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Considering Caliphate and Democracy in Islam: A Comparison of The Ottoman Dynasty and The Indonesian State

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Abstrak

Dinasti Turki Utsmani merupakan salah satu wujud pemerintahan bercorak Islam terbesar sepanjang sejarah. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki dan memahami perbandingan antara konsep kekhalifahan dalam Dinasti Utsmani, salah satu kekaisaran Islam terbesar dalam sejarah, dan bentuk negara modern dengan demokrasi, yaitu Negara Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan analisis historis komparatif, yang diambil dari sumber-sumber primer, catatan sejarah, dan literatur ilmiah untuk menelusuri evolusi tata kelola pemerintahan di Dinasti Utsmaniyah dan Negara Indonesia. Hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa tidak ada bentuk yang baku tentang praktek kenegaraan dalam Islam. Sistem monarki dalam bentuk negara khilafah yang dipakai oleh Utsmani sejalan dengan yang disampaikan oleh Ibn Abi Rabi yang mendukung bentuk pemerintahan monarki. Sistem demokrasi dalam bentuk negara republik yang diterapkan di Indonesia identik dengan konsep Imamah yang disampaikan oleh al-Mawardi. Gagasan atau rumusan apapun tentang praktek kenegaraan diperbolehkan dalam Islam sepanjang tidak keluar dari referensi Al-Qur'an dan Hadits.

Kata kunci: Dinasti Utsmani, Indonesia, khilafah, demokrasi, Islam.

Abstract

The Ottoman Dynasty was one of the largest forms of Islamic government in history. This study aims to investigate and understand the comparison between the concept of the caliphate in the Ottoman Dynasty, one of the largest Islamic empires in history, and the

form of a modern state with democracy, namely the State of Indonesia. This study uses comparative historical analysis, taken from primary sources, historical records, and scientific literature to trace the evolution of governance in the Ottoman Dynasty and the State of Indonesia. The results of this study indicate that there is no standard form of state practice in Islam. The monarchy system in the form of a caliphate state used by the Ottomans is in line with that conveyed by Ibn Abi Rabi who supports a monarchical form of government. The democratic system in the form of a republican state implemented in Indonesia is identical to the concept of Imamah conveyed by al-Mawardi. Any idea or formulation about state practice is permitted in Islam as long as it does not deviate from the references to the Qur'an and Hadith.

Keywords: Ottoman, Indonesia, caliphate, democracy, Islam.

Introduction

Along with the complexity of the political order and the development of modern societies, the discussion on the relationship between the political system in Islam, especially the caliphate, and democracy has become increasingly relevant. The Ottoman Empire, as one of the most influential Islamic dynasties, provided a foundation for understanding the political system in Islam (Saepullah, 2020). In contrast, Indonesia, as the country with the largest Muslim majority in the world, encapsulates democratic values in its constitution (Alfauzi & Effendi, 2020). A comparison between these two models of governance not only raises the question of how Islam views political power and participation but also the extent to which democratic principles can be integrated within an Islamic framework.

The Ottomans, founded in 13th-century Anatolia, became one of the most monumental dynasties in the history of the Islamic world. The Turkish tribal leader, Osman I, began the foundation of this dynasty, which grew into an empire that dominated the world for centuries. One of the most prominent aspects of the Ottomans was their system of government which included the concept of the caliphate, creating a close connection between the empire and the principles of Islam (Sugiri, 2019). At its peak, the Ottomans were the Islamic world's greatest center of civilization and empire. Ottoman rulers held the dual titles of Sultan, as political leader and head of state, and

Caliph, as the spiritual leader of Muslims. As such, their power was ascribed to religious authority, validating the Ottoman leadership in the eyes of Muslims (Muvid, 2022).

Indonesia, the world's most populous Muslim country, established a foundation of governance based on democratic principles. When became independent in 1945, Indonesia took great strides to establish a political system that reflected citizen participation in government decision-making. With the constitutional basis laid out in the 1945 Constitution, Indonesia promoted the idea that state power comes from the people (Mulyono & Fatoni, 2019). Democracy in Indonesia includes elections as the basis of government legitimacy. In each election cycle, Indonesians vigorously exercise their right to vote to determine the president and members of parliament. Presidential elections are conducted directly, demonstrating a commitment to direct representation of and by the people (Basuki, 2020).

There is previous research conducted by Uliyah that discusses the leadership of the Ottoman Turkish Empire from its progress to its decline. The results showed that the Ottoman Turks experienced a wide expansion during its heyday until it later experienced a decline (Uliyah, 2021). In addition, there is research conducted by Muvid that discusses the history of the Ottoman Empire and its progress in the Islamic world. The results of this study describe the history of the beginning of the establishment of Ottoman Turkey until its collapse along with the advances that have been obtained (Muvid, 2022). There is also research conducted by Riani, Kholifah, and Sofiana which discusses the government style of Sultan Hamid II during the Ottoman Turks. This research specifically discusses the government run by Sultan Hamid II (Riani, Kholifah, & Sofiana, 2022).

