Ibnu Taimiyah and Qurais Shihab's Views on the Law of Electing Non-Muslim Leaders: A Comparative Study

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Abstract

Ideally, the selection of leaders in a multicultural country should be a political issue free from the subjectivity of religious beliefs. In reality, however, the urgency of faith and political interests are often mixed, leading to friction within society, including in Indonesia. This gap is intriguing to study, especially how Indonesian Muslims perceive the existence of non-Muslim leaders within the context of Islamic Law. To address this gap, this article examines the thoughts of two figures with substantially opposing views, namely Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab. This article falls under library research with a qualitative approach. The methodology used is a comparative study. The results of the research conclude that Ibn Taymiyyah, a classical scholar, emphasizes the importance of a leader's faith and piety, as well as their ability to uphold Sharia law. According to him, a leader must be a Muslim capable of safeguarding and protecting the interests of the Muslim community. However, Qurais Shihab, a contemporary intellectual, offers a more contextual and inclusive perspective. He emphasizes universal values such as justice, welfare, and the common good. Qurais Shihab acknowledges that in the modern socio-

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political context and pluralism, a non-Muslim leader can be accepted if they are able to ensure justice and the welfare of society.

Keyword: *Non-Muslim Leaders, Ibn Taimiyyah, Qurais Shihab*

Abstrak

Idealnya, pemilihan pemimpin di negara multikultural adalah persoalan politik yang jauh dari subjektivitas aqidah. Kenyataannya, urgensi aqidah dan kepentingan politik kerap dicampur adukkan sehingga menimbulkan gesekan di tengah-tengah masyarakat, termasuk Indonesia. Kesenjangan menarik untuk dikaji, khusunya bagaimana Muslim Indonesia menyikapi eksistensi pemimpin non-Muslim dalam konteks Hukum Islam. Menjawab kesenjangan itu, artikel ini mengangkat dua pemikiran tokoh yang secara substansial bertolak belakang, yaitu Ibnu Taimiyah dan Qurais Shihab. Artikel ini tergolong dalam penelitian pustaka dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah studi komparasi. Hasil penelitian menyimpulkan bahwa Ibnu Taimiyah, sebagai ulama klasik, menekankan pentingnya keimanan dan ketaqwaan seorang pemimpin, serta kemampuannya menegakkan hukum syariah. Menurutnya, seorang pemimpin haruslah seorang Muslim yang mampu menjaga dan melindungi kepentingan umat Islam. Namun, Qurais Shihab, seorang cendekiawan kontemporer, memberikan pandangan yang lebih kontekstual dan inklusif. Ia menekankan nilai-nilai universal seperti keadilan, kesejahteraan, dan kemaslahatan umum. Qurais Shihab mengakui bahwa dalam konteks sosial-politik modern dan pluralisme, pemimpin non-Muslim bisa diterima jika mampu menjamin keadilan dan kesejahteraan masyarakat.

Kata Kunci: Pemimpin Non-Muslim, Ibnu Taimiyah, Qurais Shihab

Introduction

The political issues in Indonesia often cannot be separated from the context of creed or religious beliefs, creating complex dilemmas that potentially undermine the ideal democratic order. As the largest democracy in Southeast Asia, Indonesia has a political system that should be based on democratic principles of freedom, equality, and justice. However, in practice, the selection of leaders in Indonesia is often influenced by creed, which ideally should not be the primary factor in choosing leaders (Najib & Fata, 2020).

Creed in Islam refers to fundamental beliefs that every Muslim must firmly hold. Specifically in Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, creed often becomes a primary consideration in leadership elections. This is evident in various elections where religious issues are frequently raised and used as campaign fodder to garner support from Muslim voters. However, integrating creed with political interests creates serious problems. Firstly, it can lead to exclusivity and discrimination against candidates of different faiths. Secondly,

emphasizing creed in politics can divide society along religious lines, contrary to the principles of national unity and cohesion upheld by Pancasila.

Several cases in Indonesia illustrate how creed is used as a political tool. For example, in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, religious issues were prominently featured. A non-Muslim candidate became the target of negative campaigns that used religious sentiments to undermine his credibility. This case reflects how creed can be an effective yet dangerous political tool, as it can provoke social and sectarian tensions. The selection of leaders is a crucial issue in national life, especially in diverse societies. In Islam, choosing leaders is not just a political matter but also has complex theological and legal dimensions (Munawir, 2018). Muslim scholars and intellectuals have long discussed the criteria and requirements that a leader must fulfill, especially in terms of faith and the ability to uphold Sharia law.

