, language, culture and religion. It is the duty of all elements of the nation to maintain and strengthen the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

³²Zulifan, M. *Menimbang Ide Khilafah di Indonesia*, 2017. Accessed on (May 16, 2017).

³³Azra, Azyumardi. "ISIS, *Khilafah*, dan Indonesia, on <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2014/08/05/14000051/ISIS.Khilafah.dan.Indonesia>, assessed on (05 November 2018).

Therefore, every path and attempt to emerge movements that threaten the integrity of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia must be prevented, because it will cause great *mafsadab* and divisions of the people. Considering that the Qur'an has introduced several forms of political institutions for humans, they have freedom to choose the form of state and political governance which is suitable with the socio-geographical conditions and cultural roots of their nationality, in order to regulate the mechanisms and order of their lives in the nation and state.

Conclusion

Even though the term *khilāfah* is not found in the Qur'an, several other terms are derived from the same root word, including the term *khilāfah*, *khalā'if*, *khulafā*, and *istakhlafa*. These terms have the meaning "substitute, ruler, and make power" respectively. Thus, in context, it can be understood that Qur'an has introduced the *khilāfah* system as a political institution.

The appointment of Dāwūd as a caliph was given the task of God to enforce the law in the midst of society. Such efforts to uphold God's laws must be based on strong and solid faith. The goal is to create a safe, peaceful and enthralled atmosphere in the life of the nation and state.

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