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THE ROLE OF POLITICAL DA'WAH IN NON-MUSLIM COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT: Choosing a leader for the Muslims is a very important matter, the Qur'an, hadith, siroh and the journey of the leadership of the khulafaurrasyidin provide many guidelines on how to choose leaders among the Muslims. But what about the Muslims who live in non-Muslim countries. In general, choosing leaders in non-Muslim countries is carried out with a democratic system through general elections. Because of the minority, Muslims often do not have representation in general elections, so that the only choice is a candidate leader from non-Muslims. By using qualitative methods, this study aims to elaborate on the extent and future of political da'wah in non-Muslim countries in a democratic system. The findings in this study indicate that Muslim minorities are able to collaborate with non- Muslim leaders, join in a non-Muslim party and some have succeeded in occupying legislative, judicial and executive powers.

Keywords: Non-Muslim Countries, Democratic, Choosing a Leader

INTRODUCTION

The end of the rule of the Ottoman Empire in World War II, had an impact on Muslims who lived scattered in various newly independent countries, some Muslims lived in a country with a majority Muslim population such as in Indonesia, Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan and others, some Muslims live in large numbers but live under the rule of non-Muslim countries, such as India, Russia, China and others, and some Muslims live in a minority in a country with a majority non-Muslim population such as Europe, the United States and Japan.¹

Of course, the life conditions of the Muslim minority in the midst of the non-Muslim majority face various problems that are not experienced by Muslims in general. Among the problems they face is choosing a leader in the general election mechanism, in which every citizen gives his political rights by voting for candidates for members of parliament and president, the political democratic system applies the majority vote or majority as the winner who determines policies and implements applicable rules.

In Islam, choosing a leader is an obligation for Muslims, as in carrying out congregational prayers, it is obligatory to have a leader who is then referred to as the imam of the congregational prayer, as well as in the case of mu'amalah, such as traveling or traveling, it is obligatory to choose a travel leader, as well as in national and state life.

¹ https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_menurut_negara The Pew Research Center findings explain that in 2010, about three-quarters of the world's Muslims (74.1%) lived in 49 countries where Muslims constitute the majority of the population, then more than a fifth of all Muslims (23.3%) lived in non-Muslim majority countries in developing countries, and about 3% of the world's Muslims lived in more developed regions.

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In Al-Qur'an Surah Al-Ma'idah verse 51 it is explicitly prohibited for Muslims to make non-Muslims (Jews and Christians) as leaders. "O you who believe, do not take Jews and Christians as (your) leaders; some of them are leaders for others. Whoever among you takes them as a leader, then surely that person is one of them. Verily, Allah does not guide the wrongdoers."²

There are many other verses that reject non-Muslim leaders for Muslims such as: al-Maidah: 57, al-Mumtahanah: 1, al-MujJadilah: 22, al-Nisâ: 141 and 144, al-Anfâl: 73, al -Taubah: 71, al-Taubah: 8, Ali Imrân: 100 and 118. Based on these verses, several classical to contemporary scholars have rejected non-Muslim leaders including: al-Jashâsh, al-Zamakhsyarî, al-Alûsi, al-Arabî , Ibn Kathîr, al-Qurtubî, Wahbah Zuhaili, al-Thaba'thaba'î, al- Mawardî, Abdu al-Wahab Khalâf, Taqîyu al-Dîn Nabhanî and others.

This is where a problem arises for Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries about choosing non-Muslim leaders in general elections for members of parliament and president. Can electing a non-Muslim leader invalidate a Muslim's faith? then what is the role of political da'wah in non-Muslim countries?³

RESEARCH METHOD

This type of research is qualitative research with the method of collecting library data which is studied based on a phenomenological approach, this approach reveals the similarity of meaning that is the essence of a concept, in which phenomena are consciously and individually experienced by a group of individuals in their lives. This approach is used to examine how a Muslim person or minority Muslim community uses their political rights in elections in non- Muslim countries.

Primary data sources come from books, while secondary data is in the form of journals, articles and writings related to the research theme which are downloaded via the internet. The collected data is then analyzed and given meaning.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. Non-Muslim Countries

The state is a government unit that controls the territory to a certain extent by having monopoly rights over military and legal power, which includes various political, social and economic institutions. A country is a collection of unique ideology and culture, so that the country is referred to as a nation.

