

CHAPTER IV  
ANALYSIS OF HASBI ASH-SHIDDIEQY'S INTERPRETATION ON VERSES  
PROHIBITION IN ELECTING NON MUSLIM LEADER

**A. The Interpretation Of Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy On Verses Against Prohibition Selecting Non Muslim Leaders**

In the previous chapter, it is clear the interpretation about verses of prohibition in electing non-Muslim as a leader, so in this chapter the writer analyzes through these verses in order to get Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy's thought about how to elect a non-Muslim as a leader. There are several things that can be drawn from the description interpretation of Muḥammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy in *Tafsīr al- Qur'ān al Majīd An-Nūr*. The First, prohibiting to elect non-Muslim as leader. The second, allowing to elect non-Muslim as a leader with requirement. As explained following verses:

**1. The Verses that Prohibit to Elect Non-Muslim as a Leader.**

a. QS. An-Nisā':89

وَدُّوا لَوْ تَكْفُرُونَ كَمَا كَفَرُوا فَتَكُونُونَ سَوَاءً ۗ فَلَا تَتَّخِذُوا مِنْهُمْ ۖ أَوْلِيَاءَ حَتَّىٰ يُهَاجِرُوا فِي سَبِيلِ  
اللَّهِ ۚ فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَخُذُوهُمْ ۖ وَأَقْتُلُوهُمْ ۗ حَيْثُ وَجَدْتُمُوهُمْ ۗ وَلَا تَتَّخِذُوا مِنْهُمْ ۖ وَوَلِيًّا وَلَا نَصِيرًا ﴿٨٩﴾

“They but wish that you should reject faith, as they do, and thus be on the same footing (as they): but take non friends from their ranks until they flee in the way of Allah (from what is forbidden). But if they turn renegades, seize them and slay them wherever you find them: and (in any case) take no friends or helpers from their ranks”.<sup>1</sup>

Has been described in the previous verse about the hypocrite id est person who makes friends with the Muslims if seen Muslims will be victorious. But if Muslims seen in a weak position and will lose, they show hostility, then in this verse Hasbi prohibits Muslims to make them as a helper (helper your closest) against the polytheists, before they really believed, emigrated and united with

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<sup>1</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 101.

you, before that do not you make close friend with them, let alone believe it. Not willing to emigrate is a sign of hypocrisy<sup>2</sup>.

Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy's opinion is almost the same with other interpreters, namely:

- 1). According to the ministry of religion affair in his tafsīr, that in this verse, Allah warns the Muslims, so do not ever trust them (hypocrites) and do not make them as a friend and helper, unless they really have embraced the religion of Islam and it is appropriate with their deed through their utterances, and have been united with the Muslims in faith, attitude and deed, not only be bent down because they are in a weak condition. Therefore Allah commands when they will not believe, emigrate in the way of Allah, then let the Muslims imprison and kill them, and do not make them as protector and helper<sup>3</sup>.
- 2). According to Quraish Shihab in Tafsīr *al-Misbah* explains that, the people who believe you must not make any one of them (hypocrites) as close people, ie the helpers, till they emigrate in order to leave *kufir* for Allah and on the way of God. But if they turn away, reluctant to leave *kufir*, then imprison them, ie subdue them and kill them wherever you find them, and do not take one of them as close friends and do not also make any one of them as helper to yourself and to face your enemy<sup>4</sup>.

The writer concludes that the Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy's opinion above, he prohibits Muslims to make them (hypocrites) as a helper (helper your closest) against the polytheists, because they just want to be friends with Muslims if seen Muslims will be victorious. But if Muslims seen in a weak position and will lose, they show hostility.

b. QS. An-Nisā': 139

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<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al-Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), P. 570-571.

<sup>3</sup> Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 247-248.

<sup>4</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsīr Al-Misbah, Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian al-Qur'ān*, (Jakarta, Lentera Hati, 2010), p. 663.

الَّذِينَ يَتَّخِذُونَ الْكَافِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَبِيتُّهُمُ عِنْدَهُمُ الْعِزَّةَ فَإِنَّ الْعِزَّةَ لِلَّهِ

جَمِيعًا ﴿١٦٦﴾

"Indeed, to those who take for friends unbelievers rather than believers: is it honour they seek among them? Nay all honour is with Allah <sup>5</sup>."

According to Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, in the previous verse describes the hypocrites if it has been gathered with the people who are in one group, they return to *Kufr*. When they gather again with the believers, then coming back his faith. In this verse the hypocrites are they who use the unbelievers who are hostile to the believers be a guardian, a helper and controller. They do not want to accept the help from the believers, on the contrary give the help to unbelievers. Because they argue that the power will be returned to their hand. They do not realize that *Muttaqīn* who obtain what is good because of Allah, to remain with them<sup>6</sup>.

