



THE LEGITIMACY OF THE CALIPHATE AS A STATE SYSTEM (A Hermeneutic Study of The Term *Khalifah* in the Quran)

Irwan Ahmad Akbar^{1*}, Emi Lilawati², Hidayatur Rohmah³

^{1,2,3} Universitas KH. A. Wahab Hasbullah Jombang, Indonesia

Abstract

Keywords:

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Certain groups believe the Qur'an legitimizes the establishment of a state based on the khilafah system, specifically citing Surah Al-Baqarah (2:30). The purpose of this research is to critically examine the term khilafah in Q. (2:30) using semantic and semiotic approaches. Additionally, the study will explore the historical features of the term in-depth to answer questions regarding the moral ideal conveyed in the verses on khilafah. Specifically, it investigates whether these verses serve as a legal basis for the khilafah system. Furthermore, the researcher will analyze Qur'anic verses and hadiths related to themes of national defense and love for one's homeland. The study concludes that the assumption that the Qur'an legitimizes the khilafah system is a misconception. Nowhere in the Qur'an does the term khilafah appear; instead, the term used is khalifah. Verses that discuss khalifah do not aim to validate the establishment of a political system based on khilafah. Rather, they represent God's designation of humankind as His stewards, tasked with managing and utilizing the Earth's resources responsibly. Moreover, the moral ideal conveyed by the verses on khalifah underscores God's recognition of humanity as the creation endowed with Ahsanu Taqvim (the most excellent form). This highlights the dignity and responsibility bestowed upon humankind in fulfilling their role as stewards of the Earth.

*Corresponding Author
E-mail: irwan@unwaha.ac.id

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INTRODUCTION

Certain imported ideological groups within the context of Indonesian society firmly believe that the Qur'an legitimizes, and even mandates, the establishment of a state under the *khilafah* system. *Khilafah* refers to a system of governance founded on leadership principles within Islam. Historically, *khilafah* pertains to the rule of the caliphs—successors of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ—who assumed leadership after his death. The caliphs were recognized as political, military, and spiritual leaders of the Muslim community, regarded as

representatives of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, tasked with managing state affairs and implementing sharia law.

Interestingly, while claims about the obligation to establish a *khilafah* system persist, the term *khilafah* does not appear anywhere in the Qur'an. Instead, the Qur'an uses the term *khalifah* (singular), *khala'if*, and *khulafa'* (plural forms). Specifically, the term *khalifah* appears twice in Surah Al-Baqarah (2:30) and Surah Sad (38:26). The term *khala'if* is mentioned four times in Surah Al-An'am (6:165), Surah Yunus (10:14, 73), and Surah Fatir (35:39), while the term *khulafa'* is found three times in Surah Al-A'raf (7:69, 74) and Surah An-Naml (27:62).

Some of Islamic scholars have offered varying interpretations of *khilafah*. Some view it as a political construct (*al-madzhar al-siyasi*), relating to authority (*al-sulthan*) and governance systems (*nizam al-hukm*) (Jassas, 1992; Razi, 2004). Others interpret it through a religious lens (*al-madzhar al-din*), focusing on its spiritual and moral dimensions. This interpretive contestation regarding the obligation to establish an Islamic state under the *khilafah* system has sparked significant polemics. For instance, Ibn Kathir argues that a caliph must be a free, rational, just, Muslim male, capable of exercising ijtihad, physically sound, and a member of the Banu Hashim lineage (Ibn Kathir, 2012). This perspective was challenged by the Rafidhah sect, who believe that a caliph does not necessarily need to be from the Banu Hashim lineage or to be infallible (Ibn 'Ali al-Jawzi, 1984). Meanwhile, Quraish Shihab offers a different interpretation, suggesting that Allah's mandate for humankind as *khalifah* serves as a test to assess their ability to preserve their dignity as human beings (Shihab, 2005).

It is essential to recognize that the concept and implementation of *khilafah* can vary significantly depending on cultural, historical, and theological contexts. Certain groups promoting Islamist ideologies or political movements advocate for a modern *khilafah* system that comprehensively implements sharia law. However, interpretations and understandings of *khilafah* differ widely, with many Muslim scholars offering diverse perspectives on its relevance and application in the modern era. Consequently, *khilafah* remains a highly controversial topic, frequently debated both within and outside the Muslim world.

