

A Comparative Analysis of the Land Policies of Umar bin Khattab and the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law

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Abstract

Fair land management constitutes one of the pillars of social welfare. In Islamic history, Caliph Umar ibn al-Khattab is well known for his land policies, which emphasized the social function of land, the prohibition of land abandonment, and equitable distribution. Meanwhile, Indonesia has the Basic Agrarian Law (Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria/UUPA) of 1960 as the foundation of its national agrarian law, regulating land tenure, utilization, and registration. This study aims to conduct a comparative analysis of Umar ibn al-Khattab's land policies and the provisions of the UUPA in order to identify the similarities and differences in the principles governing both systems. The research method employed is a literature review using a normative-historical approach. Data sources include classical Islamic literature, historical chronicles, fiqh books, the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law, and relevant prior studies. The findings indicate points of convergence between Umar's policies and the UUPA, particularly regarding the principle of the social function of land, the principle of equitable distribution, and the prohibition of ownership monopolies. The differences lie in institutional aspects and legal procedures: Umar's policies were contextual *ijtihad*, whereas the UUPA is a codified legal product with formal administrative mechanisms. The contribution of this study is to offer an Islamic historical perspective as an ethical foundation for the refinement of national agrarian law toward the realization of social justice.

Keywords: Land Policy; Umar ibn al-Khattab; the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA); Agrarian Law; Comparative Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Land constitutes one of the most fundamental natural resources for human survival. Since the dawn of civilization, land has served not merely as a medium for cultivation but as the primary foundation for economic, social, and cultural development. Through land utilization, humans obtain food, shelter, and the raw materials necessary to sustain daily life. Within a developmental perspective, land is viewed as a strategic asset that determines a nation's trajectory of growth and prosperity. The availability and management of land in an equitable and sustainable manner are key to achieving societal welfare.¹ Fertile land can enhance agricultural productivity, strengthen food security, and create business opportunities within the agrarian sector. Furthermore, land possesses symbolic and historical value as an identity and a legacy for future generations.² Consequently, land must be viewed not simply as an economic object, but as a source of life that requires protection, equitable distribution, and wise management for the sake of collective prosperity.

Indonesia is an agrarian nation, which results in a society that is heavily dependent on land as a medium for enterprise. This dependence brings the consequence of various land-related issues.³ Agrarian problems in Indonesia remain a crucial issue affecting social,

¹ Diyan Isnaeni, PENGADAAN TANAH UNTUK PEMBANGUNAN JALAN TOL DALAM PERSPEKTIF HAK MENGUASAI NEGARA, *Jurnal Yurispruden*, Volume 3, Nomor 1, Januari 2020, Halaman 93-105

² Isnaini and Anggreni A Lubis, *Hukum Agraria: Kajian Komprehensif* (Medan: Pustaka Prima, 2022), www.pustaka-prima.com.

³ Zulfata Yasin, "STUDI KOMPARASI HUKUM PERTANAHAN INDONESIA DENGAN PANDANGAN ABU 'UBAID AL QASIM BIN SALAM," vol. 01, 2021.

political, and economic stability. A primary concern is the inequality of land ownership, wherein the majority of land is controlled by a small group of elites or large corporations, while most farmers possess only small plots or are landless.⁴ This condition widens social disparity and hinders the equitable distribution of welfare. Additionally, land conflicts frequently occur due to overlapping claims between the public, the government, and private corporations. Such conflicts often lead to tension and even violence, which is detrimental to all parties. On the other hand, a significant amount of abandoned or idle land remains unproductive, despite the public's need for land access to develop agriculture and improve their standard of living.⁵ These issues underscore the necessity for a comprehensive, equitable, and sustainable agrarian reform to ensure that land management supports public welfare and national development.

Land-related issues have persisted since ancient times, including during the advent of Islam and the subsequent caliphates. Islamic values possess strong relevance in formulating land policies characterized by social justice. A significant example can be found in the policies of Umar bin Khattab regarding land management during the era of Islamic expansion. Umar asserted that land acquired through conquest, such as in the Sawad region of Iraq, was not to be distributed among the soldiers but was instead managed as state property for the collective interest.⁶ This policy reflects the principle

⁴ Fatmawati, "Keadilan Agraria Dalam Islam," *Al Yazidiy: Ilmu Sosial, Humaniora Dan Pendidikan* 3, no. 2 (2021): 50.