Hasbi's interpretation in the verse above in line with other interpreters, they are :

- 1). According to al-Maraghi in his tafsīr explains that, the hypocrites who make the helpers and protectors from the unbelievers who fight against the believers. They leave and do not help the Muslims, with the assumption that the unbelievers will get the victory, so that they have contributed in the victory. If by doing so they seek strength in the side of unbelievers, then verily, that power belongs to Allah He will give it to whoever he pleases. Hypocrites who raise the unbelievers as a helper for seeking the power and glory on their side, then all will not obtain by them<sup>7</sup>.
- 2). According to Quraish Shihab in Tafsīr *al-Misbah* explains that, hypocrites are they who make the unbelievers as *Auliya'*, ie friends, helpers and their supporters and their places to keep the secret. That they do by leaving the

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<sup>5</sup>Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 110.

<sup>6</sup>Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al-Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), P. 604.

<sup>7</sup>Ahmad Mushthafa al-Maraghi, *Terjemah Tafsīr Al-Maraghi, Juz-4*, (Semarang: CV Thaha Putra, 1993), p. 308.

believers who steady their faith. Supposedly believers whom they made as *Auliya* but it is not the case: what they, ie the hypocrites seek earnestly strength on their side of the unbelievers? Really, they are very stupid because the all of real powers belong to God only. If so, the hypocrites can only humiliation and weakness<sup>8</sup>.

The writer concludes that the interpretation of the verse above, the hypocrites are they who make the unbelievers to make hostile the believers be a guardian, helper and controller affairs. They do not want to to accept the help from the believers. On the contrary, give the help to unbeliever, because they want power to be returned to their hand.

c. QS. Al- Mā'idah: 57

يَتَّيِّبُهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الَّذِينَ اتَّخَذُوا دِينَكُمْ هُزُوءًا وَلَعِبًا مِّنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْكِتَابَ مِمَّن قَبْلِكُمْ وَالْكَفَّارَ ءَوْلِيَاءَ ۚ وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ كُنتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿٥٧﴾

“O you who believe! Take not for friends and protectors those who take your religion for a mockery or sport whether among those who received the scripture before you, or among those who reject faith, but fear you Allah, if you have faith (indeed)”<sup>9</sup>.

According to Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy that, people who believe, prohibited to make Jewish and Christian people who have been given the Bible before you, so polytheism, be controller of your affair. They keep trying to make difficult you continuously, although outwardly they show a friendly attitude. They mock religion. There are they who show faith to the believers, while inwardly hides infidelity. God prevents us to hold agreement with the polytheists. Because, it means giving power or strength them to remain in polytheism<sup>10</sup>.

Hasbi's opinion in the verse above is almost the same with the other scholar's opinion, namely:

<sup>8</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsir Al-Misbah, Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian al-Qur'an*, (Jakarta, Lentera Hati, 2010), p. 763.

<sup>9</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 129.

<sup>10</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsir Al-Qur'anul Majid An-Nur*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011). P. 676-677.

- 1). According to Ahmad Mustafa al-Maraghi in his tafsir explains that people who believe, do not make the Jews and Christians as your helper, defender and ally, even though they have the arrival of the envoys and the Prophets of Allah, because unrelenting they make something to come the disaster for you, though it seems they love and be friend them. And it is because considering this problem as a mockery and a game. One of them show his faith to the believers, while he actually is still infidel. And a moment later, he appears his infidelity with his tongue whereas he just expresses faith in his mouth, though his heart harbors infidelity. Because he makes a fool and mock religion<sup>11</sup>.
- 2). According to Quraish Shihab in Tafsīr *al-Misbah*, that the previous verse has explained who should be appointed as *Auliya*, ie Allah, the Messenger and the believers, now affirmed back prohibition appointing non-Muslim as *Auliya* in the meaning as described in in the verse 51 ago. But now along with the reason of the prohibition, ie, people who believe, do not force yourself taking so *Auliya*, people who make your religion a mockery and game, ie among some people who have been given the Bible, ie the Taurat and injil is not long before you are given the book of al-Qur'an, and people who unbelieve, ie the polytheists, and whoever mocks and ridicules religion<sup>12</sup>.

The writer concludes Hasbi's opinion in the verse above, that the believers are prohibited making the Jews and the Christian, as a controller your affair. Because unrelenting they make to come the disaster for you and continuously try to make difficult you, although outwardly they show a friendly attitude. But inwardly they mock your religion.

d. QS. At-Taubah: 23

يَتَّيِّبُهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا ءَابَاءَكُمْ وَاِحْوَانَكُمْ اَوْلِيَاءَ اِنِ اسْتَحَبُّوا الْكُفْرَ عَلٰى  
 الْاِيْمَانِ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ مِّنْكُمْ فَاُولٰٓئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ ﴿٢٣﴾

<sup>11</sup> Ahmad Mushthafa al-Maraghi, *Terjemah Tafsīr Al-Maraghi, Juz-4*, (Semarang: CV Thaha Putra, 1993), p. 258-259

<sup>12</sup>M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsīr Al-Misbah, Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian al-Qur'an*, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2010), p. 126.

“O you who believe! Take not for protectors you fathers and your brothers if they love infidelity above faith; if any of you do so, they do wrong”.<sup>13</sup>

Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy said that all who believe to Allah and His Messenger, it is not feasible to make the parents and brothers are still unbelievers as manager of your affair. Not worthy that you also help them in the battle between the Muslims fight against the infidels, moreover explaining the secrets of the believers and the preparation that done in the face of a war against unbelievers. Whoever among you make people who still like infidelity as controller their affairs is classified as people who do wrong to yourself and do wrong to the believer<sup>14</sup>.