This research aims to investigate the legitimacy of *khilafah* as a state system using semantic and semiotic analysis of Surah Al-Baqarah (2:30). It seeks to explore the historical context and moral imperatives behind this verse to assess whether it supports the establishment of a *khilafah* system or instead conveys broader ethical messages. By examining

the verse's semantic nuances and its historical backdrop, the study aims to clarify its intended messages and their implications for governance and moral stewardship.

The findings are expected to provide a balanced understanding, serving as a middle ground between the political and religious interpretations of *khilafah*. This research aspires to demonstrate how the ideal values conveyed in the Qur'an remain applicable across different eras and contexts, affirming its status as a divine text inherently compatible with all times and places (*salih li kulli zaman wa makan*). By bridging the gap between differing perspectives, the study aims to offer insights that contribute to a more nuanced discourse on *khilafah* and its relevance in contemporary and future governance frameworks.

Surah al-Baqarah (2:30)

وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلٰٓئِكَةِ اِنِّیْ جَاعِلٌ فِی الْاَرْضِ خَلِیْفَةًۭۙ قَالُوْۤا اَتَجْعَلُ فِیْهَا مَنْ یُّفْسِدُ فِیْهَا وَیَسْفِكُ الدِّمَآءَ
وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَۙ قَالَ اِنِّیْۤ اَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُوْنَ

"And [mention, O Muhammad], when your Lord said to the angels, "Indeed, I will make upon the earth a successive authority." They said, "Will You place upon it one who causes corruption therein and sheds blood, while we declare Your praise and sanctify You?" Allah said, "Indeed, I know that which you do not know."

LITERATURE REVIEW: State and Democracy in Islam

In Islamic political thought, the concepts of state and democracy are often examined in the context of "*Siyasah Shar'iyah*" (Islamic governance). This literature review explores the relationship between Islamic principles and democratic governance, highlighting the compatibility and divergences between the two systems as discussed in the academic discourse.

The State in Islam

Islamic political theory does not prescribe a specific form of government or state. Instead, it emphasizes the implementation of justice, welfare, and the adherence to *Shari'ah* (Islamic law). The fundamental principle underpinning governance in Islam is the concept of sovereignty, which is vested in Allah (God) rather than the people. This divine sovereignty guides the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of an Islamic state (Al-Mawardi, 2000; Rahmawati, 2018).

Democracy in Islamic Thought

Democracy, derived from the Greek term "demos" (people) and "kratos" (power), is understood as a system of governance where power resides with the people, typically exercised through elected representatives. In contemporary discourse, democracy is often associated with values such as freedom, equality, and the rule of law (Muntoha, 2009).

Islamic scholars have debated the extent to which democratic principles can align with Islamic governance. Some scholars argue that democracy's emphasis on people's sovereignty contradicts the Islamic principle of divine sovereignty. However, others contend that the democratic values of consultation (shura), justice, and equality are inherently compatible with Islamic teachings (Hakiki, 2016).

Convergence of Democracy and Islam

The concept of "shura" or consultation is a cornerstone of Islamic governance and is seen as analogous to democratic deliberation. The Qur'an advocates for collective decision-making and mutual consultation among Muslims (Q. 2:233; Q. 3:159). This aligns with democratic practices that emphasize participatory governance and accountability.

Furthermore, the principles of justice ('*adl*) and equality (*musawah*) in Islam resonate with the democratic ideals of fairness and equal treatment under the law. These shared values suggest a potential convergence where democratic mechanisms can be employed within an Islamic framework to ensure justice and public welfare (Bustaman-Ahmad, 2002; Ilyas, 2018).

Divergences and Challenges

Despite the areas of convergence, there are significant differences in how democracy and Islamic governance conceptualize sovereignty and the source of legal authority. Democracy typically places ultimate authority in the hands of the people, whereas Islamic governance views law as derived from divine revelation. This divergence poses challenges in integrating democratic processes with Islamic jurisprudence (Rahmat, 1992).

Additionally, certain democratic practices, such as the unrestricted freedom of expression, may conflict with Islamic norms that prioritize communal harmony and moral conduct. Islamic governance emphasizes the collective good and moral responsibilities, which may necessitate certain restrictions that are less common in liberal democracies (Mu'ti, 2004).

RESEARCH METHOD

The object of this research focuses on the term *khalifah* in Q. (2): 30, a verse that has often been interpreted in various ways to justify or question the legitimacy of certain political systems, particularly the concept of *khilafah*. The study aims to critically examine and clarify the meaning of *khalifah* by employing a qualitative library research approach. This involves collecting and analyzing data from primary and secondary sources, including classical and contemporary Islamic scholarship, books, journal articles, and other printed or digital materials. The research uses a descriptive-comparative method to analyze the data systematically, allowing the researcher to draw conclusions by moving from general observations to specific findings.