Several experts define a state, the first is Jean Bodin in his book explaining "A state is a human community that is united, has a territory and a head of state, and controls all

aspects of life together."⁴ The second is that Thomas Hobbes gives the meaning "The state is an institution made by humans as a consequence of agreements made by its people and

² Tafsir Al-Madinah Al-Munawwarah / Markaz Ta'dzhim al-Qur'an under the supervision of Shaykh Prof. Dr. Imad Zuhair Hafidz, professor of the faculty of al-Qur'an at the Islamic University of Madinah https://tafsirweb.com/1935-surat-al- maidah-ayat-51.html

³ Sippah Chotban, Hukum Memilih Pemimpin Non-Muslim, Jurnal Al-Qadau Volume 5 Nomor 1 Juni 2018, p.65

⁴ Jean Bodin, (1576), The Six Books of the Commonwealth, Liberty Fund, Indianapolis, Amerika Serikat, p.295

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based on absolute power given to one entity, or what is called a Souverain."⁵

Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe defines: "The state is a human organization that is limited in geographical area, has power over finances and property, and has the right to hold a monopoly in matters of legislation and military security."⁶ From these several definitions, it can be understood that the state is a shared living space where people live in a certain area and organize all available resources to achieve common interests.

In the Qur'an, non-Muslims are referred to as infidels. Literally coming from the Arabic language, Kafir (Arabic: الله, kāfir; plural الله, kuffār), the word 'Kafir' means "one who hides". In other words, a person who is considered an infidel (or 'Kaafir') is someone who denies the views or hastens from a religion or thought (whether Judaism, Christianity, Islam or any other religion) to be recognized as the truth. Generally, infidel refers to a person who rejects the truth or the truth that is recognized by Islam. In this case, a person who is considered an infidel is someone who refuses to believe in Allah, the

Prophet Muhammad SAW and Islam.⁷ Non- Muslim countries in this discussion are countries that are inhabited by the majority of infidels and the state administrators or so-called government are also carried out by the majority of infidels.

Throughout history there have been several forms of government, oligarchic government, dictatorial government, military power, the monarchy or kingdom, and the

last is a republican government, as a product of renaissance, namely a system of government in which the people elect their representatives through a general election process to lead the country, the elected leader represents and carries out the wishes of the people.

Entering the modern century, the idea of democracy developed which then entered and expanded into a political system that changed the domination of the form of monarchy or absolute monarchy to a republican state. democracy for governance.

2. Democracy

Some of the characteristics of a democratic government system can be described as follows:

- a. Voting rights, every citizen is given the right to choose their leader, which is determined through a majority vote;
- b. Government based on law, the government must follow the legal provisions that have been implemented and may not make new regulations without the approval of citizens;
- c. The government is transparent, except for secrets that are required for important security reasons, the democratic system prioritizes transparency and justice;
- d. The division of powers, includes 3 powers, namely the legislature (parliament),

⁵ Thomas Hobbes, (2002), Leviathan, Penguin Classics, p.5.

⁶ Milton Korenman, (2004), Max Weber's Political Sociology: A critique, The Pennsylvania State University Press, p.123.

⁷ Abu Ameenah Bilal Philips, (2001). Fundamentals of Tawheed. Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Darussalam Publishers & Distributors, p.16.

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executive (government), and judiciary (court).

e. Sovereignty of the people, citizens are the sovereignty of the people and the highest source of law in the political system. Every citizen has the right to change the legal and political system at every election opportunity.

The democratic system involves many values, policies, and the rights of its citizens, which in general, democracy can also be interpreted as a system of constitutional government that allows citizens to vote through the election of their representatives to make important decisions related to the lives of the population itself.

Lately, with the rapid development of information and communication technology, democracy has become a global understanding in social, economic and political systems, including countries with very strong monarchy systems that are even influenced to

present a democratic nature to their citizens.⁸ An international organization called Freedom House presented a list of countries implementing a democratic system in 2021. Based on their report, currently there are 134 non-Muslim countries that have implemented democracy by holding general elections.⁹

3. Democracy in the View of Islamic Leaders

The following presents several opinions or views from Islamic scholars, thinkers or figures regarding democracy:

Sayyid Qutb said that the concept of "people's rule", democracy operates on the principle that the administration of power is up to the people, because the people must ensure that they can use the power given to them within certain limits. Sayyid Qutb emphasized the importance of active participation of the people in the political decision-making mechanism to make it more effective and clear.¹⁰

Fazlur Rahman emphasized the importance of the fundamental concept of democracy in Islam, democracy is an ideal way to solve policy problems and ensure human rights, democracy provides a way to change tensions that can lead to chaos and social confrontation into compromises based on mutually agreed policy solutions. The same. Fazlur Rahman views democracy as the foundation for a new, higher generation.¹¹

Yusuf Qardhawi stated that the essence of democracy is that the people choose people who will rule and manage their problems, they should not be forced on them by a ruler they do not like or a regime they hate, they are given the right to correct the ruler if he is wrong, given the right to revoke and replace him if they deviate, they may not be forced to follow various economic, social and political systems that they neither know nor

like. If some of them refuse, then they may not be tortured, tortured and killed.¹² In another explanation, it can be said that modern democracy starts from the parameter

⁸ https://www.eiu.com/public/topical_report.aspx?campaignid=democracy5

⁹ http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2021/democratic-performance-2021

¹⁰ Sayyid Qutb, (2005), Demokrasi dan Kebijakannya, وسباسلتها اللبمتر اطبة Dar al-Hadith, Riyadh, Arab Saudi, p.42.