⁵ Raden Ayu Ritawati et al., "IMPLIKASI NILAI MASLAHAT TERHADAP PEMBERDAYAAN TANAH TERLANTAR (IHYA'UL-MAWAT) DI KOTA PALEMBANG," vol. 14, n.d.

⁶ Muhammad Aris et al., "Perekonomian Pada Masa Khalifah Umar Bin Khattab: Kebijakan Ekonomi Dalam Mengelola Baitul Mal," *At-Tajdid: Journal of Islamic Studies* 4, no. 2 (2024): 67, <https://doi.org/10.24014/at-tajdid.v4i2.27422>.

of social justice—ensuring that wealth does not merely circulate among a specific group but provides broad benefits to society, including future generations.⁷ Umar’s approach demonstrates a vision of sustainability and equitable distribution, aligning with the objectives of Sharia (*maqasid al-shari’ah*) in safeguarding the public interest (*maslahah*).⁸ In the Indonesian context, inspiration from these policies can serve as a moral and ethical foundation to strengthen agrarian reform, reduce ownership inequality, and realize land management oriented toward social justice and shared prosperity.

Several studies have examined land policies, both in the Indonesian context and during the era of the Caliphate of Umar bin Khattab. These include research by Lailun Nurul Khamidiyah et al., titled *The Economic Policies of Umar bin Al-Khattab*, which provides a broad discussion of all policies during the Caliphate of Umar, including land administration.⁹ Furthermore, Fatmawati has conducted a comprehensive study on agrarian justice within Islam.¹⁰ Zulkifli Nas specifically explored the legal politics of Islam in the agrarian sector, providing an overview of land policies during the *Khulafaur Rasyidin* period,¹¹ Additionally, Annisa Nur’aini et al. analyzed Umar bin Khattab’s economic policies in response to crises

⁷ Isnaini and Anggreni. A Lubis, *Hukum Agrari : Kajian Komprehensif*, 2022.

⁸ Fatmawati, “Keadilan Agraria Dalam Islam.”

⁹ Lailun Nurul Khamidiyah, Ahmad Syafi’i Sj, and Diyan Putri Ayu, “KEBIJAKAN EKONOMI KHALIFAH ’UMAR BIN AL-KHATHHTAB,” *Indonesian Journal of Islamic Economics and Finance*, vol. 1, 2021.

¹⁰ Fatmawati, “Keadilan Agraria Dalam Islam.”

¹¹ Zulkifli Nas, “Politik Hukum Islam Pada Bidang Agraria : Analisis Hukum Agraria Masa Khilafah Untuk Pembangunan Hukum Agraria Nasional,” *Tabayyun : Journal Of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2024), <https://journal.tabayanu.com/index.php/tabayyun%7C524>.

and their potential implementation in the modern era,¹² while Fiesca Maini Asri and Maisarah examined agricultural policies under Umar bin Khattab and their relevance to Indonesia's contemporary agricultural sector.¹³ Despite these contributions, existing literature has yet to integrate the specific land policies of the Umar era with the Indonesian Basic Agrarian Law (UUPA) to rigorously test their comparative relevance. This study aims to fill that gap by providing an in-depth analysis of land policies during the reign of Umar bin Khattab and examining their direct relevance to the existing Basic Agrarian Law currently in force in Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research employs a qualitative approach using a library research method, gathering data from various historical sources, including documents, academic articles, and classical Islamic historical texts. The study utilizes a normative-historical approach by examining Indonesian statutory regulations alongside the history of land policies during the Caliphate of Umar bin Khattab. The research focus is to analyze the land policies implemented by Umar bin Khattab in the 7th century CE and compare them with the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (BAL).