This qualitative research aims to explore the concept of *khalifah* in the Qur'anic context through a series of focused analyses. First, a linguistic analysis of Q. (2:30) will be conducted to uncover the literal meaning of *khalifah* by examining its grammar, syntax, and morphology. This will be followed by a semiotic analysis to delve into the symbolic and interpretative meanings of *khalifah*, highlighting themes of human responsibility and stewardship. To ensure a comprehensive understanding, the research will also include an intratextual comparison with Q. (38:26), where *khalifah* is mentioned in relation to Prophet Dawud (David), to identify consistent messages across the Qur'an.

The study will further investigate the historical context surrounding Q. (2:30) by reviewing classical tafsir and historical commentaries to understand how early Muslim scholars interpreted the term in their socio-cultural setting. This historical analysis will provide insights into how interpretations of *khalifah* have evolved over time. The research will then synthesize the findings to emphasize the moral and ethical implications of the term, illustrating that *khalifah* pertains more to humanity's collective responsibility to uphold justice and care for the Earth than to political governance. Finally, the study will examine Qur'anic and Hadith perspectives on leadership and

societal responsibility, focusing on concepts like national defense (*Bela Negara*) and love for one's homeland (*Cinta Tanah Air*). By following these steps, the research aims to provide a balanced understanding that moves beyond political interpretations, framing *khalifah* as a role rooted in moral responsibility and ethical leadership

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Linguistics Analysis: Grammatical, Rhetorical, and Semiotic Dimensions

The linguistic analysis of Q. (2): 30 reveals its rich grammatical, rhetorical, and semiotic dimensions, particularly within the disciplines of Nahwu (syntax), Sharf (morphology), and Balaghah (rhetoric). This verse narrates a dialogue between Allah and the angels regarding Allah's decision to appoint a *khalifah* (vicegerent) on earth, referring to Prophet Adam. The angels express their concern about the *khalifah* potentially causing corruption and bloodshed, to which Allah responds by asserting His divine knowledge and wisdom, saying, "Indeed, I know what you do not know."

1. Morphological and Syntactic Analysis (Nahwu and Sharf)

The term "ja'ilun" (جَاعِلٌ), an ism fā'il (active participle), is of particular significance in this verse. Allah uses *ja'ilun* to emphasize certainty, continuity, and deliberateness in His action of appointing a *khalifah*. Unlike the verb form "aj'alu" (أَجْعَلُ), which would have indicated a temporal or ongoing action, the ism fā'il carries a sense of permanence and resolve. Al-Tabari in *Jāmi' al-Bayān* explains that the use of *ja'ilun* aligns with the attributes of Allah as "the one who creates and ordains" (خَالِقٌ وَمُقَدِّرٌ) (al-Tabari, n.d.).

Conversely, the angels employ the verb form "ataj'alu" (أَتَجْعَلُ), a present tense interrogative verb that questions Allah's intention. This linguistic distinction reflects the angels' limited understanding and their concern regarding the moral consequences of appointing a *khalifah*.

2. Rhetorical Analysis (Balaghah)

From the perspective of Balaghah, specifically *ma'ani* (semantics), the phrase:

"Inni ja'ilun fi al-ardhi *khalifah*" (إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً)

is a kalam khabari (declarative sentence), intended to convey information with certainty. The inclusion of inna (إِنَّ) at the beginning of the statement serves

as *ta'kid* (emphasis), strengthening the resolve behind Allah's decision (Ibn 'Ashur, n.d.).

In contrast, the angels' question:

"Ataj'alu fiha man yufsidu fiha wa yafiku al-dima'" (أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَنْ يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَاءَ)

takes the form of a *kalam insya'i* (interrogative sentence), reflecting uncertainty and concern. The angels' query introduces a dynamic tension in the dialogue, which is later resolved by Allah's declarative response:

"Inni a'lamu ma la ta'lamun" (إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ).

This rhetorical exchange showcases the contrast between divine omniscience and the angels' limited perception, affirming Allah's absolute wisdom.

Ibn Kathir and al-Shawkani align with this analysis, noting that the declarative structure serves to emphasize Allah's authority and purpose in appointing Adam as the *khalifah*, while the angels' question reflects their concern for divine justice (Ibn Kathir, 2012; al-Shawkani, 2004).