¹¹ Fazlur Rahman, (1997) "Demokrasi dalam Era Islam" السالمي العصر ني النبعقر اطبة, Umm al-Qura University Press, Mekkah, Arab Saudi, p.191.

¹² Yusuf al-Qardhawi, (1997), Fiqih Negara, Robbani Press, Jakarta, p.167.

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that human beings are free to make their own decisions, namely the basic ethics that apply in all these systems without exception to Islamic ideas and things that are prohibited by Islam.¹³

The explanation above emphasizes that democracy is not a matter related to the creed and rituals of worship in Islam as is still happening in the dynamics of pros and cons and debate among Muslims, especially in Indonesia.¹⁴ That the democratic system did not originate from Islam can be understood and it must be acknowledged that democracy is a cultural product of European society which was previously shackled by the absolute truth authorities of the church and the kingdom of its time, and in fact democracy became a solution to various social, economic and political problems which then accepted and adopted by Muslims in various countries.

Thus democracy is a matter or matter of relations between humans or mu'amalah in the life of the nation, state, as well as association between nations in the world. Because of this, democracy needs to be seen as an opportunity rather than being a material for unproductive discussion and debate, moreover, the trend towards the need for state leadership continues to grow where more and more democratic leadership comes from the process of making political decisions that replace dictatorial and authoritarian leadership. Democratic leadership involves all elements of society and the participation of everyone involved in the decision-making process in practical ways, such as elections and general referendums, supporting the majority, implementing a multiparty system, giving rights to minorities to oppose, guaranteeing freedom of the press and independence of the judiciary.

Democratic election of leaders is carried out through a general election mechanism, in which all citizens with specified conditions vote to elect leaders in 2 (two) areas of power, namely the legislature and the executive. The legislature elects representatives of the people from the parties to sit in parliament, and the executive elects the mayor, governor or president.

Furthermore, the quality of community participation is a factor influencing the higher quality of democratic leadership, namely modern leadership with the concept of focusing on efforts to increase per capita productivity and quality of life not only for its citizens but also for other residents outside the country. Modern leadership focuses on innovation in technology, commerce, infrastructure advancement and shifting the social impact of all endeavors.

Until then on the quality of future leadership with the concept of seeking and making decisions to avoid negative impacts that may occur in the future. This includes protecting the environment and enhancing social and economic resilience. Future leadership also includes efforts to create a system where the next generation can live a

¹³ Yusuf al-Qardhawi, (1998), "Demokrasi di Mana cahaya Islam?" السالم؟ نور أين النبقر اطبة , bina Islamis, Qatar, p.257

¹⁴ M. Suryadinata, (2015), Kepemimpinan Non-Muslim dalam al-Qur"ān: Analisis terhadap Penafsiran FPI Mengenai Ayat Pemimpin Non-Muslim,

https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/ilmu-ushuluddin/article/view/2630, Jurnal UIN Jalarta Ilmu Ushuluddin, Volume 2, Nomor 3, Januari - Juni 2015, p.247.

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better, just and prosperous life.

4. Choosing Leaders in Non-Muslim Countries

Today's Muslims face various realities and are far from the ideals of Islam, so this is where Muslims need a comprehensive understanding of Islam as well as being able to be moderate in dealing with various situations and conditions when practicing Islam. Basically choosing Muslim leaders for Muslims is mandatory, choosing Muslim leaders is to give trust to Muslim leaders to handle various matters related to Muslim affairs, as stated in QS an-Nisa

(4) verse 59; "O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Messenger (His), and ulil amri among you. Then if you disagree about something, then return it to Allah (the Quran) and the Messenger (the Sunnah), if you truly believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is more important (for you) and better the result."

For Muslim minorities who live and live in non-Muslim countries, of course the command in QS an-Nisa (4) verse 59 cannot be realized immediately considering the political democratic system they face is that they have to choose non-Muslim parties and leaders to get a chance to defend themselves. for his various interests.