The primary sources for this study include *Kitab al-Kharaj* by Abu Yusuf, *al-Amwal* by Abu Ubaid, and the text of the 1960 Basic

¹² Annisa Nur'aini et al., "Analisis Kebijakan Ekonomi Islam Umar Bin Khattab Dalam Menghadapi Krisis Telaah Histori Dan Implementasi Di Era Modern," *Jureksi: Journal of Islamic Economics and Finance* 3, no. 2 (May 6, 2025): 111-26, <https://doi.org/10.59841/jureksi.v3i2.2627>.

¹³ Fiesca Maini Asri and Akademi Keuangan Perbankan Nusantara Aceh Timur, "Kebijakan Umar Bin Khattab Dalam Sektor Pertanian Analisis Kebijakan Umar Bin Khattab Dan Relevansinya Dengan Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Sektor Pertanian," n.d.

Agrarian Law. Additionally, secondary sources such as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) books, agrarian law journals, and research articles discussing the land policies of both Umar and the Indonesian government are utilized.

The analytical technique employed is descriptive-comparative. This study describes Umar bin Khattab's land policies within the social context of the 7th century and subsequently compares them with the 1960 BAL to identify similarities and differences. The research steps consist of: (1) Identifying the principles of land policy; (2) Mapping the articles of the BAL relevant to Umar's policies; (3) Constructing a comparative table between the two frameworks; and (4) Drawing conclusions from the analytical results. Through this methodology, the research aims to provide an overview of the relevance of Umar bin Khattab's land policies to agrarian regulations in Indonesia, while opening up broader comparative discourse between classical Islamic law and modern agrarian law.

The primary objective of this study is to analyze the similarities and differences between the land policies enacted by Umar bin Khattab in the 7th century and the Basic Agrarian Law, which has served as the legal foundation for Indonesian land law since 1960 (20th century). Theoretically, this research seeks to enrich the study of agrarian law through an Islamic perspective. Practically, the author hopes this research can provide constructive input for the refinement of national agrarian policies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Land Policies of Umar bin Khattab

The Caliphate of Umar bin Khattab (634–644 CE) marked an era of significant territorial expansion for Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula. During his reign, Umar initiated large-scale expansions

into Iraq, Iran, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.¹⁴ This territorial growth provided the Islamic state with vast land resources and substantial state revenue, while simultaneously introducing unprecedented administrative challenges.¹⁵ To ensure effective governance and prevent mismanagement, Umar established a robust administrative and record-keeping system. He appointed various companions as governors in specific regions, such as Ya'la bin Umayyah in Najran,¹⁶ Abu Hurairah in Bahrain,¹⁷ and Amr bin Ash in Egypt.¹⁸

Furthermore, following a consensus (*shura*) with the companions, Umar institutionalized and stabilized the *Baitul Mal* (State Treasury) in 16 AH to manage the wealth of the *Ummah* with transparency and social justice.¹⁹ The *Baitul Mal* managed civil servant salaries, military stipends, *kharaj* (land tax), *jizyah* (poll tax for non-Muslims), *ushur* (customs/trade duties), and *khums* (tax on *rikaz* or discovered treasure and minerals).²⁰ While the central *Baitul Mal* was located in Medina, branch offices were established in every administrative region.

¹⁴ Saipul Nasution, Mariam Binti Haji Abdul Rahman, and Iknor Azli bin Ibrahim, "AMALAN TATA KELOLA NEGARA YANG BAIK (GOOD GOVERNANCE) DALAM KEPEMIMPINAN KHALIFAH UMAR BIN AL-KHATTAB DAN KESANNYA DALAM PEMBANGUNAN MODAL INSAN," 2023.

¹⁵ Maini Asri and Keuangan Perbankan Nusantara Aceh Timur, "Kebijakan Umar Bin Khattab Dalam Sektor Pertanian Analisis Kebijakan Umar Bin Khattab Dan Relevansinya Dengan Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Sektor Pertanian."

¹⁶ Fatmawati, "Keadilan Agraria Dalam Islam."

¹⁷ Lailun Nurul Khamidiyah, Ahmad Syafi'i SJ, and Diyan Putri Ayu, "Kdebijakan Ekonomi Khalifah 'Umar Bin Al-Khathtab," *IJIEF Indonesian Journal of Islamic Economics and Finance* 1, no. 1 (2021): 15–36.