3. Semiotic and Pragmatic Analysis

The semiotic analysis of the dialogue aligns with Charles Sanders Peirce's theory of meaning, which asserts that interpretation depends on relational context and habitual understanding (Peirce, 1971). In this verse, the angels' concern arises from their established understanding of earthly beings' potential for corruption. Allah, however, introduces a higher purpose – appointing humankind as stewards with moral and spiritual responsibilities.

Pragmatically, the verse demonstrates an open-dialogue model between Allah and the angels. Despite the angels' limited knowledge, Allah addresses their concerns with patience and reassurance, emphasizing His wisdom in the creation of humankind. This exchange reflects a pluralistic communication approach, where differences in understanding are acknowledged and resolved through divine explanation.

The previous section discussed the concept of pragmatic-pluralism, which refers to a way of interpreting and understanding the meaning of meaning pragmatization by considering specific situations and conditions in accepting objective meaning (Stanlick, 2012). This implies that, first, the presence of Allah as

the speaker (in the previous discourse) serves as a symbol of the first speaker, and also as the supreme leader. The angels, in turn, act as the respondents in the conversation and are then incorporated into various possible symbols. For instance, they may initially represent a symbol of criticism regarding God's actions, but this changes in response to God's reply to the angels. Another crucial figure in this discourse is Prophet Adam. Here, Adam's role is both as an actor and as a discourse. As an actor, Adam is the central subject of God's decree. As a discourse, God provides an explanation to the angels regarding His future plans, which initially meet with objections from the angels.

However, in the pattern of pragmatic-pluralism, Allah responds in a way that appears to place Himself on equal footing with the angels. In this case, God creates a sense of open dialogue. The angels then offer what seems to be a contradictory response, but God continues to engage with them in a respectful dialogue. Ultimately, the narrative concludes with the angels showing respect for God's decision, even though it contradicts their initial expectations. The symbolic relationship between God and the angels, with its open-dialogue nuance, embodies values that are highly relevant in the contemporary world. The open attitude, even towards contradictory parties, is a form of moderation that should be acknowledged and emulated.

Intratextual Analysis of the Term *Khalifah*

The term *khalifah* is mentioned twice in the Qur'an, specifically in Q. (2): 30 and Q. (38): 26. In these verses, God uses Prophet David (Dawud) as the subject of a dialogue. In Q. (38): 26, God explains that He has appointed David as a *khalifah* over the earth and instructed him to judge between people without relying on personal desires (*nafs*). This, according to God, is crucial as judging based on personal desires could lead to negative consequences, both for the individual and for others. Moreover, those who judge based on personal desires on the Day of Judgment will face severe punishment. This is essentially the message conveyed by God to David in the verse.

Some scholars interpret the term *khalifah* in this context as *al-badlu mimman madhi*, meaning a successor or follower of those who came before. Additionally, a similar interpretation can be found in Q. (43): 60, where the concept of *khalifah* is linked to *an-nisbah*, meaning representation or delegation. This suggests that human beings serve as

representatives of God in the management and stewardship of the earth (Zahrah, n.d.). Consequently, any corruption or damage occurring on the earth is entirely the responsibility of humanity, not of God.

Historical Context Analysis of Q. (2): 30

Although most of Surah al-Baqarah was revealed in Makkah, Q. (2): 30 is classified as a Madani verse, as it was revealed after the Prophet's migration (hijrah) in 622 CE (Khozin & Umiarso, 2019; Muir, 1861). Understanding the *madaniyyah* from a geographical perspective, the historical analysis of this verse involves considering the state of the society in Madinah when the verse was revealed. It is important to note that many of the Qur'anic verses describing the stories of past figures do not provide *asbab an-nuzul* (reasons for revelation). According to some scholars, the focus of these verses is not on historical aspects but rather on the lessons and wisdom conveyed through the stories (M. Quraish Shihab, 2017). Similarly, Q. 2:30 does not have a *sabab nuzul*, as it falls under the category of narrative verses.

Before the Prophet's arrival, Madinah was known as Yathrib. Yathrib was a heterogeneous city with numerous tribes and clans living there. Geographically, Madinah consisted of both high and low plains. Those residing in the higher plains had more privileges, as the land was more fertile than the lower slopes. The prominent communities in the higher plains included the Banu Nadir, Banu Qurayza, and the Aws tribe, while the Prophet lived in the lower slopes with the Banu Qaynuqa and the Khazraj tribe (Fisher, 2019).