Even though the threat of racism, discrimination, and Islamophobia are still the main issues that impede the civil and political rights of Muslims, especially in European countries and the United States, non-Muslim countries that implement political democracy certainly provide political rights for Muslim minorities compared to other countries. who do not apply, and this is an opportunity for broad and long-term political propaganda to really be managed as well as possible.

Dr. Yusuf Qardhawi explained several rules that need to be considered for Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries during general elections, where general elections are periods of succession of political leadership that determine the voting or granting of political rights to every citizen. The first is the rule of convenience, when the Prophet sent Abu Musa and Mu`az to Yemen, the Prophet saw advised "Make it easy and don't make it difficult, give good news and don't cause people to run away". This rule can be said to be fundamental in da'wah, especially in political da'wah in a democratic society, the amount of support that is the most is the main criterion. Likewise, the fuqaha' during the time of the companions and tabi'in, tended to take the easiest path.¹⁵

The second rule is the reality of the existence of human interests and needs, as is the characteristic of Islamic sharia as a rule of a flexible life system that accommodates the reality that human life is sometimes faced with emergencies which then allow

something that is forbidden because there is a more important benefit.¹⁶ Like a situation where there is a shortage of water, then tayammum is the solution, or in an emergency of hunger, there is no food that can be found except what is found is food that is forbidden, so it is a way out to be safe from death. "Allah does not want to make things difficult for you, but He wants to cleanse you and perfect His favors for you, so that you

¹⁵ Yusuf Qardhawi, (2001) Fiqh Aqalliyat, terjemahan Fiqh Minoriti, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut Lebanon, p.30

¹⁶ Yusuf Qardhawi, (2001) Fiqh Aqalliyat, terjemahan Fiqh Minoriti, Dar al-Fikr, Beirut Lebanon, p.31

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will be grateful." QS. Al-Maidah verse 6.

The third is the rule of changing fatwas due to changes in reasons, factors and motives related to fatwas. Among the greatest demands for leniency and simplification is when the person asking for the fatwa is weak, his condition is taken into account and made easy for him as much as necessary. Therefore, relief is made for sick people what is not relieved for healthy people, so is the case with travelers who are given relief from

those who live.¹⁷ Most of the legal differences were due to time differences due to changes in human customs at that time, or because of a new state of emergency or because of the breakdown of society at that time. So, of course, if the law remains as it was, it will be disastrous and detrimental to humanity and will also violate the rules of sharia which are built on the principles of easy and simple, rejecting harm and destruction. Many figures from various schools of thought have different views from what the priests of their schools have set in many questions that are built on what was in their time and because they know that if the priests lived in their time, they would have the same views because they adhere to the rules of the priest's sect.¹⁸

Based on these principles, Muslims can make judgments about the benefits derived from providing support or making non-Muslim leaders capable of representing

Muslim interests. For example Judy Chu,¹⁹ a Chinese-American woman who has been a member of the United States Congress from the 27th congressional district of California since 2009 from the Democratic Party, even though she is not a Muslim, she is a member of the Congressional Muslim Association and participates in defending civil rights. American Muslims.²⁰ Judy Chu has been proactive in advocating and protecting Muslim Americans, and her actions and initiatives have demonstrated her commitment to the Muslim community, including statements of support for making July "Muslim-American Heritage Month" and celebrating Muslim American heritage and culture in the United

States.²¹ Then his statement about the start of Ramadan as the Muslim holy month for fasting and spiritual renewal, and gave appreciation to Muslims in the United States and around the world.²²

Muslim Americans in the United States provide support for existing party choices, of course considering parties with a great chance of winning, thus the choices are only in 2 (two) parties, namely the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, in the history of American democracy, the winner of the election and the president of America United only from the two parties. The Republican Party is known to be very conservative towards religious values (Christianity or Catholicism), so that the LGBT community (Lesbian, Gay, Bisex and Transgender) does not get a place and is rejected by the

¹⁷ Ibid, p.32

¹⁸ Ibid, p.33

¹⁹ https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Judy_Chu

²⁰ https://chu.house.gov/media-center/press-releases/rep-chu-recognizes-muslim-contributions-americanew- resolution

²¹ https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-resolution/541/text?s=1&r=98

²² https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-resolution/1021/text?s=1&r=53

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Republican Party, as well as the majority of Republican Party supporters who are anti-

Muslim.²³ In contrast to the Democratic Party which strongly supports the values of freedom, human rights, diversity and freedom of religion so that it becomes an option for the LGBT community and American Muslims alike, therefore the Democratic Party becomes a means of mutual struggle that is more accommodating to the interests of Muslim minorities.