¹⁸ Firdaus and Ellya Roza, "Sejarah Perkembangan Peradaban Islam Di Mesir Pada Masa Umar Bin Khattab," *JKIP : Jurnal Kajian Ilmu Pendidikan* 4, no. 1 (2023): 234–40, <http://journal.al-matani.com/index.php/jkip/index>.

¹⁹ Khamidiyah, SJ, and Ayu, "Kdebijakan Ekonomi Khalifah 'Umar Bin Al-Khathtab."

²⁰ Aris et al., "Perekonomian Pada Masa Khalifah Umar Bin Khattab: Kebijakan Ekonomi Dalam Mengelola Baitul Mal."

Crucially, regional executive authorities (governors) were prohibited from interfering in financial matters; instead, treasury officials were directly accountable to Caliph Umar bin Khattab.²¹

The expansion of the Caliphate through conquest resulted in the acquisition of vast tracts of land as *ghanimah* (spoils of war), which, according to traditional interpretations of the Qur'an, would typically be distributed among the soldiers. However, Umar drew inspiration from the Prophet Muhammad's precedent regarding the lands of Khaibar. Khaibar was a fertile region capable of serving the broader interests of the community. Rather than distributing it entirely as private booty, the Prophet designated it as state-managed land, where cultivators paid land taxes to the treasury for the public good.²² Umar continued this policy and relocated the Jewish population of Khaibar, providing them with compensation equivalent to the value of their land, in accordance with the prophetic instruction that two religions should not coexist in the land of Khaibar (the Hijaz region).

During Umar's leadership, the expansion reached the Sawad region of Iraq—a remarkably fertile territory characterized by dense vegetation and dark soil resulting from the silt deposits of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Umar adopted the same approach as the Prophet by refusing to distribute these lands among the soldiers. His primary objective was to prevent a monopoly on land ownership by military elites, which would lead to social inequality and injustice. Instead, Umar permitted the original non-Muslim farmers to remain on and cultivate the land, provided they paid *al-kharaj* (land tax) and

²¹ Siti Aisyah Fathonah and Rachmad Rizqy Kurniawan, "Implementasi Kebijakan Ekonomi Pada Masa Khalifah Umar Bin Khattab RA," *Artikel Sejarah Pemikiran Ekonomi Islam*, vol. 1, 2022.

²² Mike Oktaviana and Samsul Bahry Harahap, "Kebijakan Fiskal Zaman Rasulullah Dan Khulafarasyidin," *Nazharat: Jurnal Kebudayaan* 26, no. 01 (2020): 283–307, <https://doi.org/10.30631/nazharat.v26i01.29>.

al-jizyah (tribute for non-Muslim residents in Islamic territories).²³ Under Umar's administration, the land tax became one of the primary revenue streams for the *Baitul Mal*, fostering such widespread prosperity that historical accounts suggest a time when no citizens were found eligible to receive *zakat* (alms).

Beyond the specific measures regarding the lands of Khaibar and Sawad, Umar bin Khattab implemented a rigorous policy prohibiting unproductive land and ensuring equitable distribution. This forms the core of Umar's land management philosophy: land is a divine trust (*amanah*) that must be utilized for the collective benefit of the *Ummah*. Consequently, should an individual hold land but fail to cultivate it within a specific period—noted in various accounts as a three-year maximum—their rights may be revoked and transferred to those capable of productive management. This policy served as a preventive measure against land abandonment, which would otherwise disadvantage the broader community.²⁴ Furthermore, Umar emphasized equitable distribution by refraining from granting exclusive land rights to elite groups, particularly the military. Conquered lands were managed by the state for collective welfare, funding public needs and securing the interests of future generations.²⁵ This principle underscores Umar's commitment to social justice, sustainability, and egalitarian access to agrarian resources as the foundation of public prosperity.

²³ Annisa Nur'aini et al., "Analisis Kebijakan Ekonomi Islam Umar Bin Khattab Dalam Menghadapi Krisis Telaah Histori Dan Implementasi Di Era Modern."

²⁴ Fiesca Maini Asri, "Analisis Kebijakan Umar Bin Khattab Dan Relevansinya Dengan Kebijakan Pemerintah Indonesia Dalam Sektor Pertanian" 6468 (2022): 36-47.