Ibn Taymiyyah, a classical scholar from the 13th century, provided a strong view on the importance of a Muslim leader in safeguarding and protecting the interests of Muslims. According to him, a leader must have strong faith and piety towards Allah SWT, and be capable of upholding Sharia law with justice (Ash-Shufi et al., 2021). This view reflects the conditions and circumstances of his time, where the identity and integrity of Muslims heavily relied on strong and Sharia-compliant leadership. On the other hand, Qurais Shihab, a contemporary Indonesian scholar, offers a more contextual and inclusive perspective. In his view, an ideal leader is one who can ensure justice, welfare, and the common good, regardless of religious background. Qurais Shihab acknowledges that in the context of modern social-political pluralism, a non-Muslim leader can be accepted if they meet these criteria (Muttaqien et al., 2022). This perspective reflects the reality of Indonesia's diverse society and the importance of maintaining social harmony.

This article aims to outline the fundamental differences between Ibn Taymiyyah's and Qurais Shihab's views on the law of selecting non-Muslim leaders. By exploring the arguments of these two figures, it is hoped to provide deeper and more comprehensive insights into this issue and its implications for national life in the modern era.

Literature Review

Talking about the selection of non-Muslim leaders and studying the figures of Ibn Taymiyyah-Qurais Shihab is not a new discourse; many researchers have discussed and published their findings on it. Abu Tholib Khalik, in his article titled; *"Pemimpin Non-Muslim Dalam Perspektif Ibnu Taimiyah,"* has aptly described how Ibn Taymiyyah introduced controversial ideas in his time. One of these was his aversion to tyrannical leaders even if they were Muslim. This writing also inspires readers about the importance of Islamic governance administration within an Indonesian context (Khalik, 2017). Abu Tholib Khalik's writing above shares similarities with the author's study in the context of selecting non-Muslim leaders according to Ibn Taymiyyah. The difference lies in Abu Tholib Khalik focusing on alternative options (if no qualified Muslim leader is available) from Ibn Taymiyyah, whereas the author instead focuses on Ibn Taymiyyah's foundational stance emphasizing the importance of Muslim leaders as a priority.

Munawir, in his publication titled; *"Kepemimpinan non-Muslim dalam Tafsir Al-Misbah Karya M. Quraish Shihab,"* has structuredly narrated how the law of selecting leaders is viewed from the perspective of the Qur'an. In this writing, Munawir concludes that Qurais Shihab categorizes Quranic verses about leadership, particularly Al-Maidah: 51, Ali-Imran: 28, and Mumtahanah: 1, as sociological rather than theological. This indicates that Qurais Shihab allows for non-Muslims to lead a state under the condition that the leader does not belong to a group hostile to Islam (Munawir, 2018). Munawir's work shares similarities with the author's study in the context of selecting non-Muslim leaders from Qurais Shihab's perspective. The difference lies in Munawir's focus on dissecting Al-Misbah's interpretation as a primary reference source, while the author concentrates more on comparative studies between Qurais Shihab and Ibn Taymiyyah.

Fatichatus Sa'diyah et al., in their publication titled; *"Ayat-Ayat Jihad Dalam Perspektif Ibn Taimiyah dan Muhammad Quraish Shihab,"* have meticulously mapped out how the determination of jihad is understood from different perspectives. While Ibn Taymiyyah tends to interpret jihad in a textualist and sociological manner of his time, Qurais Shihab leans more towards contextual interpretation and adaptation across various eras (Sa'diyah et al., 2023). The work of Fatichatus Sa'diyah et al., above, shares similarities with the author's study, particularly in comparing the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab. However, whereas Fatichatus Sa'diyah et al. focus on comparing the variable of 'jihad', the author examines a different comparison variable, namely 'non-Muslim leaders'.

M. Agus Muhtadi Bilhaq, in his journal article titled; *"Penafsiran Kontekstualis Perihal Kepemimpinan Non-Muslim dalam Perspektif Alquran dan Hadis,"* has presented a coherent analysis of the polemics surrounding the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election to examine its legal existence from an interpretive perspective. Agus highlights the meanings found in Ali Imran: 28 and QS. Al-Maidah: 51, where these verses posed challenges to the political power of non-Muslim leaders at that time, contributing to their failure to secure the governorship (Bilhaq, 2018). Agus's publication shares similarities with the author, particularly in the context of selecting non-Muslim leaders. However, whereas Agus focuses intensely on dissecting the thoughts of Abdullah Saeed and Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, the author utilizes studies of figures like Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab.