Hasbi interpretation of the paragraph above together with the opinion of other commentators, namely:

- 1). According to the ministry of religion affair that in this verse Allah prohibits the believers to make mother, father and their brother are still unbeliever, become leader because they feared they would know the condition of the Muslims and the strength of preparation. Similar deed will mean strength for the infidels against the Muslims. The believers who do not obey the prohibition, which is in the condition of war, they still help unbeliever, because that helped has familial relationship. Such a person is an oppressor against himself and against his followers.<sup>15</sup>
- 2). According to Quraish Shihab in his tafsīr that this verse reminds all people who believe, or to hypocrites that people who believe either sincere faith or only the faith with his tongue. Do not impose yourself moreover voluntarily make your fathers and brothers as leaders. So you tell them your secret and love them more than love in Allah and His Messenger, if they are your father and brother prefer *kufri* for the faithful, and any of you make them leaders so

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<sup>13</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 214.

<sup>14</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), p. 254-255.

<sup>15</sup> Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 102-103.

that people who do wrong (*zalim*) because putting something is not in the place, ie electing a leader who is not right and leave that should be elected<sup>16</sup>.

According to the writer in the verse above, Hasbi explains that believers are prohibited from making older people and their brothers who still unbelieve as the manager of your affair. Moreover explaining the secrets of the believers and the preparation that done in the face of a war against unbelievers. So whoever makes people who still love infidelity as controller affairs are classified as people who do wrong.

e. QS. Al- Mumtahanah;1

يٰۤاَيُّهَا الَّذِيْنَ ءَامَنُوْا لَا تَتَّخِذُوْا عَدُوِّيْ وَعَدُوْكُمْ اَوْلِيَاۗءَ تَلْقَوْنَ اِلَيْهِمْ بِالْمَوَدَّةِ وَقَدْ كَفَرُوْا بِمَا  
جَاءَكُمْ مِنَ الْحَقِّ يُخْرِجُوْنَ الرَّسُوْلَ وَاِيَّاكُمْ ۗ اَنْ تُوْمِنُوْا بِاللّٰهِ رَبِّكُمْ اِنْ كُنْتُمْ حَرَجْتُمْ جِهَدًا فِي  
سَبِيْلِیْ وَاَبْتَغَاۗءَ مَرْضَاتِيْ ۚ تُسِرُّوْنَ اِلَيْهِمْ بِالْمَوَدَّةِ وَاَنَا اَعْلَمُ بِمَا اَخْفَيْتُمْ وَمَا اَعْلَنْتُمْ ۚ وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْهُ  
مِنْكُمْ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ سَوَاۗءَ السَّبِيْلِ ﴿١﴾

“O you who believe! Take not my enemies and yours as friends (or protectors) offering them (your) love, even though they have rejected the truth that has come to you, and have ( an the contrary) driven out the messenger and yourselves (from your homes), (simply)because you believe in Allah your lord! If you have come out to strive in my way and to seek my good pleasure, (take them not as friends), holding secret converse of love (and friendship) with them: for I know full well all that you conceal and all that you reveal. And any of you that does this has strayed from the straight path”.<sup>17</sup>

Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy in this verse argues that the believers are prohibited reached affection to the enemies of Allah and your enemies too. Because God does not justify you convey or tell the steps to be undertaken by Messenger in an effort to develop religion to them. Although between you and the enemies of God that there is a relationship relative. Not worth you make them as your loyal friend, then you unlock the secrets of Islam to them. And they have denied the truth brought by the Apostle. They deny God, the Prophet, and the Qur’ān.

<sup>16</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsīr Al-Misbah, Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian al-Qur’ān*, (Jakarta, Lentera Hati, 2010), p. 529-530.

<sup>17</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur’ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 698.

Secrets that you convey can threaten your safety. They expel the Messenger and you from your country from spilled blood, just because you believe in Allah and not by something from another cause<sup>18</sup>.

Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy's opinion in the sūrah al-Mumtahanah above in line with the opinion of other scholars, namely:

- 1). According to the ministry of religion affair that this verse warns the Muslims so that they do not hold an affectionate relationship with the polytheists who become enemies of God and enemies of Muslims. Due to the existence of such a relationship that does not know, they have opened up the secrets of the Muslims, said something that will be done by Messenger to them in an effort to respect the word of Allah. Do not ever do that so that even if they are your relationship relative. Making the unbelievers who are hostile to the Muslims as a loyal friend and helper is a matter that prohibited, not possible during the unbelievers wish to destroy the religion of Islam and the Muslims. Therefore the Muslims are prohibited to help each other with the unbelievers like that<sup>19</sup>.
- 2). According to Quraish Shihab in his tafsīr states that people who believe are prohibited to force themselves against your chastity *fitrah* so that making my enemy and your enemy become close friends to keep a secret and expect the help. You tell them the things that should be kept confidential because of the love that overflow in yourself toward them, whereas in fact they have broken related to the truth of divine doctrine that has come to you<sup>20</sup>.