²⁵ Fatmawati, "Keadilan Agraria Dalam Islam."

Principles of the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (BAL)

The 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (BAL), or *Undang-Undang Pokok Agraria (UUPA)*, holds a fundamental position as the "umbrella act" within the national agrarian system. It was enacted to dismantle the discriminatory colonial dualism of land law while establishing a foundation for land management that reflects the Indonesian national identity.²⁶ The primary principle of the BAL is to utilize land as a vehicle for social justice and public welfare, in accordance with Article 33 of the 1945 Constitution.²⁷ Thus, the BAL stipulates that land rights must not be neglected; they must benefit both the owner and society, and remain under the state's control for the maximum prosperity of the people.²⁸ As an umbrella law, the BAL serves as the reference for all agrarian regulations, including ownership, usage, distribution, and conflict resolution. It aims to realize a land management system that is equitable, sovereign, and sustainable.

The position of the BAL as the national agrarian legal framework is further clarified through Articles 2, 5, and 6: Article 2 establishes the State's Right of Control (*Hak Menguasai Negara*), granting the state the highest authority to regulate, manage, and supervise land use for the greatest possible prosperity of the people; Article 5 declares that the prevailing agrarian law is rooted in *Adat* (Customary) Law, provided it does not conflict with national interests, thereby accommodating local wisdom and strengthening Indonesian legal identity; Article 6 asserts that all land rights have a social

²⁶ Rizky Syahputra, "HUKUM AGRARIA DAN KEBIJAKAN AGRARIA DI INDONESIA," vol. 3 (Mei, 2023).

²⁷ Tierra Kresna and Tajul Arifin, "Analisis Hak Atas Tanah Dalam Perspektif Hadist Dan Hukum Agraria Nasional," *WISSEN : Jurnal Ilmu Sosial Dan Humaniora* 2, no. 3 (June 19, 2024): 247–59, <https://doi.org/10.62383/wissen.v2i3.195>.

²⁸ Yasin, "STUDI KOMPARASI HUKUM PERTANAHAN INDONESIA DENGAN PANDANGAN ABU 'UBAID AL QASIM BIN SALAM."

function, meaning ownership is not absolute; it must account for the interests of the community and the environment.²⁹ The synergy between these three articles demonstrates the BAL's endeavor to balance state authority, recognition of customary law, and social justice.

Furthermore, the BAL explicitly contains principles of equitable distribution and the prevention of land monopolies by select groups. Through Article 2, the state is empowered to prevent the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few, ensuring it is utilized for the people's prosperity. Article 5, based on Adat law, provides space for the principles of togetherness and mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), shifting the focus from purely individual interests to the community. Finally, Article 6 reinforces the social function of land, ensuring that private ownership does not cause harm to the public or hinder equal access.³⁰ Consequently, the BAL positions land as an instrument of social justice—guaranteeing more equitable distribution so that land functions optimally as a source of livelihood and a foundation for inclusive national development.

Comparative Analysis of Umar bin Khattab's Land Policies and the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (BAL)

The similarities shared by both lie in the principles of social function and the equitable distribution of benefits. The land policies of Umar bin Khattab and the principles contained within the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (BAL) share a fundamental commonality in positioning land as a public resource that must fulfill a social function

²⁹ Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 Tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-Pokok Agraria," *Undang-Undang No.5 Tahun 1960*, no. 1 (2004): 1–5.

³⁰ Pemerintah Republik Indonesia.

and ensure the equitable distribution of utility. Umar rejected the practice of distributing conquered lands solely to soldiers, instead managing them as collective property for the benefit of the community, including future generations.³¹ This policy affirmed that land ownership must not be exclusive or create inequality. A similar point is asserted in Article 6 of the BAL, which states that all land rights have a social function, meaning that ownership must consider the interests of the broader community. Furthermore, the BAL, through the principle of state control (Article 2), functions to prevent land monopolies and distribute land more equitably.³² These similarities demonstrate an alignment between Islamic values and national law in positioning land as a mandate that must be regulated for ownership equality, social justice, and the sustainable welfare of the people.