Research conducted by Jalil on democracy concluded that doctrinally, Islam and democracy are two different things, but substantively there are democratic principles that are in accordance with Islamic teachings (Jalil, 2020). Meanwhile, research conducted by Taufik and Abu provides a division of the position of democracy and Islam, some argue that the two are inherent, some consider them contradictory, and some are in the middle position (Taufik & Abu, 2020). From the previous research that has been

mentioned, there has been no research that compares the concepts of khilafah and democracy as a form of government in a country that is analyzed from the opinions of Islamic figures as an analytical knife. The comparative approach combined with the use of analysis of government theory in Islam is a novelty in this research.

This research aims to investigate and understand the comparison between the concept of caliphate in the Ottoman Empire, one of the largest Islamic empires in history, and the modern democratic state of Indonesia. The research will explore key aspects of the Ottoman caliphate, delving into the concept and practice of the caliphate in a historical context and how it can be compared to the democratic values espoused by the State of Indonesia. This research aims to provide insights into the continuities, differences, and potential harmonization between Islamic principles and the modern political order by analyzing both. It is hoped that this research will make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the practical implications of Islamic values and democracy within the framework of an Islamic state. This research also questions whether the concept of democracy is suitable for Indonesia or the need to implement the khilafah, based on the theory of the form of government put forward by Muslim figures.

The Ottoman Dynasty and The Indonesian State were deliberately chosen for their potential to unravel novel insights. By delving into the historical roots of Islamic governance and juxtaposing them with contemporary experiments, this research aims to transcend the boundaries of conventional comparative studies. The assumption that will be proven by the author in this research is that the concept of democracy is suitable to be applied in Indonesia without having to change it into a khilafah because the principles of democracy do not conflict with the principles in the Qur'an and Hadith. This research aspires to introduce a fresh narrative to the discourse on Islamic governance, challenging existing paradigms and providing a deeper understanding of the intricate relationship between caliphate and democracy. By exploring uncharted terrain, the

study aims to stimulate further research, inspire new perspectives, and contribute to a more nuanced comprehension of governance dynamics within the Islamic context.

Theoretical Framework

Government System in Islam

Thinking about the concept of the state in Islam has been going on throughout the history of Islam itself. The long history of thought about the state was presented by several scholars that the author groups into three parts. First, the history of thought about the state from figures directly involved in government (practitioners/insiders) such as Ibn Abi Rabi, al-Mawardi, and Ibn Khaldun. Second, the thoughts raised by thinkers who are not directly involved in the government (sympathizers/outside), for example, al-Ghazali and Ibn Taimiyyah. Third, thinkers outside the two groups above, are not practitioners and not participants but pure speculative thinkers, such as al-Farabi (observer) (Nur, 2017).

Ibn Abi Rabi', a politician who lived during the Abbasid dynasty supported the monarchical form of government. In Ibn Abi Rabi's view, monarchy or kingship under the leadership of a king was the best form of state. The reason is that with a single leadership, it is easier to make decisions because of one command. It is very difficult if there is more than one decision-maker in a country. From a religious perspective, kings have been privileged with all the virtues and have strengthened their position on earth as caliphs. Ibn Abi Rabi quoted Allah's words in surah al-An'am verse 165 and surah al-Nisa verse 59 (Sjazali, 1993). In contrast to Ibn Abi Rabi, al-Mawardi offers the concept of the Imamate. For Mawardi, the concept of the Imamate state can guarantee the realization of order and dispute. Mawardi interpreted the verse quoted by Ibn Abi Rabi above with the leadership of the Imamate. In Mawardi's view, the Imamate is a replacement, the position of the prophet to maintain the continuity of religion and world affairs. In the Imamate contained three things, (1) replacement position, (2) religion, and (3) control of society (Kurnia, 2019).

In realizing these three things, six joints are needed. First, religious observance. Religion is needed as a controller of the passions and an inherent watchdog over human conscience that will prosper and create stability in the state. Second, an authoritative ruler. The authority of the ruler can unite the aspirations of different communities, lead the state to achieve lofty goals, safeguard religion protect the souls and honor of citizens, and secure the livelihood of citizens. Third, comprehensive justice that creates intimacy between fellow citizens, respect, and obedience to leaders, enlivens people's lives and builds people's interest in work and achievement. Fourth, is universal security. Equal security can create inner peace and eliminate fear, which in turn provides opportunities for people's initiatives, activities, and creativity. Fifth, the welfare of the people. This is to avoid actions that threaten the stability of the country. Sixth, survival from one generation to another. The six joints become the substance of the welfare state or service state that is now widely promoted (Nur, 2017).