The writerr concludes that Hasbi's interpretation above, that the believer is prohibited entered into an affectionate relationship with the enemies of God and enemies of Muslims. Because God does not justify you convey or tell the steps to be undertaken by Messenger in an effort to develop religion to them. Although between you and the enemies of God, there is a relationship relative.

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<sup>18</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al-Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), P. 316-317.

<sup>19</sup> Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 97.


<sup>20</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsīr Al-Misbah, Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian al-Qur'ān*, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2010), p. 156.



Because making the unbelievers who are hostile to the Muslims as a loyal friend and helper is a matter that prohibited.

## 2. The Verses that Allow Electing a Non Muslim as Leader with Requirement

a. QS. Ali ‘Imrān: 28

لَا يَتَّخِذِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ الْكَافِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ <sup>ط</sup> وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ فَلَيْسَ مِنَ اللَّهِ فِي شَيْءٍ إِلَّا أَنْ تَتَّقُوا مِنْهُمْ تُقَاتَ <sup>ق</sup> وَيُحَذِرْكُمْ اللَّهُ نَفْسَهُ <sup>ق</sup> وَإِلَى اللَّهِ الْمَصِيرُ 

"Let not the believers take for friends or helpers unbelievers rather than believers: if any do that, in nothing will there be help from Allah : except by way of precaution, that you may guard yourselves from them. But Allāh cautions you (to remember) himself: for the final goal is to Allah<sup>21</sup>."

In the book of Tafsīr *an-Nūr*, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy says this verse as a prohibition electing unbeliever as a leader or a loyal friend, because they are closely with opening secrets of religion, as well as putting their benefit rather than the benefit of Muslims. Anyone of Muslims who make the unbeliever as a leader who actually brings *maḍarāt* for religion, it means that he escape from God's guidance and included from the class or group of unbelievers. We are only allowed making relationship with unbelievers in emergency, namely because dreading *maḍarāt* that will happen to him or because of expecting their useful benefit for the Muslims.

From this verse can be obtained by the understanding that there is no obstacle to the Islamic government to establish agreement and cooperation with governments that are not Islam for something expediency. But if a friendship agreement will only come *maḍarāt* for religion, we are forbidden to do so<sup>22</sup>.

In this matter Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy's interpretation as in sūrah Ali ‘Imrān verse 28, it is same with the other interpreter's opinion :

1). According to Quraish Shihab in *Al-Misbah*, that the verse above prohibits the believers make unbelievers as their leader or helper, because if a believer

<sup>21</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 58.

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), P.

makes them a leader or helper, it means that the believer is in a weak condition, whereas Allah reluctant to see the believer in weak condition. Do not make them a leader or helper, unless there is the benefit of the Muslims from that help, or at least no harm can befall the Muslims of that help<sup>23</sup>.

- 2). According to the ministry of religion affair in the interpretation, states that Allah prohibits Muslims to make the unbeliever as close friend, leader or helper. If it is so, it would be detrimental to themselves both in religion affair and in the interest for the people. It is strictly prohibited by the religion. The prohibition is nothing but to keep and maintain the benefit of religion. As well as that the Muslims are not distracted in the effort to reach the desired destination by religion. But there is an exception in this verse, that the believers allow to become a leader or hold close relationship with unbelievers, in fear condition getting *maḍarāt* or to provide benefit to the Muslim. And also no limit for Islamic government, to hold a friendship agreement with a government that is not Islam, with the intention to refuse *maḍarāt*, or to obtain a benefit<sup>24</sup>.

By this writer can conclude that Hasbi's interpretation in verse 28 sūrah Ali 'Imrān, he prohibits Muslims elect unbeliever as a helper or leader, because they are tied to unlock the secrets of religion, as well as the priority to their benefit rather than the benefit for the Muslims. Such would be detrimental to themselves both in religion affair and in the interest of the people, we are only allowed making relationship with unbelievers in emergency, namely because dreading *maḍarāt* that will happen to him or because of expecting useful benefit for Muslims.

b. QS. Ali 'Imrān: 118

يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا بَطَانَةً مِّن دُونِكُمْ لَا يَأْلُونَكُمْ خَبَالًا وَدُؤًا مَّا عَنِتُّمْ قَد بَدَتْ  
 الْبَغْضَاءُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَمَا تُخْفَىٰ صُدُورُهُمْ أَكْبَرُ قَدْ بَيَّنَّا لَكُمُ الْآيَاتِ إِن كُنتُمْ تَعْقِلُونَ ﴿١١٨﴾

<sup>23</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsīr Al-Misbah, Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 2, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2010), p. 74.

<sup>24</sup> Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 551-552.

“O you who believe! Take not into your intimacy those outside your ranks: they will not fail to corrupt you. The only desire your ruin: rank hatred has already appeared from their mouths: what their hearts conceal is far worse. We have made plain to you the signs, if you have wisdom”<sup>25</sup>.

Hasbi explains that, to make the unbelievers as a loyal friend is the risk for religion and benefit for society. Therefore, they will keep trying afflict the Muslims and trying to thwart all plans of the activities of the Muslims. They still want us to get in trouble, both in religion affair and public affair. They openly show their respect for us, but in his heart undercurrent of envy and hate. From the attitude like that make us prohibited to make people who are not Islam as a leader or loyal friend. However, when they have changed attitude for the better, we are no longer prohibited from making them as leader or loyal friend<sup>26</sup>.