Based on the literature reviews above, and after analyzing dozens of relevant works, it is evident that, to the best of the author's observation, no existing study has focused intensively on comparing Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab in the context of selecting non-Muslim leaders. This indicates that this article holds originality and is pragmatically not a replication of existing works. Regarding the research position within the existing literature (state of the art), the focus has been on comparing the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab in the context of Islamic legal analysis. Thus far, previous research has primarily concentrated on comparing the dimensions of Quranic interpretation without specifically formulating a comparison of their legal aspects.

Reasearch Method

This article employs a qualitative approach with a literature review method, focused on comparative legal studies. This method was chosen to enable the researcher to explore and understand the legal views of two significant figures, Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab, regarding leadership in Islam, and to compare the legal principles they adhere to. The first step in this research is the collection of legal data. The collected data includes the main works of Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab, such as books, articles, and lectures related to Islamic law and leadership. Additionally, secondary data such as books, journals, and articles discussing the legal views of these two figures are also collected to provide context and enrich the analysis.

After the data is collected, the next step is legal data analysis. The analysis is conducted using the comparative legal method, which involves comparing the legal principles adhered to by Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab. In this analysis, the researcher identifies the main legal themes that emerge in the writings of these two figures, such as the legal criteria for an ideal leader, the relationship between religious and political law, and their legal views on non-Muslim leaders. The researcher then interprets the analyzed legal data to find similarities and differences in the legal views of the two figures. This process involves a deep understanding of the historical and socio-cultural context that influences the legal views of Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab, and how these contexts affect their legal principles on leadership.

Furthermore, to ensure the validity and reliability of the findings, the researcher performs data triangulation by comparing the results of the legal analysis with findings from relevant secondary literature. Additionally, the researcher cross-checks the interpretations made by consulting the findings with Islamic law experts. The legal analysis results are presented in a structured narrative that explains in detail the legal views of Ibn Taymiyyah and Qurais Shihab on leadership in Islam, as well as the legal implications of their views in the context of current Indonesian politics. This narrative is expected to contribute to a better understanding of how legal and political principles can interact in a multicultural and plural society like Indonesia. With this comparative legal study approach, this research aims to reveal fundamental differences in the legal views of these two figures and provide insights into how interpretations of Islamic law can vary in different contexts.

Religion VS Politics: The Conflict of Indonesian Democracy

Indonesia, as the country with the world's largest Muslim population, faces unique challenges in integrating democratic principles with strong religious beliefs. The conflict between religion and politics has become one of the most prominent dynamics in Indonesia's democratic journey. In this context, issues regarding the election of leaders often become the main arena where this conflict occurs, given that Indonesia is a democratic country with elections as the primary mechanism for choosing leaders (Awaluddin & Fajar, 2024). Indonesia is a country with very high ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity. This plurality should be a strength, but in political practice, it often becomes a source of friction. One of the

main frictions arises when religious beliefs, or aqidah, are used as benchmarks in choosing leaders, which should be based on capacity, integrity, and the political vision they offer. Religious beliefs, especially Islam, are often exploited by politicians to garner support from the majority Muslim population.

Aqidah in Islam refers to the fundamental beliefs that every Muslim must uphold. In Indonesia, where the majority of the population is Muslim, aqidah often becomes a primary consideration in choosing leaders. This is clearly seen in various elections, where religious issues are frequently raised and used as campaign material to attract support from Muslim voters (Faizin, 2014). However, combining aqidah with political interests raises serious problems. One of the most controversial issues is regarding non-Muslim leadership. In several cases, non-Muslim candidates face significant challenges and often become targets of negative campaigns that use religious sentiments to undermine their credibility. For example, in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, religious issues were very dominant. A non-Muslim candidate became the target of a negative campaign using religious sentiments to undermine his credibility. This case reflects how aqidah can be an effective but also dangerous political tool, as it can trigger social and sectarian tensions.