According to Mahmud A. Faksh, Mawardi's imamate state is identical to the republic. This opinion is supported by Masykuri Abdillah, who says that the khulafaurrasyidin period (11-41 H / 632-661) is a period that applies the basics that can be called the concept of a republic because the succession to the four caliphs was carried out by a system of elections by the people based on quality rather than family criteria. From the notes of the two observers above, it can be concluded that Mawardi's concept of state was Imamah (republic), where the state was led by an elected head of state (imam). Ibn Khaldun, meanwhile, distinguishes between society and the state. According to him, humans have *wazi'* (charisma) and *mulk* (power). Both of these are the main elements of state formation. The state arises from a settled society, which forms an association, not one that is still on the move and wanders like nomadic life. Ibn Khaldun then built the theory of *asabiyyah* (group feeling), namely group feeling. According to Fuad Baali, this theory is very close to Emile Durkheim's idea of collective conscience. From this *asabiyyah* theory, it is concluded that Ibn Khaldun's version of the state is a dynastic or royal state (Nur, 2017).

According to Munawir Sjadzali, the theory of *asabiyah* is group solidarity found in human nature. The basis can be various, such as blood ties or common descent, close residence or neighbors, alliance, and the relationship between the protector and the protected. This theory of *asabiyah* is fundamental to the establishment of a strong state. Even the head of state or king, if he wants to effectively control the order of the state, must use the theory of *asabiyah* predominantly. Great states are built on strong solidarity, whether on religious or other grounds. To achieve this goal, three things are needed. First, the ruler must recognize the society and the direction in which it will be taken. Second, he knows the actual conditions of the political community in which he carries out his political activities. And third, mastery of the science of governance (Ainun, Hasanuddin, & Rahmad, 2022).

Al-Ghazali said that the state was founded on two main premises. First, the need for offspring for the survival of mankind. This can only be created through the preserved and protected association between men and women. Second, mutual assistance (cooperation). From this, Ghazali formulated the concept of theocratic state. For Ghazali, theocracy means that the authority of the head of state does not come from the people, but from Allah swt. Ghazali's opinion is based on Allah's words in Surah an-Nisa' 59 which mentions the hierarchy of obedience starting from Allah, the Messenger, and *ulil amri*. This means that *ulil amri* gets a power up to the bottom from God. In addition, Ghazali also quoted the word of God in Surah Ali Imran verse 26 which states that "God is the owner of the kingdom. He gives and takes back the kingdom to whomever He pleases." The two *naqli* arguments above are indicative of the concept of a theocratic state (Haniatunnisa, 2021).

Ibn Taimiyah said that the existence of a government to manage the affairs of the people is a religious obligation. Because religion cannot be established without government. Allah commands *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* and this cannot be realized without the power or power of the government. The importance of establishing a government is such that Ibn Taimiyah came up with a very popular jargon that sixty years

in an oppressive government is much better than a day without government. In Ibn Taimiyah's view, the government in Islam has various formats, whether monarchy, theocracy, or republic. These various formats are undisputed because the most important thing is that religion is preserved and justice is upheld. Therefore, any form of state and government (tentative state) as long as it does not deviate from the universal values of the Quran and Assunnah can be chosen (Zaman, 2019).

Meanwhile, al-Farabi said that humans are social creatures, creatures that have a natural tendency to socialize. No one can live and fulfill their needs without the help of others. Therefore, humans must help each other in the bonds of the state, so that their needs are fulfilled and protected. As an observer, al-Farabi made speculative reflections on the concept of the state which he called the main state (*al-madinah al-fadilah*) which philosophically refers to the state of Medina during the Nabi period which was then reflected into a concept of a federated societal state (collectivistic state). The concept of a federated state emerged as a result of different societal structures. First, the structure of a large society is a combination of many nations that agree to join and cooperate. Second, the structure of a medium society, is a society consisting of one nation located in one particular region. And third, the structure of a small society, which is a society that only inhabits one city (Kurniawan, 2018).

Based on the division of the structure of society, it can be said that the structure of a small society has been exemplified by the Prophet with the city of Yastrib. The structure of a medium society can be seen during the time of the Khulafaurrasyidin with Islamic territory in a particular geography. The structure of the large society can be seen in the Umayyad and Abbasid agencies which are a combination of various provinces. The above presentation shows that the thought of the state in Islam has various concepts even though the references to the Quran and Sunnah are the same. The way the thinker reads and the approach used makes Islamic state thinking diverse. The variety of models can be seen as evidence that indeed in Islam there is no standardized form of state practice.