This understanding is almost the same as the opinion of the scholars with other interpreter, including:

1). According to Ahmad Mustafa al-Maraghi in his interpretation explains that, the believers must not take the unbelievers as Jews and hypocrites, as a board member (leader) or special friend, besides the believers, when they actually have character as determined by this verse, namely:

1. They do not hesitate and harm your affair with all the skills they have.
2. when it turns out they expect your the religious affair and the world affair in big trouble.
3. when they show hatred for you through their mouth openly, make a lie your prophets and your book, even to label you as fools. Anyone who labels others are stupid that they do not like that person.

These characters that cause prohibited from taking leadership or special friends who are not from Muslims. If it turns out their character changes, as experienced by Jews in the early days of Islam, known as a group hostile to believers. But then they change attitude, by supporting religion of Islam with the

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<sup>25</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 71.

<sup>26</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ānul Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), P. 419-420.

conquest of Andalusia. So in this circumstance is not prohibited from taking them as a leader or assistant to the Muslims<sup>27</sup>.

2). According to the ministry of religion affair, namely the Qur'ān and its interpretation, explain that, in this verse Allah warns the believers not to associate close with unbelievers who have real characters that bad, do not trust them and do not hand over affairs of the Muslims to them.

Believers are prohibited from associating close with unbelievers who have the character stated in this verse, as follows:

- a. Always hurting and harming the Muslims and trying to destroy them.
- b. Stating openly by word of anger and hatred toward the Muslims, denying the Prophet Muḥammad and the Qur'ān and accusing Muslims as a stupid and bigoted people.

Hatred and anger that they utter by the tongue, it is very little when compared to the hatred and anger that are hidden in their heart. But if the characters have been transformed into a good character or they no longer have a bad character toward the Muslims then Allah does not prohibit to associate with them<sup>28</sup>.

The writer concludes that Hasbi's opinion in the verse above that prohibits Muslims make infidels or non-Muslims as a leader or a loyal friend as a great risk for benefit of religion and society, by making difficult or miserable the Muslims in religion and public affair, but when the non-Muslims have changed the attitude by doing good for the Muslims, we are no longer prohibited to make them as loyal friend or leader.

c. QS. An-Nisā' : 144

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<sup>27</sup>Ahmad Mushthafa al-Maraghi, *Terjemah Tafsīr Al-Maraghi, Juz-4*, (Semarang: CV Thaha Putra, 1993), p. 76

<sup>28</sup>Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 31-32.

يَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْكَافِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ۗ أَتُرِيدُونَ أَنْ تَجْعَلُوا لِلَّهِ  
 عَلَيْكُمْ سُلْطٰنًا مُّبِينًا ﴿١٤٤﴾

“O you who believe! Take not for friends unbelievers rather than believers: do you wish to offer Allah an open proof against yourselves?”.<sup>29</sup>

Hasbi states that, Believers are prohibited from making the unbelievers as controller of affair. It means, giving help to the infidels, whether by speech or action, the result is to bring *maḍarāt* to Muslims, whether individual or institution, the more adverse religion. But about the power usage *dhimmi* in Islamic government is not prohibited. Friends have use expert from the Jew and Christian in government position, as long as they do not pose *maḍarāt* for government or Muslims<sup>30</sup>.

In Hasbi’s interpretation is similar with other interpreter such as:

- 1). According to al-Maraghi in his interpretation explains that, people who believe must not take the infidels be a guardian by leaving the believers, it means giving help, both in word and deed that contain a danger to the Muslims. It is as said by God:

“O ye who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians as your leaders; some of them are the leaders for others<sup>31</sup>”.

As for employing infidels of *dhimmi* in Islamic government is not prohibited. The Companions have employed them in the offices of *Amiriyah* (emirate), and Abu Ishaq Ash-Shaby is ever made *wazīr* (minister) in the daulah Abasiyyah government<sup>32</sup>.

- 2). According to the ministry of religion affair, in this verse Allah calls upon the believers not to ask for help to the unbelievers who are hostile to the Muslims by requiring an opinion or be close friend with them, and should not give trust

<sup>29</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur’ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 111.

<sup>30</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur’ān al-Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala, 2011), P. 608.

<sup>31</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur’ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 127.

<sup>32</sup> Ahmad Mushthafa al-Maraghi, *Terjemah Tafsīr Al-Maraghi, Juz-4*, (Semarang: CV Thaha Putra, 1993), p. 318-319.

moreover divulge the secret to them. Allah almighty warns the Muslims to be careful in asking for help to the unbelievers who are hostile to Islam either by mind or deed because the help which get from unbelievers may be able to endanger the Muslims themselves.<sup>33</sup>

- 3). According to Quraish Shihab that in this verse Allah calls to everyone who believes either true confession or false, prohibited to make unbelievers as *Auliya'*, close friends, the place to keep a secret, as well as defender and protector by leaving friendship and defense from the Believers, This verse is a harsh criticism that makes infidels as close friends, a place to keep a secret, but not the prohibition to associate in a harmony and reasonable, or even provide humanitarian help for them. Allah allows Muslims to provide help or charity to non-Muslim<sup>34</sup>.