The views of scholars and Muslim intellectuals in Indonesia also vary in addressing this issue. Classical figures like Ibn Taymiyyah emphasize the importance of a leader's faith and piety and their ability to uphold Sharia law. According to this view, a devout Muslim leader is preferred because they are believed to be able to protect and safeguard the interests of the Muslim community. Ibn Taymiyyah argues that a leader must be a Muslim because it is believed that only a Muslim can truly understand and implement Islamic principles in governance (Abdurrahman, 2003). Conversely, contemporary scholars like Qurais Shihab offer a more inclusive and contextual perspective. Qurais Shihab emphasizes the importance of universal values such as justice, welfare, and common good. In a modern and pluralistic context, he argues that a non-Muslim leader can be accepted as long as they can ensure justice and welfare for the society (Romziana & Fajarwati, 2023). This approach is more in line with the spirit of democracy and plurality embraced by Indonesia. Qurais Shihab acknowledges that in the modern socio-political context, leadership criteria should focus more on competence and integrity rather than mere religious identity.

Combining aqidah with political interests carries the risk of exclusivity and discrimination against non-Muslim leadership candidates. It also has the potential to divide society along religious lines, contrary to the principles of unity and integrity upheld by Pancasila. Combining aqidah with politics can also lead to the manipulation of religion for specific political interests, ultimately harming the democratic process itself. In various elections in Indonesia, religious issues are often raised as campaign tools to attract voter support. This creates a political climate rife with religious sentiments, which in turn fuels polarization and conflict within society. For instance, in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, religious issues were intensively used to attack a non-Muslim gubernatorial candidate (Romli & Nurlia, 2023). The negative campaign using religious sentiments reflects how aqidah can be an effective yet dangerous political tool, as it can trigger social and sectarian tensions.

Furthermore, to achieve a healthy and well-functioning democracy, it is important to separate aqidah from political interests. The election of leaders should be based on ability, vision, and integrity, not merely on religious beliefs. Inclusive political education and enlightening the public about the importance of choosing based on leadership quality are essential steps towards achieving a more mature and just democracy in Indonesia (Fautanu et al., 2020). The political versus aqidah problem in Indonesia is a reflection of the complex relationship between religious beliefs and democratic practices. Though challenging, efforts to separate the two must continue to be made to achieve a more harmonious society and a fairer and more democratic political system. Further research on the interaction between religion and politics and the development of policies supporting inclusiveness and justice in the leadership selection process is crucial for the future of Indonesian democracy.

The Law of Choosing a Leader in Islam

In Islam, the selection of a leader is a highly significant aspect governed by clear principles rooted in the life of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. During his time, the concept of leadership and the process of choosing a leader held special significance for the Muslim community. Understanding the laws of selecting a leader in Islam can be traced back to various events and practices during the Prophet's life, which have become a guiding framework for Muslims. The Prophet Muhammad SAW was not only a prophet delivering divine revelations from Allah SWT but also a political and military leader for the Muslims in Medina (Ridwan et al., 2019). His leadership encompassed all aspects of life—religious, social, and political. The Qur'an and Hadith provide various guidelines and principles directing Muslims in selecting and evaluating a leader .

One of the fundamental principles in choosing a leader in Islam is the qualifications a leader must possess. In the Qur'an and Hadith, several essential criteria for a leader include faith, piety, justice, capacity and competence, as well as trustworthiness and integrity. A leader must be a Muslim who believes in and fears Allah SWT, with justice as a central pillar of their leadership. The Prophet Muhammad SAW taught that a leader must have the necessary skills and competence to fulfill leadership duties and must be trustworthy and possess high integrity (Kholid et al., 2021).

During the Prophet Muhammad's SAW time, leaders were not selected through general elections as we know them today, but rather through consultation and mutual agreement. After the Prophet's death, the first leader in Islamic history, Abu Bakr As-Siddiq, was appointed as Caliph through a consultation among prominent companions at Saqifah Bani Sa'idah. This process underscores the importance of the principle of shura (consultation) in Islam, as a method to reach consensus and avoid discord in selecting a leader, emphasizing justice and inclusiveness. The Prophet Muhammad SAW set an ideal example of leadership through his behavior and actions. He always demonstrated justice, compassion, and care for his people. As a leader, he prioritized the welfare of the community and upheld the law impartially. This is reflected in various policies and decisions he made during his leadership in Medina, such as the Charter of Medina, which

regulated relations between Muslim, Jewish, and other tribes based on principles of justice, tolerance, and unity.