This means that any idea or formulation of state practice as long as it does not come out of the main reference is seen as an effort to implement Islamic teachings (Nur, 2017).

The running of a government model for a certain period also shows that in the period in question, the chosen model was effective in bringing benefit, tranquility, stability, and welfare to its people, which is the main purpose of the Shari'ah being revealed to humans. This means that the model is suitable and appropriate for the context of space and time, which is not appropriate for contexts that are not space and time. Thus the dynamics of Islamic state thought will always develop depending on the development and interpretation of society. In short, Muslims only need to consider the objective conditions of a community and then choose a suitable model, either one that has already existed or a genuine new model as long as it accommodates the principles of Islamic statehood (Islamic nomocracy) (Nur, 2017).

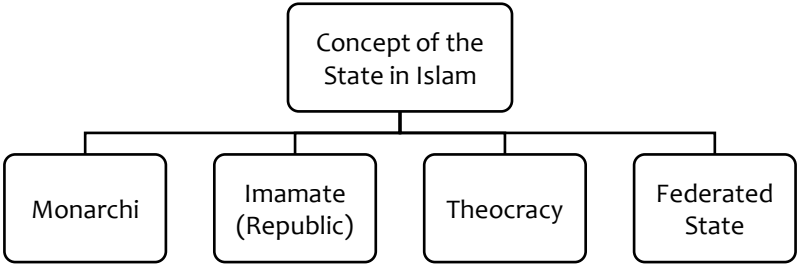


Figure 1 Concept of the State by Islamic Thinkers
(Source: by researcher, 2023)

Research Method

This research employs a comparative historical analysis, drawing from primary sources, historical records, and scholarly literature to trace the evolution of governance in The Ottoman Dynasty and The Indonesian State. Additionally, a qualitative approach will be used to explore the socio-cultural dimensions of these governance models, considering the perspectives of scholars, policymakers, and the general population. This research uses the theory of government systems in Islam proposed by several Muslim thinkers, including Ibn Abi Rabu, Al-Mawardi, Ibn Khaldun, Al-Ghazali, Ibn Taimiyyah, and

Al-Farabi, as an analytical tool. The Ottoman Dynasty and The Indonesian State were chosen as case studies due to their distinctive historical timelines and governance structures. The gathered data will undergo rigorous thematic analysis, employing both inductive and deductive coding techniques. Historical documents will be scrutinized for key governance patterns, while qualitative interviews will be transcribed and analyzed for recurring themes, divergent opinions, and cultural nuances. The synthesis of these findings will enable a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics between the caliphate and democracy in Islam.

Result and Discussion

Ottoman Caliphate System of Government

The first ruler was Uthman who was also called Uthman I after Uthman I announced himself as *Padisyah al-Uthman* (the great king of the Uthman family), step by step the territory of the kingdom could be expanded. He attacked the Byzantine border area and conquered the city of Broessa in 1317 AD, in 1326 AD it was made the capital of the Ottoman Turkish kingdom. During Orkhan's reign, the Ottoman Turks conquered Azumia (1327 AD), Tasashani (1330 AD), Uskandar (1328 AD), Ankara (1354 AD), and Gallipoli (1356 AD). This area was the first part of Europe to be occupied by the Ottoman Empire (Gunawan & Hendra, 2022). When Murad I came to power, in addition to stabilizing domestic security, he expanded into Europe, conquering Adrianople, Macedonia, Ethiopia, Salonia, and the entire northern part of Yuanni. Alarmed at the progress of the empire's expansion into Europe, the Pope fanned the flames of war. A large number of allied European troops were prepared to repel the Ottoman Turks. This force was led by Sijisman, the king of Hungary. But Sultan Bayazid I, Murad I's successor, was able to crush the allied European Christian forces. This event is a glorious historical record for Muslims (Muhammad Munzir, Artianasari, & Ismail, 2022).

The Ottoman reached its glory when it conquered the center of civilization and the center of Christianity in Byzantium, namely Constantinople. Sultan Muhammad II, known