The writer concludes that Hasbi's interpretation above, he prohibits making the unbelievers as a controller of affair which will bring *maḍarāt* to the Muslims, especially toward their religion. But in using the expertise from a non-Muslim in the government position Hasbi does not prohibit, as long as they do not pose *maḍarāt* for the governments and Muslims.

d. QS. Al-Mā'idah: 51

يَتَّيِّبُهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا لَا تَتَّخِذُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصْرَىٰ أَوْلِيَاءَ ۚ بَعْضُهُمْ أَوْلِيَاءُ بَعْضٍ ۚ وَمَنْ يَتَوَلَّهُمْ  
مِّنكُمْ فَإِنَّهُ مِنهُمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ ﴿٥١﴾

“O you who believe! Take not the Jews and the Christians for your friends and protectors: they are but friends and protectors to each other. And the amongst you that turns to them (for friendship) is of them. Verily Allah guides not a people unjust”<sup>35</sup>.

According to Hasbi that this verse describes about cause we are prohibited to make Jew and Christian as controller of affair or a loyal friend, since they formed an alliance against us. But if there is cooperation, help assist, and loyal

<sup>33</sup> Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 330-331.

<sup>34</sup> M. Quraish Shihab, *Tafsīr Al-Misbah, Pesan, Kesan dan Keserasian al-Qur'ān*, (Jakarta: Lentera Hati, 2010), p. 771- 772.

<sup>35</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 127.

friend between two people of different in religion to the benefit of the world, such a prohibition does not go into this verse. If the Muslims give trust and make loyal friend with a people that are not Islam, because beneficiary agreement, that should not be prohibited. Not justified we make loyal friend with Jew and Christian in matters that impair or conflict with the benefit of the believers. making a loyal friend with Jew and Christian in matters that bring the benefit (*maṣlahat*) and not bring *maḍarāt* for most of the believers is not prohibited. But giving trust and making loyal friend with the enemies of God is a form of unjust deed<sup>36</sup>.

Hasbi's interpretation agree with the other interpreter namely:

- 1). According the ministry of religion affair, namely the Qur'ān and his interpretation explains that, in this verse Allah prohibits the believers, in order not to make the Jew and Christian as close or loyal friend who will provide help and protection, especially for anyone to believe as a leader , If only for the usual friend in the association, especially in the worldly affairs, Allah does not prohibit it. Originally only caution in the association, because for them the character of violating promise and lie to seek worldly gain is mediocre. Outwardly is good, but inwardly always look for an opportunity to destroy the believers<sup>37</sup>.
- 2). According to Ahmad Mustafa al-Maraghi in his interpretation, says that this verse prohibits Muslims either individual or in group, appointed the guardian from the Jews and Christians who fight against the Prophet and the believers. Prohibited holding true promise with them to help each other, by leaving the believers, in the hope that they would provide help if the Muslims pressed or defeated by the enemy. But the appointment of a guardian and an agreement for mutual help between the two different group in religions to achieve worldly benefit, not included in the prohibition outlined in this verse<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al-Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta:Cakrawala,2011), p. 672

<sup>37</sup> Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur'ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 459-460.

<sup>38</sup> Ahmad Mushthafa al- Maraghi, *Terjemah Tafsīr Al-Maraghi, Juz- 4*, (Semarang: CV Thaha Putra, 1993), p. 249-251.

The writer concludes that the verse above shows the prohibition for Muslim who makes the unbeliever as controller affair in matters that could impair or conflict with the benefit of the believer, but in cooperating or helping each other with the non Muslims to worldly benefit, then it is not included in the prohibition of this verse. So giving trust in a affair with people who are not Islam because beneficiary agreement is prohibited. But giving trust and making loyal friend with the enemy of God it is a form of unjust deed.

e. QS. Al- Mujādalah: 22

لَا تَجِدُ قَوْمًا يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ يُوَادُّونَ مَنْ حَادَّ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَلَوْ كَانُوا  
 آبَاءَهُمْ أَوْ أَبْنَاءَهُمْ أَوْ إِخْوَانَهُمْ أَوْ عَشِيرَتَهُمْ أُولَئِكَ كَتَبَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الْإِيمَانَ وَأَيَّدَهُمْ بِرُوحٍ  
 مِنْهُ وَيُدْخِلُهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهَا الْأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ وَرَضُوا عَنْهُ  
 أُولَئِكَ حِزْبُ اللَّهِ أَلَا إِنَّ حِزْبَ اللَّهِ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ ﴿٢٢﴾

“You will not find any people who believe in Allah and the last day, loving those who resist Allah and His Messenger, even though they were their father or their sons, or their brothers, or their kindred. For such he has written faith in their hearts, and strengthened them with a spirit from himself. And he will admit them to gardens beneath which rivers flow, to dwell therein (forever). Allah will be well pleased with them, and they with him. They are the party of Allah. Truly it is the party of Allah that will achieve felicity”.<sup>39</sup>

In this verse, Hasbi Ash- Shiddieq explains that you will not get the class to collect between faith in God and the judgment day with a compassionate with his enemies. Although the infidels who helped are their parents, their children, their brothers, or their kindred. Because faith does not justify us compassionate with unbeliever. Strictly speaking, it will not appoint the infidels be a leader or a loyal friend in the sense of trying to give kindness to the unbelievers and making *maḍarāt* Muslim. Making friend with infidels, in normal circumstance is not

<sup>39</sup> Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur’ān*, (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2005), p. 692.



prohibited. Prohibited here is to make an effort to provide help to unbelievers in the movement of oppressing Muslims. Such is not feasible by the believers<sup>40</sup>.