In addition to similarities, Umar's land policies also exhibit differences from Indonesian land policy, specifically the Basic Agrarian Law. These differences lie in institutional and administrative variations. The institutional difference between the land policies of Umar bin Khattab and Indonesia through the BAL lies in the decision-making mechanism. During Umar's era, policies emerged through *ijtihad*, which is legal reasoning derived from the Qur'an, Sunnah, and considerations of the public interest (*maslahah*). Umar frequently employed consultation (*musyawarah*) with the companions to ensure that decisions were just, contextual, and acceptable to society.³³ This mechanism was more flexible, responsive, and

³¹ Umi Fitri Lestari and Wiji Lestari, "Umar Ibn Khathab Ekspansi Dan Realisasi Pencapaian," *Pendas : Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Dasar* 10, no. 2 (2025).

³² Pemerintah Republik Indonesia, "Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 5 Tahun 1960 Tentang Peraturan Dasar Pokok-Pokok Agraria."

³³ Nas, "Politik Hukum Islam Pada Bidang Agraria : Analisis Hukum Agraria Masa Khilafah Untuk Pembangunan Hukum Nasional."

emphasized moral values and socio-religious legitimacy. Conversely, Indonesia regulates land policy through formal legislative mechanisms, with the 1960 BAL as the primary legal umbrella. This process involves the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, producing written regulations that are nationally binding. These differences reflect their respective socio-political contexts: Umar was based on the authority of the caliphate and Sharia, while Indonesia emphasizes a rational, formal positive legal system in accordance with the principles of a modern constitutional state.

The difference in land administration between the era of Caliph Umar bin Khattab and modern Indonesia lies in the level of institutionalization and the recording system. During Umar's time, land administration was conducted simply, in the form of manual recording by government officials (*diwan*) who recorded land area, owners, and yields for the purposes of tax distribution and supervision.³⁴ This system was practical and oriented toward social justice, yet it did not yet possess complex written legal instruments. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, land administration is regulated modernly through a land registration system implemented by the National Land Agency (BPN). This registration produces certificates as valid evidence of ownership rights with legal force. This modern system enables legal certainty, the protection of owners' rights, and the minimization of agrarian conflicts.³⁵ These differences indicate a progression from traditional administration based on trust and morality to a bureaucratic system based on positive law and modern technology.

³⁴ Sri Rezki, Transformasi ketatanegaraan Islam: Telaah historis terhadap ijtihad politik Umar bin Khattab, *Jurnal Takuana* Vol. 4, No. 1 Tahun 2025.

³⁵ Tierra Kresna and Tajul Arifin, "Analisis Hak Atas Tanah Dalam Perspektif Hadist Dan Hukum Agraria Nasional."

CONCLUSION

The land policies of Umar bin Khattab and the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law (BAL) share common ground in the principles of social justice and equity, yet differ in institutional aspects and administrative mechanisms. Both position land as a public resource that must serve a social function, prevent monopolies, and guarantee broad benefits for the community. Nevertheless, Umar emphasized *ijtihad*, consultation (*musyawarah*), and moral trust (*amanah*) as the foundations of policy, whereas the BAL prioritizes positive legal mechanisms through statutory instruments and modern bureaucracy. The similarities between the two include: emphasizing the social function of land, preventing the monopoly and neglect of land, and aiming to achieve equity and social justice. Meanwhile, the differences lie in: the policy mechanisms, where Umar utilized *ijtihad* and consultation while the BAL is based on formal rules; the field of administration, where during the caliphate of Umar simple recording was used, while the BAL uses a modern certification system by the BPN; and the policy foundations, where Umar's was based on Sharia values while the BAL is based on national positive law.

The contribution of this research lies in providing an ethical basis for the formulation and implementation of agrarian policy in Indonesia. By examining the similarities and differences between the land policies of Umar bin Khattab and the 1960 BAL, this study affirms the importance of integrating moral and religious values into the practice of positive law. Islamic values, such as the social function of land, the prohibition of monopolies, and the obligation to utilize land productively, can strengthen the ethical legitimacy of national agrarian policy. This provides a moral foundation that land management is not merely a legal-formal aspect, but also a public trust that must be oriented toward the collective interest (*maslahah*).

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