Since the Prophet lived among the Khazraj and the Banu Qaynuqa, he frequently interacted with these two tribes. The Khazraj were the most significant tribe in bringing the Prophet to Madinah, as evidenced by their pledges in the *Aqabah*. The reason for bringing the Prophet to Madinah was the long-standing civil strife in Yathrib, which had persisted for centuries. The people of Yathrib were likely weary of the constant warfare and sought a mediator to bring peace (Qurthubi & Al-Khazraji, 1993). The Khazraj delegation met with the Prophet, and this resulted in a mutually beneficial relationship. The Prophet and his followers sought refuge from the persecution in Makkah, while the people of Yathrib needed the Prophet to help reconcile the warring factions.

Upon the Prophet's arrival in Yathrib, he established the *mu'ahadah* (treaty), ensuring that every community would have religious freedom and live in peace without causing disturbances. This agreement marked the transformation of Yathrib into Madinah, derived from the root *ma-da-na*, which many scholars interpret as "civilized" (Fisher, 2019). However, after the treaty was formed, a small group from the Khazraj, led by Abdullah ibn Ubayy ibn Salul, opposed the Prophet's presence. Their opposition stemmed from the fact that Ibn Salul had been a candidate for leadership in Madinah before the Prophet's rise in popularity, which threatened his ambitions. As a result, Ibn Salul and his followers harbored resentment towards the Prophet and formed a faction that continuously opposed him. The Qur'an refers to them as the *munaḥiqun* (hypocrites), due to their manipulative behavior—they professed faith outwardly but rejected the Prophet's teachings privately (Muir, 1923).

In 624 CE, Madinah faced territorial threats from the pagan Quraysh of Makkah, who sought to attack the Prophet's followers. The year before, God had granted permission for fighting in self-defense, as stated in Q. (22): 39. In response to the external threat, the Prophet commanded the Muslim community to prepare for defense against the Quraysh. The Muslims also faced internal pressure from the hypocritical factions in Madinah. The Muhajirun (migrants from Makkah) were seen by some of the local tribes as a burden, blamed for bringing trouble to Madinah. In this context, the Prophet and his followers faced a psychological struggle, dealing with both external threats and internal challenges. This is when Q. (2): 30–39 was revealed. The verse, which addresses the creation of Adam as a *khalifah* on earth, likely served as a form of psychological motivation for the Muslims. It reminded them that they, as descendants of Adam, were appointed as God's stewards on Earth, providing them with a sense of purpose and strength to face the trials ahead.

Ideal Moral of the Verse

The term *khilafah* primarily refers to governance in Islamic interpretation, while *khalifah* denotes the subject within the governance system (not necessarily an Islamic state). The statement in Q. (2): 30 is not meant to oblige the establishment of a caliphate system. Therefore, the ideal moral message behind this verse can be explained in several ways:

1. The Obligation to Appoint a Leader

The verse does not impose the establishment of a state with a caliphate system but rather emphasizes the necessity of appointing a leader. Leadership is essential for maintaining order and guidance within society.

2. Historical Context of Q. (2): 30

The verse served as a motivation for the early Muslim community, especially during a time of turmoil and change. It reinforced the concept that human beings have been entrusted with responsibility and authority on Earth.

3. Functional Perspective of Q. (2): 30

From a functional standpoint, the verse highlights that God has appointed humans as His representatives on Earth. This mandate serves as a reminder of the inherent responsibility to uphold justice and morality in leadership.

4. Meaning of 'Representative'

The concept of being God's representative reflects the honor and dignity bestowed upon humanity. As *ahsān taqwīm* (the best of creation), humans are entrusted with the management of the Earth and its affairs, signifying a high level of moral and ethical responsibility.

5. Leadership as a Divine Duty

As humans are God's representatives, any individual assuming a leadership role is bound by the duty to lead justly. This means that leaders must uphold justice, fairness, and integrity in their governance.

When contextualising this in the modern era, the verse does not mandate establishing an Islamic caliphate system. Instead, it emphasizes that any state must have a leader regardless of its form. The essential criterion is that the leader must be just, as humanity, as God's representative, is required to create fair and just laws. These laws should be obeyed by all citizens, and in times of threat to the nation, it becomes the duty of every citizen to defend it. The moral of the verse is thus applicable in various forms of governance today, stressing the importance of justice, leadership, and responsibility towards the common good.

National Defense (*Bela Negara*) in the Qur'an and Hadith

In the Qur'an, several verses provide guidance related to national defence, emphasizing key principles that Muslims should uphold in the context of defending their nation. Some of these principles are:

1. Justice

The Qur'an emphasizes the importance of justice in all aspects of life, including the defence of the state. For example, in QS. Al-Maidah: 8, Allah says, "O you who have believed, be persistently standing firm in justice, witnesses for Allah, even if it be against yourselves or parents and relatives..." (M. Quraish Shihab, 2017). This principle stresses the importance of fair conduct, even in challenging situations such as defence.