The law of selecting a leader in Islam, based on the Prophet Muhammad's SAW era, emphasizes criteria such as faith, justice, competence, and integrity. The selection process is carried out through consultation and mutual agreement, reflecting the principle of shura in Islam. The Prophet's leadership provides an ideal example of upholding justice, compassion, and welfare for the entire community. Although times have changed, these fundamental principles remain relevant for Muslims in choosing a fair and responsible leader (Fuadi et al., 2024). It is crucial for Muslims to continue referring to the Prophet's example of leadership and the principles of shura in practicing democracy and selecting leaders in the modern era, with the hope of establishing leadership that can maintain societal unity and bring benefits to the entire community.

Choosing a leader in Islam has clear stipulations, including within the context of Islamic law. The guidelines regarding the legal status of selecting a leader can be understood as follows. Choosing a leader is considered haram (forbidden) if the leader contradicts Islamic principles and causes harm to the community. The selection process carried out in a manner that is not legitimate according to Sharia, such as through manipulation or fraud, also falls into this category. Choosing a leader is considered sunnah (recommended) if the selection process is conducted through consultation with good intentions to seek the community's welfare and implement principles of justice and Islamic Sharia. The chosen leader must meet the criteria of faith, justice, competence, and integrity.

Selecting a leader is considered obligatory if there is an urgent need in the community for a leader who can carry out leadership duties fairly and responsibly. This process is conducted to maintain social stability and uphold Islamic laws in the community's life. Choosing a leader is considered makruh (discouraged) if the selection process is conducted in a manner not entirely correct according to Sharia, even though it does not reach the level of being haram (Sugitanata, 2024). The chosen leader may have some weaknesses in terms of faith, justice, or integrity, which could potentially bring harm or conflict in their leadership.

No	Legal status	Description
1	Forbidden	Choosing a leader is considered haram if the leader is contrary to the principles of Islam and causes damage to the ummah.
		The election process is carried out in a way that is not valid according to sharia, such as by manipulation or fraud.
2	Mandatory	Choosing a leader is mandatory if there is an urgent need in society to have a leader who can carry out leadership duties fairly and responsibly.
		This process is carried out to maintain social stability and enforce Islamic laws in the lives of the people.
3	Makruh	Choosing a leader is considered makruh if the election process is carried out in a way that is not entirely correct according to sharia,

		even though it does not reach the level of haram.
		The chosen leader candidate has some weaknesses in terms of faith, justice, or integrity, which can bring potential harm or conflict in his leadership.
4	Sunnah	Choosing a leader is sunnah if the election process is carried out through deliberation based on good intentions to seek the good of the ummah and apply the principles of justice and Islamic sharia.
		The selected leadership candidates must meet the criteria of faith, justice, competence, and integrity.

Table 01, the law of choosing a leader

Therefore, the selection of a leader in Islam is the responsibility of the community to choose an individual capable of fulfilling the leadership trust effectively, while also providing protection and benefit to the entire community in accordance with Islamic teachings. Understanding the applicable legal criteria can assist Muslims in fulfilling their obligations correctly and in accordance with religious teachings

Leaders According to Ibn Taymiyah

In Islam, the criteria for a leader are of utmost importance because a leader is seen as the bearer of the trust to lead the community with justice and based on religious values. This view is reflected in the teachings and thoughts of great scholars like Ibn Taymiyah, who emphasized several essential criteria for becoming a leader in the Islamic context. Firstly, profound knowledge of Islamic teachings is a fundamental foundation for a leader. This knowledge includes a strong understanding of the Qur'an, Hadith, and the principles of Islamic law (fiqh). With solid knowledge, a leader can make accurate and religiously compliant decisions in managing the affairs of the community (Arif, 2017).

Secondly, justice (*adl*) is one of the most important attributes in Islamic leadership. A leader must be just in treating everyone, regardless of their social, economic, or political status. This justice encompasses not only legal and judicial aspects but also equality in granting rights and protection to all community members. Next, piety (*taqwa*) is also a crucial criterion for an Islamic leader. Piety refers to a high awareness and obedience to Allah in every action and decision taken. A pious leader will ensure that their actions align with Islamic moral and ethical values, avoiding unethical behavior or corruption. The practice of consultation (*shura*) is also recommended in Islamic leadership. A wise leader will seek input and advice from competent advisors before making important decisions. This practice not only enhances the quality of the decisions made but also fosters a sense of participation and ownership in the community towards the decision-making process (Ahmidi et al., 2024).