as Sultan Muhammad al-Fatih, defeated Byzantium and conquered Constantinople in 1453 AD. The troops since the Umayyad Dynasty had repeatedly tried to conquer Constantinople but always failed because of the strong fortress in the old city. With the opening of the City of Constantinople as the strongest fortress of the Byzantine Empire, it facilitated the flow of Ottoman Turkish expansion to the European continent. The eastern European region was increasingly threatened by the Ottomans because Ottoman expansion was also carried out into this region, even to the gates of Vienna, Austria (Kusuma & Ayundasari, 2021). However, when Sultan Salim I ascended the throne, he turned his attention eastward by conquering Persia, Syria, and the Mamalik Dynasty in Egypt. Sultan Salim's efforts were expanded by Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni. Sulaiman managed to subdue Iraq Belgrado, Rhodes Island, Tunis, Budhapest, and Yemen. Thus, the Ottoman Turkish territory at the time of Sultan Sulaiman al-Qanuni included Asia Minor, Armenia, Iraq, Hijaz, Syria, Hijaz and Yemen in Asia. Egypt, Libya, Tunis and Algeria in Africa. Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, Hungary, and Romania in Europe. After Sulaiman died, there was a power struggle between his sons, which led to the decline of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. However, despite its decline, for several centuries it was still seen as a strong state, especially militarily. It finally collapsed in 1924 AD (Maulina, 2023).

The Ottoman kings had the titles of Sultan and Caliph at the same time. The Sultan ruled over worldly affairs and the Caliph over religious or spiritual affairs. They were hereditary, but the first son did not have to be the rightful successor. There were times when the second son or third son and so on succeeded the sultan, and even in later developments the change of power was also transferred to the sultan's brother, not to his son. In running his government, the Sultan or Caliph was assisted by a Mufti or better known as *Syaikhul-Islam* and *Shadrul-Adham*. If the *Shaykhul-Islam* represented the Sultan or Caliph in exercising his religious authority, then the *Shadrul-A'dham* (Prime Minister) represented the Head of State in exercising his worldly authority (Abdurrahman et al., 2002).

As is known, the Ottoman Sultans in running their government relied on Janissaries. The Janissaries were equipped with provincial cavalry troops. Part of the Ottoman cavalry soldiers were slaves. They were recruited from the non-slave Turkish population funded by timar, similar to iqtha' in the Middle East, which is the provision of tax revenue in return for military service. In 1527 there were about 28,000 slave infantry and about 70,000 to 80,000 cavalry, of whom 37,500 were timar holders. In addition to the aforementioned military forces, some soldiers and invaders in the defense areas were paid with tax exemptions (Abdurrahman et al., 2002; Putri, Daulay, & Dahlan, 2021).

A bureaucratic administration was indispensable in the military payroll of slaves. Orkhan (1324-1360) appointed a vizier to manage the central administration and military and appointed civil governors for the conquered provinces. The heads of office were united in a royal council. As the Ottoman Empire expanded, several provinces that had been colonies subject to tribute were merged into an administrative system. The largest provincial units, called *beylerbeyliks*, were divided into *sanjak-bayliks* which were further subdivided into district *timarliks* and these were given to military officers instead of their salaries. By the sixteenth century, the term *vali* had replaced *baylerbeyliks* to mean a governor and the term *eyalet* was used to mean a province. Some provinces in Europe, namely Romania and Transylvania, Crimea, and some districts in Anatolia that were under the control of Kurds and Turks continued as semi-independent provinces that were obliged to pay tribute (*hukumet*) (Abdurrahman et al., 2002).

The sultan, the Jannesari forces, and the tariqahs worked together. This was seen in the Bektasyi (Bektasia) Tariqah which had many followers from among the Janissaries. Hence, they were nicknamed the “Bektasyi Armed Forces”. The Maulawi (Molevis) Order was supported by the sultans to counter their threat from the cooperation of the Bektasyi Jannisari, so here the army played a major role. For example, Muhammad II returned government posts to the slave army. He dismissed Turkish leaders and the entire Ottoman family involved in the rivalry for government posts and handed over important posts in the central government to his slaves. However, to maintain the

balance of power, a functional division was established between the offices of the prime minister, religious leaders, and the financial administration of the state, and some Turkish families were restored to their dignity and allowed to keep their property (Ikhsan & Zikri, 2023).

Like the later rulers of the Abbasid and Persian empires, the Ottoman sultans combined the patrimonial and imperial dimensions of Islam. The patrimonial authority of the Ottoman sultans was very prominent. The state was his household, the people his servants. The army was his slave who had to be personally loyal to him. The territory of the empire was his personal property, some of which was even given to the ruling group in the form of *iqta'*. The transfer of rights to state revenues in any form was not seen as a deviation from the sultan's absolute ownership (Abdurrahman et al., 2002; Lapidus, 1999).