2. Self-Defense

The Qur'an allows Muslims to defend themselves against aggression toward their religion, lives, and nation. QS. Al-Hajj: 39 states, "Permission is given to those who are being fought because they have been wronged. And indeed, Allah is capable of granting them victory." (Shihab, 2005). This verse establishes the right to defend oneself and one's community against harm or aggression.

3. Obedience to Leadership

The Qur'an emphasizes the importance of obedience to just leaders and lawful government, as long as they do not command sin or exceed the boundaries of religion. QS. An-Nisa: 59 says, "O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you believe in Allah and the Last Day..." (Tabari, n.d.). This verse underlines the necessity of supporting legitimate leadership for the stability of the state.

4. Avoiding Corruption

The Qur'an stresses the importance of avoiding corruption and disorder, which could undermine the nation. QS. Al-Baqarah: 195 states, "And do not throw yourselves into destruction with your own hands, and do good; indeed, Allah loves the doers of good." (Shaukani, 2004). This guidance highlights the need to preserve peace and order within society, a foundational aspect of national defence.

5. Peaceful Resolution of Conflict

The Qur'an encourages resolving conflicts and disputes through peaceful means, promoting dialogue and reconciliation, and avoiding violence unless necessary. QS. Al-Hujurat: 13 says, "O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you." This verse stresses the importance of human fraternity and peaceful conflict resolution (M. Quraish Shihab, 2017).

In the Hadith, which records the words, actions, or approvals of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), there are also significant guidelines related to national defence:

1. Hadith from Bukhari and Muslim

Abdullah bin Umar (ra) narrated that the Prophet Muhammad (saw) said, "Each of you is a shepherd and each of you is responsible for his flock. A leader is a shepherd over his people and is responsible for them." This Hadith emphasizes the leader's duty toward his people, including their defence.

2. Hadith from Muslim

Abu Bakrah (ra) narrated that the Prophet Muhammad (saw) said, "Whoever is not grateful to the people is not grateful to Allah, and whoever is not grateful to Allah is not grateful to the people." This Hadith highlights the importance of being thankful to those who contribute to society, including those involved in national defence.

3. Hadith from Bukhari and Muslim

Abu Hurairah (ra) reported that the Prophet Muhammad (saw) said, "Whoever sees an evil, let him change it with his hand; if he is not able to, then with his tongue; and if he is not able to, then with his heart, and that is the weakest of faith." This Hadith encourages individuals to take action against evil and wrongdoing, including in the context of national defence.

4. Hadith from Bukhari

Abdullah bin Amr bin Ash (ra) narrated that the Prophet Muhammad (saw) said, "The believer with the most perfect faith is the one with the best character, and the best of you are those who are the best to their families." This Hadith

underscores the importance of good character, which extends to national defence and the treatment of others in society (Juynboll, 2008).

Based on the Qur'an and Hadith, it is clear that Islam does not explicitly mandate the establishment of an Islamic state or caliphate. Rather, the Qur'an and Hadith provide guidance on how to behave in society, uphold justice, defend the nation, avoid evil, and contribute positively to the community. Therefore, in conceptual terms, any form of government that adheres to the five principles outlined above is acceptable in Islam, as long as it upholds justice, obedience, peace, and the welfare of the people.

CONCLUSIONS

The establishment of a caliphate state is not explicitly commanded by Allah. The verse regarding the concept of "*khalifah*" (successor) serves as recognition from Allah, granting humans the responsibility to manage the Earth as His vicegerents. The form of the state itself is not prescribed, and any system of governance is permissible as long as it includes a just leader whose laws must be followed by the citizens. Therefore, in the context of territorial threats, every citizen is obligated to defend and protect the nation. This perspective emphasizes that the core principle in Islamic political thought is the moral and ethical duty to uphold justice and maintain social order, rather than the rigid imposition of a specific governmental structure such as a caliphate. The key focus is on ensuring that any governing system is just and fair, with leaders who act following Islamic teachings and whose authority is respected by the population. In times of external aggression or territorial threats, it becomes a collective responsibility of all citizens to safeguard the sovereignty of the state. This approach highlights flexibility in the form of governance, with the fundamental emphasis placed on justice, leadership, and the collective welfare of the community.

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