Additionally, administrative and managerial skills are necessary for an Islamic leader. They must be capable of managing public affairs and resources efficiently, ensuring good service to the community, and planning strategies aimed

at the overall welfare of the ummah. Lastly, effective leadership in Islam must prioritize the public interest (*maslahah*) over personal or group interests. Leaders should act to promote the general welfare, maintain social order, and uphold the moral values embraced by religion (Khalik, 2017). Thus, the Islamic view of leadership not only demands justice and moral integrity but also promotes leadership based on spiritual and consultative values, aiming for the common good and progress of the ummah as a whole.

Leader According to Qurais Shihab

In Islam, the criteria for a leader are profoundly significant as a leader is considered entrusted with guiding the community based on Islamic teachings. This perspective is evident in the works of prominent scholars like Quraish Shihab, emphasizing essential qualities a leader must possess in the Islamic context. Firstly, deep knowledge of Islamic teachings forms the cornerstone for a leader. This knowledge encompasses a strong grasp of the Qur'an, Hadith, and the principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*). With such comprehensive knowledge, a leader can make informed decisions that align with religious values in managing community affairs (Acim et al., 2022).

Moreover, justice (*adl*) stands as one of the foremost qualities in Islamic leadership. A leader must administer justice impartially, regardless of social, economic, or political status. This justice extends beyond legal and judicial matters to include equal rights and protections for all members of society. Quraish Shihab references various Quranic verses to underscore the qualities of a leader. For instance, his interpretation of Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 247, which discusses the selection of Saul as a king for the Children of Israel, highlights the importance of knowledge and physical strength (Maskur & Santosa, 2023). He explains that a leader should possess broad knowledge and physical vigor, symbolizing intellectual capability and resilience. Wide-ranging knowledge is essential for making sound decisions, while physical strength reflects the ability to confront challenges that may arise.

Furthermore, Quraish Shihab also refers to Surah Al-Imran, verse 159, where Allah commands Prophet Muhammad to consult with his companions in important matters. This illustrates the significance of consultation (*shura*) in leadership. A good leader should be open to the opinions of others, willing to listen and consider various viewpoints before making decisions. This embodies humility and inclusivity, highly valued in Islam. Additionally, fairness and impartiality are stressed in Quraish Shihab's interpretation of Surah An-Nisa, verse 58, where Allah commands that trust should be given to those who deserve it and that rulings among people should be justly decided. Quraish Shihab asserts that justice is a cornerstone of leadership (Mauludah et al., 2023). A leader must ensure everything is in its rightful place and not let personal or group interests sway their decisions.

Integrity and honesty are also highlighted in Quraish Shihab's commentary on Surah Al-Mumtahanah, verse 12, which discusses the oath of allegiance taken by women to Prophet Muhammad, pledging not to steal, commit adultery, or lie. From this, Quraish Shihab interprets that a leader must maintain high integrity, refrain

from disgraceful acts, and always uphold honesty in all actions. Quraish Shihab also emphasizes the importance of a leader having a long-term vision and the ability to bring about positive change in society. Surah Al-Baqarah, verse 30, mentions that humans are appointed as stewards on earth, implying responsibility to manage and nurture the earth responsibly. Quraish Shihab interprets this as a leader's duty to have foresight, plan, and execute programs that promote goodness and welfare for all (Dahlan, 2022).

In summary, according to Quraish Shihab, a leader is knowledgeable, just, wise, of high integrity, capable of consultation, and possesses a long-term vision. This concept of leadership is rooted in strong moral and ethical values derived from the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith. A leader, in Quraish Shihab's view, not only holds authority but also serves as a role model, inspires others, and brings positive change to the community they lead.

Choosing Non-Muslim Leaders; A Comparison of Ibn Taimiyah and Qurais Shihab

Ibnu Taimiyah held profound and argumentative views on many aspects of Islamic law, including leadership. Regarding the law of choosing non-Muslim leaders, Ibnu Taimiyah's perspective is grounded in fundamental principles drawn from the Qur'an, Sunnah, and his interpretation of the socio-political context of his time. He emphasized the importance of a Muslim leader in a Muslim society. According to him, a leader must be capable of upholding Islamic law, protecting the rights of Muslims, and maintaining morality and public order in accordance with Islamic teachings. In his view, a non-Muslim leader does not have the same ability and obligation to enforce Islamic laws and protect the interests of Muslims as a Muslim leader (Khalik, 2017).