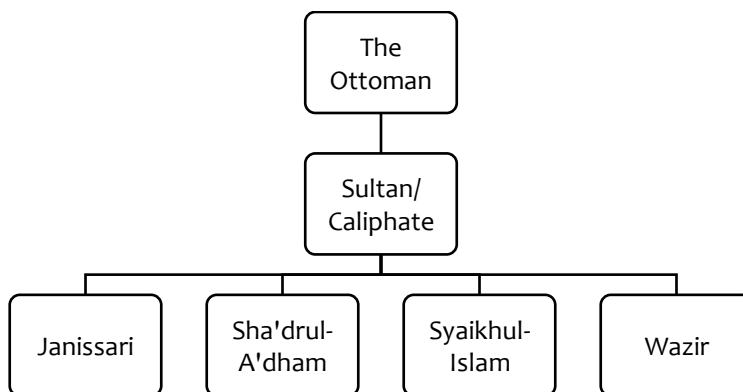


Figure 2 Ottoman Caliphate System of Government
(Source: by researcher, 2023)

Indonesia's Democratic System of Government

Democracy is a system of government in which political power and decisions are exercised by the people or citizens. The word democracy comes from the Greek language, where demos means people and kratos means power or government. Therefore, democracy can be interpreted as government by the people or power by the people (Noviati, 2016). One of the main principles of democracy is popular sovereignty, which relies on the active participation of citizens in the political process. Elections are

the main mechanism through which people can voice their political preferences. Through these elections, citizens have the right to choose leaders, such as the president or members of parliament, who will represent and implement policies following the wishes of the majority (Santoso, 2019).

The philosophical foundation of Pancasila in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia plays a central role in shaping and directing the democratic system in Indonesia. Pancasila, which means the five principles, is the foundation of the Indonesian state embodied in philosophical points that describe the fundamental values for society and governance. In the context of a democratic system, Pancasila enriches the view of how democracy should be practiced. The philosophical foundation of Pancasila, by incorporating principles of morals, ethics and justice, provides direction for the implementation of democracy in Indonesia. Democracy is not only considered as a form of government, but also as a means to achieve the moral goals reflected in Pancasila (Zulfa, 2017).

Pancasila starts with the principle of acknowledging the existence of God. It provides a moral and ethical dimension to the democratic system, emphasizing that religious and moral values should be the basis for decision-making and policy implementation. The value of humanity in Pancasila places human dignity first. In the context of democracy, this directs attention to the protection of human rights, equality before the law, and the upholding of justice as a moral foundation. Pancasila emphasizes the importance of unity in diversity. In a democratic system, this value reflects inclusiveness, where every element of society has the right to participate in the political process and influence decision-making. The principle of democracy in Pancasila is reflected in the fourth value, which emphasizes the role of the people in making decisions. In a democratic system, this underscores the importance of active citizen participation and the wise choice of representatives in the management of the state. Social justice is a strong value in Pancasila. In a democratic context, it encourages the

government to address inequalities and ensure fair distribution of wealth. This principle reflects a commitment to creating a just and equal society (Gandamana, 2017).

Indonesia's government structure is based on a republican system and is divided into three main branches: executive, legislative, and judicial. The executive arm of the Indonesian government consists of the president and vice president and a cabinet headed by the president. The president is the head of state and head of government of Indonesia. As the head of state, the president represents the country at national and international levels. As head of government, the president has the primary responsibility for the day-to-day running of the government. The president is elected by the people of Indonesia through direct elections. The president's term of office is five years, and the president can be re-elected for only one term. In carrying out his duties, the president is assisted by the vice president and cabinet ministers (Yani, 2018).

The legislative body of the Indonesian government consists of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), the House of Representatives (DPR), and the Regional Representatives Council (DPD). The MPR has the highest authority in the Indonesian constitutional system. Important decisions such as changes to the 1945 Constitution, the appointment of the president and vice president, and other strategic matters require MPR approval. The DPR is the legislative body in Indonesia that has the authority to make laws. Members of the DPR are elected through general elections every five years. The DPD is a regional representative body whose members come from each province in Indonesia. Each province is represented by four DPD members who are elected through general elections. Decision-making in DPR and DPD is done through deliberation, discussion, and joint discussion. Each member has the right to express opinions and contribute to the decision-making process. The Indonesian legislature has an important role in implementing a representative democratic system, ensuring citizen participation in the decision-making process, as well as overseeing and controlling government policies (Rochmawanto, 2014).

The judiciary of the Indonesian government includes the Supreme Court, the Constitutional Court, the Judicial Commission, as well as various levels of courts located in various regions. The Supreme Court is the highest judicial institution in Indonesia. Its functions include the resolution of high-level legal disputes and oversight of the exercise of judicial power throughout Indonesia. The Constitutional Court is responsible for interpreting and testing the constitutionality of laws and regulations. The Court ensures the conformity of a regulation with the 1945 Constitution. Indonesia's judicial institutions play an important role in maintaining the rule of law, upholding justice, and protecting the constitutional rights of citizens. The independence and integrity of these institutions are important to ensure public confidence in the justice system and legal certainty in Indonesia (Kariadi, 2020).