The political struggle of the American Muslim minority through the Democratic Party has resulted in 4 (four) American Muslims sitting in the United States Congress since 2007;

- a. Ilhan Omar (age 40), Somali American woman from Minnesota's 5th congressional district, serving from 2019 until now;²⁴
- b. Rashida Tlaib (age 46), Palestinian American woman from Michigan's 13th congressional district, serving from 2019 until now;²⁵
- c. André Carson (age 48), male constituency of Indiana's 7th congressional district, serving from 2008 to present;²⁶
- d. Keith Ellison (age 59),²⁷ the first Muslim male member of Congress, previously from the constituency representing Minnesota's 5th congressional district, served from 2007 to 2019, now Minnesota Attorney General.²⁸

The description of Muslim representatives in legislative power above shows the role of da'wah which is supported by the development of the number of Muslims in the United States which has increased from year to year, population statistics for 2017 recorded more than 3 (three) million people with an almost equal distribution in every state of the United States within 1% of the population.²⁹

The role of political da'wah in the United States in the area of executive power at the mayoral level has also begun to carve a new historical milestone, at least 5 Muslims have been elected, and all of them are politicians from the Democratic Party;

- a. Sadaf Jaffer, 40 years old, an American citizen of Pakistani descent was sworn in as mayor of Montgomery, New Jersey, he became the first Muslim woman to become mayor in the United States, Montgomery, a city with a population of about 25 thousand people north of Princeton, New Jersey, where the committee The City of Montgomery, which has five members, annually elects one of them as Mayor, and Sadaf Jaffer was elected in January 2019;³⁰
- b. Farrah Khan is 51 years old, a Muslim woman from Pakistan America was elected

²³ https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/immigration/ human- rights-hero/

²⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ilhan_Omar

²⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashida_Tlaib

²⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andr%C3%A9_Carson

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keith_Ellison

²⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Muslim_members_of_the_United_States_Congress

²⁹ https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_di_Amerika_Serikat

³⁰ https://www.voaindonesia.com/a/sadaf-jaffer-muslimah-pertama-yang-menjabat-walikota-diamerika-/4874262.html

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Mayor of Irvine, California in 2020;³¹

- c. Amer Ghalib, Yemen America aged 41 years, in 2021 was elected the first Muslim Mayor in the city of Hamtramck with a population of 28,000 people with a vote of 68%;³²
- d. Abdullah Hammoud Arab 31-year-old American, in 2021 was elected the first Muslim Mayor in the city of Dearborn USA, Hammoud recorded 55% of the vote, the Associated Press reported that with that amount, he managed to beat the former Wayne County commissioner, Gary Woronchak, which received only 45% of the vote;³³
- e. Bill Bazzi, 58 years old, Lebanese born, becomes the first Arab-American and Muslim Mayor elected for the city of Dearborn Heights beating Council Chair Denise Malinowski Maxwell with 72% of the vote in 2021.³⁴

CONCLUSION

At the level of implementing democracy, electing members of parliament and the president is a very dynamic part of mu'amalah. Democracy as a product of a globalized western political system needs to be seen as an opportunity for da'wah or an endeavor to spread goodness (al-khoir) and take the initiative to make improvements in society wisely (al-ishlah).

At least in the last 20 years after the events of September 11, 2001, the role of da'wah in general has shown its implications in a proportional way in political da'wah in the non- Muslim democratic country of the United States, with Muslim representatives sitting in 3 areas of power, both legislative, judicial and executive for mayor level.

SUGGESTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Muslims who live as a minority in a democratic non-Muslim country, as a reflection of good citizens, must comply with general rules and obey the government, even though they differ from parties, and are not hindered from continuing to strive to build good social relations, with neighbors and community networks. another with the da'wah alkhoir approach, namely by spreading universal values of goodness, having fastabiqul khoirot competing in goodness with other non-Muslims, such as helping others with sincerity, giving gifts with hospitality, and so on.

If the number of votes to gain representation in parliament is insufficient for Muslim candidates for parliamentarians, then non-Muslim parliamentary candidates can be an alternative, of course with the condition of general competency of the leadership, committed to protecting the interests and security of Muslims. Consolidation and organization of the Muslim community continues to be developed so that it is capable of

³¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farrah_Khan

³² https://www.suaramerdeka.com/internasional/pr-041721008/amer-ghalib-jadi-wali-kota-muslim-pertama-di- amerika-serikat

³³ https://khazanah.republika.co.id/berita//r20rrv366/abdullah-hammoud-jadi-wali-kota-muslimpertama- dearborn-as

³⁴ https://www.islampos.com/muslim-walikota-as-244248/

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taking steps on a wider role both in the legislature, judiciary and executive.

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