The primary basis of Ibnu Taimiyah's viewpoint lies in the principles of *wala'* (loyalty) and *bara'* (disavowal). *Wala'* refers to loyalty and support for the Muslim community and faith, while bara' means distancing oneself from all forms of disbelief and infidelity. Ibnu Taimiyah argued that choosing a non-Muslim leader could weaken wala' towards the Muslim community and faith, because a non-Muslim leader cannot be expected to wholeheartedly support and protect Islam and the interests of Muslims (Chotban, 2018). Ibnu Taimiyah also referenced Qur'anic verses emphasizing the importance of choosing leaders who are believers. For instance, in Surah Al-Maidah, verse 51, Allah says:

> *"O you who have believed, do not take the Jews and Christians as allies. They are [in fact] allies of one another. And whoever is an ally to them among you - then indeed, he is [one] of them. Indeed, Allah guides not the wrongdoing people."* (QS. Al-Maidah: 51)

Ibnu Taimiyah interprets this verse as a clear prohibition for Muslims to appoint non-Muslims as leaders, because it would lead to harm and injustice for Muslims. However, Ibnu Taimiyah is also known as a scholar who is very realistic and contextual in his applications. In situations where Muslims are a minority or have no choice but to be led by non-Muslims, he emphasizes the importance of maintaining peace and social stability. In such contexts, Ibnu Taimiyah teaches that

Muslims should still adhere to existing laws and regulations as long as they do not contradict basic Islamic principles.

For instance, if appointing a non-Muslim leader is the only way to prevent greater harm or instability, then it can be accepted as an emergency measure. The principles of maslahah (public interest) and darurat (emergency) in Islamic law allow for this flexibility, where decisions that are normally prohibited may be justified in urgent situations to avoid greater danger. Ibnu Taimiyah also emphasizes the importance of justice and the welfare of the community. In this regard, if a non-Muslim leader can provide better justice and welfare than other options, then in certain conditions, this may be considered, although it must still be closely monitored and aligned with the basic principles of faith (Sukimin et al., 2018). Overall, Ibnu Taimiyah emphasizes the importance of choosing a Muslim leader who can uphold Islamic law and protect the interests of Muslims. However, he also demonstrates flexibility in urgent situations where choosing a non-Muslim leader may be acceptable if it minimizes harm and prevents greater damage. His views reflect a balance between theological principles and realistic pragmatism in dealing with complex socio-political situations.

On the other hand, according to Quraish Shihab, ideally a leader in a Muslim society should be a Muslim who can uphold Islamic law and protect the interests of Muslims. However, in the modern context and situations where Muslims are a minority or live in pluralistic societies, this view must be understood more flexibly and contextually. Quraish Shihab refers to the principle of maslahah (public interest) in Islamic law, which emphasizes that actions taken must consider the overall welfare of the community. If choosing a non-Muslim leader is seen as bringing greater benefit and avoiding greater harm or injustice, then this can be considered. In his view, the most important criterion is whether the leader can fulfill their duties with justice, wisdom, and provide welfare for all citizens, including Muslims (Romziana & Fajarwati, 2023). Quraish Shihab emphasizes that justice and public interest are the primary principles to be upheld in every decision, including in choosing leaders. He also stresses the importance of context and situation in determining the law. In countries with democratic and pluralistic systems, where the rights of minorities are protected and respected, choosing a non-Muslim leader may be acceptable if that leader demonstrates better qualities and can govern fairly and effectively.

He also refers to historical examples where Muslims lived alongside non-Muslims and in some situations were led by them without neglecting the basic principles of faith and the welfare of the community. In Islamic history, there are instances where Prophet Muhammad and his companions interacted and collaborated with non-Muslim leaders to achieve greater goals for the good of the community and peace. Quraish Shihab also emphasizes the importance of dialogue and cooperation among religious communities to build a harmonious and just society. In his view, an exclusive attitude and total rejection of non-Muslim leaders without considering real situations and conditions will only worsen interfaith relations and hinder the achievement of shared goals for the good and justice (Mauludah et al., 2023).

Regarding Surah Al-Maidah verse 51, Quraish Shihab interprets this verse by considering the historical and social context at the time of its revelation.