The electoral system in Indonesia is one of the important pillars of democracy. Elections are held periodically to elect representatives of the people, the president, and local governments. Indonesia's electoral system is designed to create fair and democratic representation, allowing direct public participation in the formation of government and the election of representatives. The electoral process creates momentum for public participation in political life. People are not only given the right to vote, but also to voice opinions, discuss, and actively engage in public debate. Election campaign events create a forum where voters can assess political candidates and parties, and determine their support based on their political views, programs, or policies. Elections in Indonesia continue to evolve, with efforts being made to improve integrity, transparency, and public engagement in the democratic process (Mulyono & Fatoni, 2019).

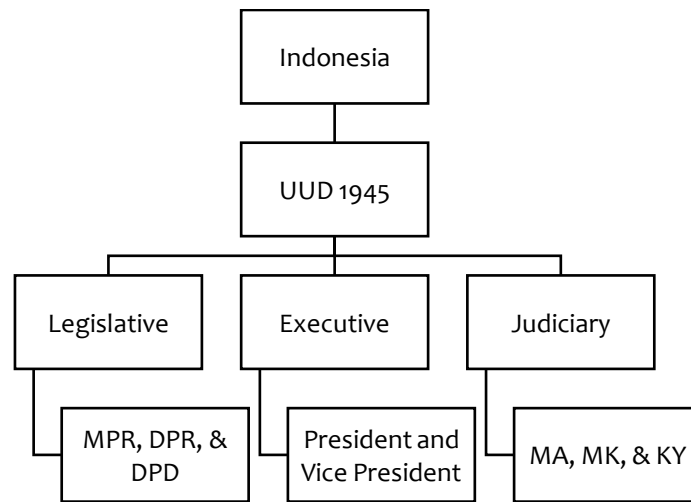


Figure 3 Indonesia's Democratic System of Government
(Source: by researcher, 2023)

Ottoman Caliphate and Indonesian Democracy in Islamic Perspective

The Ottoman caliphate system of government, which is one of the culminating forms of the caliphate tradition in Islamic history, can be analyzed from various Islamic perspectives. The Ottomans built their claim to the legitimacy of their rule by referring to the institution of the caliphate. Ottoman leaders identified themselves as caliphs and sultans, who had the responsibility of protecting and expanding Islamic territory and implementing sharia law. The Ottoman government sought to implement Islamic law in various aspects of life, which included legal, economic, and social systems. Although the implementation was not always perfect, there were attempts to integrate Islamic principles into the legal and policy structure. The Ottomans tried to apply Islamic principles in their rule, but there was an authoritarian aspect to the power structure. The caliph had great power, and the complex structure of the government may not have always reflected the principles of shura (deliberation) as desired in Islam.

The Ottoman system of government can be characterized as an authoritarian monarchy, where power was concentrated in a single head of state, the caliph or sultan. The pinnacle of power in the Ottomans was held by a head of state who was usually referred to as the caliph or sultan. The caliph or sultan was not only a political leader but

also a spiritual leader who had authority in religious affairs. The tradition of inheritance of power in the Ottomans followed the pattern of hereditary monarchy, meaning that leadership generally passed from father to son. However, there are also cases where the inheritance of power may involve brothers or other close relatives. Ottoman administrative structures tended to be centralized. Power was centralized in the hands of the caliph or sultan, and the territory was divided into provinces ruled by centrally appointed governors. This created an efficient administrative system but could also result in the centralization of power. The caliph or sultan was considered the spiritual leader of the Muslims and had the responsibility of implementing Islamic law. Although the legal system was not always consistent and was often influenced by non-religious factors, such as custom and tradition, religious leadership remained an integral part of the ruler's role.

The monarchical system in the form of the caliphate adopted by the Ottomans was in line with that of Ibn Abi Rabi'. Ibn Abi Rabi', a politician who lived during the Abbasid dynasty supported the monarchical form of government. In Ibn Abi Rabi's view, monarchy or kingship under the leadership of a king was the best form of state. The reason is that with a single leadership, it is easier to make decisions because of one command. It is very difficult if there is more than one decision-maker in a country. From a religious perspective, kings have been privileged with all the virtues and have strengthened their position on earth as caliphs. Ibn Abi Rabi, quoting Allah's words in surah al-An'am verse 165 and surah al-Nisa verse 59 (Sjazali, 1993).

The democratic system in Indonesia refers to the concept of representative democracy applied in the country's political system. Indonesia adheres to a system of representative democracy, where citizens have the right to elect their representatives in general elections. General elections in Indonesia involve the direct election of the president, members of parliament, and local officials by the people. Indonesia has a presidential system where the head of state and government is the president who is directly elected by the people. The president has significant executive authority,

including in terms of policy formation, the appointment of ministers, and management of the country's administration..