This opinion is also similar to that conveyed by other interpreter, namely:

1). In the Tafsīr *al-Maraghi* explains that, you will not get people who collect between faith in God and the judgment Day with love to the enemies of Allah and His messenger, because the faith of the believers is broken with the love of the unbelievers, Referred loving infidels is advising and wanting goodness to them in religion and worldly affair. Whereas associating is not prohibited. The verse above confirms the prohibition that not fitting for a believer to do that, though toward relatives such as elderly people who should they obey and they associate well in the world, or to children who are at the heart, the brothers who are their defenders or toward relatives who became the foundation for them after brothers<sup>41</sup>.

2). According to the ministry of religion affair in interpretation explains that this verse explains that in fact hypocrites really unbelieve even more dangerous than they who openly expressed their infidelity. Because it is not likely to occur in a person, they are compassionate with the enemies of Islam or the people who try to destroy Islam and the Muslims. Toward unbelievers are enemies of Islām that Muslims are prohibited from making friend with them, because making friend with them meaningfully participates trying to destroy Islam and the Muslims. While to the unbelievers who are not hostile to Muslims and not trying to destroy the religion of Islam, the Muslims are allowed to make friend and get along with them, as done by the Prophet himself and his companions. As Allah says :

لَا يَنْهَىٰكُمْ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقْتِلُوا فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوا مِنْ دِينِكُمْ أَنْ تَبَرُّوهُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا

إِلَيْهِمْ ۗ إِنَّ اللَّهَ مُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ ﴿٨٠﴾

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<sup>40</sup> Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy, *Tafsīr Al-Qur'ān al-Majīd An-Nūr*, (Jakarta: Cakrawala,2011), P. 299.

<sup>41</sup> Ahmad Mushthafa al-Maraghi, *Terjemah Tafsīr Al-Maraghi, Juz-4*, (Semarang: CV Thaha Putra, 1993), p. 42-43.

“Allah does not forbid you from being good and Be fair to those who fight you because of religion and not (also) expel you from your homes. Allah loves those who are fair Applicable<sup>42</sup>”.

According to the writer, Hasbi’s interpretation above does not allow the Muslims to appoint the unbelievers as a leader or helper, which non-Muslims who would try to give kindness to the unbelievers by making *maḍarāt* Muslims. Such is not worth done by the believers, although it is still a relationship of relative with them. But Muslims are not prohibited to appoint the leader or provide the help to the infidels who do not oppress Muslims.

From the interpreter’s opinions above, the writer can conclude that Muhammad Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy in interpreting the verses related to the prohibition of electing non-Muslim leader is not much different from other interpreter, ie prohibiting and also allowing with the requirements as follows :

a. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy prohibits electing non-Muslim leader with the reasons:

- Unbeliever just wants to be friend with Muslims if seen Muslims will be victorious. But if Muslims are seen in a weak position and will lose, they show hostility.
- Because they just want power and the believer who will return to their hand.
- Because the unbeliever unremitting causes disaster and continuously tries to complicate the Muslims.
- Because it is feared their relative to explain the secrets of the believer and the preparation which done in the face of a war against unbeliever.
- Due to unconscious relative, they tell you the steps to be undertaken by Messenger in an effort to develop religion to them.

b. Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy allows with the requirements as follows:

- Allowed in emergency, namely because dreading *maḍarāt* that will happen to him or because they expect their useful benefit for the Muslims.

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<sup>42</sup> Tim departemen Agama, *Al-Qur’ān dan Tafsīrnya*, (Yogyakarta: Bakti Wakaf, 1990), p. 44- 45.

- Allowed when the non-Muslims has changed at the attitude by doing good deed to the Muslims, we are no longer prohibited to making them as loyal friend or leader.
- Allowed as long as they do not pose *maḍarāt* for the government and Muslims.
- Allowed only for worldly benefit.
- Allowed if the infidels are not hostile or oppress Muslims.

Hasbi's interpretation above does not conflict with the criteria of leader according to the theoretical basis that has been previously described in the second chapter, in which the leader must be honest, trustworthy, fair, responsible and so on. There is no requirement for a leader to be Moslem. By this, according to Hasbi's explanation in addition to prohibit, Hasbi also allows electing non-Muslim as a leader while they provide benefit for the community and do not pose *maḍarāt* for Islamic religion.