According to him, this verse was revealed in a context where Muslims faced serious threats from certain hostile Jewish and Christian groups seeking to destroy the Muslim community. Therefore, the prohibition in this verse is more related to the context of hostility and the dangers posed by those groups at that time. Quraish Shihab explains that this verse cannot be interpreted generally or absolutely for all circumstances and places (Wahyudi, 2018). In the modern context, especially in pluralistic and democratic societies where Muslims live peacefully alongside followers of other religions and there is a legal system that protects the rights of all citizens, the interpretation of this verse must be more contextual and flexible.

He emphasizes that the essence of this verse is to prevent Muslims from appointing leaders who would harm them or who would not advocate for their interests and rights. If a non-Muslim leader can govern justly, protect the rights of all citizens, including Muslims, and commit to shared prosperity, then choosing such a leader can be considered. Furthermore, Quraish Shihab underscores the importance of the principle of maslahah (public interest) and justice in decision-making. In heterogeneous societies, choosing a leader who can best bring justice and prosperity to everyone, regardless of their religion, may be more in line with Islam's universal goal of achieving justice and prosperity for all. In his commentary, Quraish Shihab also emphasizes the importance of dialogue and cooperation among religious communities to build a harmonious and just society (Fikri et al., 2024). He encourages Muslims to actively participate in the existing political system, striving to elect the best leaders based on their abilities and integrity, rather than solely based on their religious identity.

Aspects	Ibn Taimiyah	Qurais Shihab
General View	Emphasizing the importance of Muslim leaders to uphold Islamic sharia and protect the interests of Muslims.	Emphasizing the importance of the principles of benefit and justice, as well as contextualization in modern situations.
Theological Basis	Based on the principle of wala' and bara', emphasizing loyalty to Muslims and distancing themselves from kufr.	Based on the principles of maslahah (public interest) and justice, as well as the contextual relevance of Qur'anic verses.
Interpretation of Al-Maidah 51	Interpreting the verse literally as a prohibition against electing non-Muslim leaders in all circumstances.	Interpreting the verse contextually, emphasizing the hostile situation at the time of the passage down, and its relevance in the modern context.
Emergency Situations	Acknowledging flexibility in emergency situations, but still emphasizing the importance of Muslim leaders.	Emphasizing the importance of justice and benefit in situations where it may be more beneficial to elect non-Muslim leaders.
Fairness and Competence	Justice and competence are important, but leaders must be Muslim to ensure the	Justice and ability are key, regardless of the leader's religion, as long as they can run the

	enforcement of Islamic law.	government fairly.
History and Practice	It is based on Islamic history where Muslim leaders are prioritized to safeguard the identity and interests of the ummah.	Acknowledging historical practices but emphasizing the importance of cooperation and dialogue between religious communities in the modern context.
Modern Context	Less flexible in application in modern contexts, more inclined to conservative approaches.	More flexible and adaptive to the modern context and pluralism in a democratic society.
Key Principles	Loyalty to Islam and the ummah, as well as the enforcement of sharia.	Public benefit, social justice, and contextual relevance.

Table 02, Comparison of the Concept of Choosing Leaders of Ibn Taymiyah and Qurais Shihab

Conclusion

The comparison of Ibn Taymiyyah and Quraish Shihab's views regarding the law of selecting non-Muslim leaders shows significant differences in their approaches to interpreting religious texts and socio-political contexts. Ibn Taymiyyah emphasizes the importance of choosing Muslim leaders based on the principles of *wala'* (loyalty) and *bara'* (disavowal), which emphasize loyalty to the Muslim community and rejection of disbelief. This perspective roots itself in a literal interpretation of Quranic verses, such as Al-Maidah verse 51, which he interprets as explicitly forbidding Muslims from selecting non-Muslim leaders. However, Ibn Taymiyyah also demonstrates flexibility in situations where choosing a non-Muslim leader is seen as a measure to avoid greater harm.

On the other hand, Quraish Shihab adopts a more contextual and adaptive approach to modern realities. He stresses the importance of the principle of maslahah (public interest) and justice in decision-making, including the selection of leaders. According to Quraish Shihab, in the context of pluralistic and democratic societies, a leader who is just and capable of promoting the welfare of all citizens, including Muslims, can be considered regardless of their religious identity. Quraish Shihab's interpretation of Al-Maidah verse 51 also emphasizes the historical and social context in which the verse was revealed, indicating that the prohibition is not absolute for all circumstances. Therefore, the general conclusion drawn from this comparison is that Ibn Taymiyyah leans towards a more conservative and literal stance, whereas Quraish Shihab adopts a more flexible and contextual approach in addressing the challenges of leadership in diverse societies.

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