Democracy in Indonesia is in a strong context with Islamic values, given that the majority of the population is Muslim. Some of the Islamic values reflected in Indonesia's democratic system involve moral, ethical, and justice principles found in Islamic teachings. The principles of *musyawarah* (deliberation) and *mufakat* (agreement) are key values in Islam. In Indonesian democracy, this principle is reflected in the decision-making process that involves dialog and discussion among various parties, including political parties, the government, and the community. Justice is a fundamental value in Islamic teachings. In the context of Indonesian democracy, the principle of justice is reflected in the fair treatment of all citizens, regardless of ethnicity, religion, race, and class. This principle includes social, economic, and legal justice.

Human rights values in Indonesia are in line with Islamic principles that protect individual rights. Basic rights such as freedom of opinion, religion, and assembly are recognized and safeguarded by the democratic system to ensure protection of these rights. Islam emphasizes honesty, integrity, and the fight against corruption. These values are reflected in the Indonesian government's efforts to fight corruption and ensure transparency in public administration. Islam emphasizes the importance of education and knowledge. Indonesian democracy emphasizes citizen participation through elections, and political education is necessary for people to make informed and wise decisions. Islam teaches tolerance and protection of minority rights. Indonesian democracy creates space for the participation and protection of minority rights in various aspects of public life.

The democratic system in the form of a republic implemented in Indonesia is identical to the concept of Imamah delivered by al-Mawardi. He offered the concept of the Imamate state. For Mawardi, the concept of the Imamate state can guarantee the realization of order and dispute Mawardi interpreted the verse quoted by Ibn Abi Rabi above with the leadership of the Imamate. In Mawardi's view, the Imamate is a

replacement, the position of the prophet to maintain the continuity of religion and world affairs In the Imamate contained three things, (1) replacement position (2) religion, and (3) control of society (Kurnia, 2019).

The most suitable opinion according to the author is that of Ibn Taimiyah. He states that religion must have a government that takes care of the affairs of the people because the establishment of religion cannot be realized without a government. *Amar ma'ruf and nahi mungkar*, the command to enjoin the good and forbid the bad, following Allah's command, require the power and authority of the government. The importance of having a government is so great that Ibn Taimiyah formulated a very popular expression, namely that sixty years under an oppressive government is better than a day without a government. According to Ibn Taimiyah's view, forms of government in Islam can vary, including monarchy, theocracy, and republic. This diversity of formats is considered unquestionable as long as religion is preserved and justice is upheld within it. Therefore, the form of state and government adopted (within the framework of a temporary state) can be chosen as long as it follows the universal values of the Quran and Assunnah (Zaman, 2019).

Table 1. Comparison of Ottoman and Indonesian

Aspects	Ottoman	Indonesia
State Form	Caliphate	Republic
Government System	Monarchy	Democracy
Supreme Power	Sultan/Caliph	People (Constitution)
State Organizer	Sultan/Caliph	Executive, Legislative, and Judicial
Decision Making	Sultan's command	Deliberation of state institutions
Foundation in Islam	Ibn Abi Rabi's opinion	Al-Mawardi's opinion
	Ibnu Taimiyah's opinion	

(Source: by researcher, 2023)

Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire, which spanned over six centuries, provides a rich historical backdrop for understanding the complexities of the caliphal system. In contrast, Indonesia, as the world's largest Muslim-majority nation, offers a contemporary lens through which to explore the interplay between democracy and Islamic principles. There is no standardized form of state practice in Islam. The monarchical system in the form of the caliphate used by the Ottomans is in line with what Ibn Abi Rabi said in favor of the monarchical form of government. The democratic system in the form of a republic that is applied in Indonesia is identical to the concept of Imamah delivered by al-Mawardi. For Mawardi, the concept of the Imamate state can guarantee the realization of order and dispute. Any idea or formulation of state practice is allowed in Islam as long as it does not come out of the reference to the Qur'an and Hadith. The concept of democracy in Indonesia does not contradict the principles in the Qur'an and Hadith. In addition, democracy emphasizes the importance of justice for all citizens, allows for public participation in governance, which is in line with the concept of community involvement and shared responsibility taught in Islam. Thus, democratic principles such as deliberation, justice and public participation do not contradict Islamic teachings. Therefore, Indonesia's democratic form of state is in accordance with Islamic values and does not need to be transformed into a khilafah.

This research has limitations in terms of the use of analytical tools. The use of other theories in analyzing this topic will provide a more comprehensive understanding. In addition, there is a lack of empirical data, such as interviews with contemporary figures from constitutional law experts and Islamic thinkers. Future research is expected to develop research using other approaches, as well as directing to empirical research by involving various elements, both society, government, and experts to obtain empirical conclusions.

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