#### **B. Relevance of Hasbi Ash Shiddieqy's Interpretation on Verses Prohibition in Electing Non Muslim Leader in the Context of Indonesia today**

Related to this interpretation, Muhammad Hasbi Ash- Shiddieqy describes electing non-Muslims leader that is very relevant to the condition of Indonesia today. In the context of Indonesia discourse surrounding non-Muslim leader is very controversial issue and sensitive. Issue now is talking about leadership Ahok that culminated when he replaced Joko Widodo, who was elected President of the Republic of Indonesia in 2014, and resurfaced as issues of his candidacy for governor of Jakarta for the next period, it is in 2017-2022. The presence of non-Muslim leadership issues is in fact not a new things in society, especially in the state of Indonesia today. Discourse about non-Muslim leadership always reap vary arguments. Pros and cons are always present with every perspective to contribute idea that provide a wealth of thinking way to look at this issue more equitable and holistic.

Indonesia is a unity state of the Republic which seems government comes from the people. The country consists of a variety of ethnic, racial, and religious,

but still this nation has the same taste, the same fate and the same goal. Then the task for the leader is encouraged to fight back together against an enemy in the form of problems in this country. Indonesia is a country with a Muslim majority. The population is touted as the most democratic country among other Muslim countries. Election of leader or president is considered crucial moment regarding the success in creating a democratic state in Indonesia<sup>43</sup>.

Moreover, system of government in Indonesia is a presidential where the supreme power in the hand of the President. The president is elected by the people through his general election for 5 years and can be one time period again. For that people should be careful in electing a leader, so that the dreams of the nation in accordance with the opening UUD RI in 1945 reached. Therefore, before electing a leader there must be criteria that must be met. That is leader must possess to be honest, trustworthy, fair, responsible, educated, intelligent and professional, resolute and strong, wise and patient, healthy physically and mentally, observant religion, upholding deliberation, applying the law, transparent, Having international credibility, Having religiosity and moral fortitude. So that these choices bring blessing and benefit to the nation and the country. As a Muslim should determine the choice right to the leader who will lead this nation should be based on criteria that is taught by the Qurān and Hadith, as already described above. So coveted country will be realized *"baladatun ṭayyibatun wa rabbun ghafūr"*.

In response to the issue of non-Muslim leadership, the scholars also have different opinion. In general, their opinion can be divided into two mainstream, between who refuse the leadership (president) of non-Muslim and who accept the leadership (president) of non-Muslim. Which including to the first group, among others are al-Jaṣṣas, al-Alusi, Ibn 'Arabi, Kiya al-Harasi, Ibn Kathir, as-Ṣabuni, az-Zamakshari, Ali as-Ṣayis, Ṭaba'taba'i, al-Qurtubi, Wahbah az-Zuhaili, as-Shaukani, al-Ṭabari, Sayyid Quṭb, al-Mawardi. Who included in the second group are: Ibnu Taimiyyah, Mahmoud Mohammad Ṭaha, Abdullah

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<sup>43</sup> H.M. Mular Ibnu Syarif, "Memilih Presiden Non-Muslim di Negara Muslim dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam", *Dalam Jurnal Konstitusi*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (November, 2008), p. 85.

Ahmad an-Na'im, Tariq al-Bishri, Asghar Ali Engineer, Muhammad Sa'id al-Asmawi, Rashid al-Ghanushi, Tariq Ramadan, dan Yusuf al-Qaradawi.

Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy is one of the scholars who prohibits and also allows electing non-Muslim leader with the requirement. That is in an emergency, such as Muslims who are in oppression politic, they dread *maḍarāt* that will befall them, and due to a benefit of the people, they are allowed to choose non-Muslim president. While who prohibit non-Muslim leader to understand the verse above contains general determinate that Mu'min one should not take unbeliever as leader, ally to fight the enemy, give a mandate, and make them as trust friend. Because they gave a lot *maḍarāt* to the Muslims, and unremitting cause disaster as well as continuously try to complicate the Muslims to reach the desired aim by religion.

Hasbi's opinion above has similarity with other scholar, as like Ibn Taimiyah's opinion that has strict religion matter about a non-Muslim hold several positions in the Islamic country. According to him, non-Muslim leader should be supported as long as he has committed to struggle to achieve justice and remove injustice according to his ability, and leadership comes goodness more for the Muslims than the other leadership, and his power for the region is better than the other power, then he should keep running task and occupying power. He does not sin because of that, even the continuity of leadership is better than he leaves, except when there are better people who will replace him<sup>44</sup>.

Based on the writer's observation above, Hasbi Ash-Shiddieqy's interpretation about electing a non-Muslim leader is relevant to the context of Indonesia at this time, because being a leader does not have to Muslim. But more important is the ability of the leader to make better changes in a country. Then there is no prohibition electing non-Muslims leader. Of course, with the consideration that the candidate or non-Muslim leader mets the criteria as mentioned above. And because the Indonesian society is a society that complex and plural, which is based on the ideology of Pancasila and UUD 1945 which

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<sup>44</sup> Ibnu Taimiyah, *Majmû al-Fatâwâ*, Juz XXX, (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, t.th), p. 357.

requires collaboration with a way to establish unity and solidarity to achieve mutual benefit and progress in the state. Then Hasbi's opinion is a reflection from the Indonesia socio-political situation in a community of plurality, even though Muslims occupy the position of the majority, indeed in formulating his theory, Hasbi certainly starts from the reality of socio-political and cultural of nation.