

The Roles of Tahaluf Siyasi in Political Unity¹

Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi²

Pusat Kajian Pengurusan Pembangunan Islam (ISDEV)
Universiti Sains Malaysia
Pulau Pinang

Abstract

Political unity has become a significant issue to most countries in the world. Among the reasons for the emergence of this issue are economic backwardness, war and political turmoil. One method of political unity used by some political parties to combine into one party is the method of tahaluf siyasi (TS). The meaning of the TS practiced by some political parties is the unification in order to face a similar adversary. This meaning differs with the meaning of TS adduced by Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014). According to him TS means 'cooperation between two or more parties in order to achieve a similar objective as long as it does not contravene Islamic law'. In Malaysia, for example, two parties have implemented the TS. First, is Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS) (Abdul Hadi Awang, 2012; Abu Bakar Hamzah, 1992; Ahmad Fadli Shaari, 2008); and second is Pertubuhan Kebangsaan Melayu Bersatu (UMNO) (Nakhaie Ahmad, 2012; Fathul Bari Mat Jahya, 2012). PAS implemented TS with Pakatan Rakyat (PR), whereas UMNO implemented TS with Barisan Nasional (BN). There also emerged the term Unity Government (UG) and a political consensus that referred to TS as being between opposition parties and the ruling party. Hence, the efforts towards TS had failed. Was the failure due to the incompatibility of TS? What are the true qualities of TS that aids in uniting parties? Based on these questions, hence this study intends to analyse the role of TS that could be used as an approach to political unity. This investigation had used the library and content analysis methods. Library research was used to obtain secondary data, while content analysis was used to analyse the data. The results found eight roles in TS that could lead to political unity such as roles related to unity and cooperation, roles that emphasise on truth and honesty, role of making peace, roles related to faithfulness, roles related to sincerity, roles related to ukhuwah, roles related to preparedness, and roles related to not being easily gullible to foes.

Keywords: Roles of Tahaluf Siyasi, Political Unity

Introduction

A majority of believers of TS are political parties and those that usually use TS are Islamic based political parties. In Malaysia, there are two political parties that have championed the use of TS, which are PAS and UMNO. PAS has coalesced with Pakatan Rakyat (PR), whereas UMNO has coalesced with Barisan Nasional (BN). TS occurs among Islamic parties and non-Islamic parties. The TS approach is used to consolidate each coalition and between the two parties, PAS is more prominent in using TS because PAS is referred by its leadership as an Islamic Movement and in principle it is Islamic. In dictating TS in each political party, will it help to politically unite or increase political disunity? Henceforth, are there TS roles that could be used towards political unity? To answer this question, there are two sections that would be discussed in this working paper. First, the TS roles; and second, TS roles that affect political unity.

¹ This paper was revised paper from the International Conference on Islamic Roles in a Changing World, to beheld in the College of Islamic Studies, Prince of Songkla University, Thailand, on 23-25 March 2015 and organized by the College of Islamic Studies (CIS), Prince of Songkla University (PSU), Pattani, Thailand.

² Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi is a senior lecturer at ISDEV, USM. This researcher is a member of the Research University Team (RUT) Grant, ISDEV, Universiti Sains Malaysia, which is based on the theme 'Islamic-Based Development' (1001/CISDEV/856001). This working paper in part of an in-depth research related to the Grant.

TS Roles

Among the scholars that have discussed TS are Muhammad Munir al-Ghadban (1982), Muhammad 'Izat Salih 'Aini (2008) and Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014). In order to examine the roles of TS, a more comprehensive discussion was held by Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014). To examine the roles that affect political unity, it would serve to look into the latest concepts and framework of TS that has been structured by Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014). For the TS concept, Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014) had classified it into two group discussions. The first group, as explained by Muhammad Munir al-Ghadban (2001:15-16), shows that TS has three basics related to uniting different ethnic backgrounds and culture. Firstly, TS or also called a treaty in Islam, is prohibited if it is intended to support the untruth. Secondly, suitable treaties made during the Jahiliah era and are compatible with Islam should be continued. Thirdly, treaties are prohibited after Fathu Makkah has occurred. This prohibition is an approach that was undertaken after considering the strengths of Muslims.

The second group discussion found that TS refers to the unification of several groups, ethnic groups, associations or even a party. This view constitutes two definitions, which are the definition according to the term *tahaluf* only and the definition according to the term TS. Some academicians define it according to the term *tahaluf* only, such as Abu Bakar Hamzah (1992), Steingass (1978) and Abdul Hadi Awang (1999). For example, according to Abu Bakar Hamzah (1992:12), *tahaluf* means a treaty of understanding when facing an adversary, which is similar to the meaning advocated by Steingass (1978:67). Steingass (1978:67) stated that *tahaluf* is an agreement through a treaty. According to Abu Bakar Hamzah (1992), *tahaluf* could be implemented with Muslims or non-Muslims if facing the same enemy. Ahmad Fadhli Shaari (2008) agreed with this by saying that *tahaluf* is a combination in order to face the same enemy.

Besides defining TS by only focusing on *tahaluf*, there are Islamic academicians who have defined the term TS. Among them are Ahmad Fadhli Shaari (2008), Muhamad Fuzi Omar (2007), Khalid Sulaiman al-Fahdawi (1998), Yusuf al-Qaradhawi (2002) etc. Ahmad Fadhli Shaari (2008) had defined TS as the cooperation between *harakah* Islam and any other movement that does not emphasize on Islam in its struggles. This cooperation could occur in any field as long as there is a consensus when facing the same enemy. TS occurs with movements that have or potentially could oppose *Harakah Islam's* ideology. Thus, TS includes the cooperation between non-Islamic groups that face the same adversary. According to Muhamad Fuzi Omar (2007), TS is a method that unifies several political parties that differ in ideology, implementation of strategy and tactics on cooperation when facing the same adversary. Based on this definition, he had divided it into three definitions that are more specific. First, a minor form of tactics on cooperation. Second, cooperation between two different parties and lastly, cooperation in the form of a single team. Based on the discussions on the concept of TS by both these groups, the definition of TS accepted here refers to negotiations on the cooperation between two parties or more when facing a problem or conflict in order to achieve a mutual objective as long as it does not transgress the principles of Islamic *syariat*. The roles of TS that can be considered from the discussions on the concept of TS by both these groups are the roles related to unification and cooperation. The role of unification and cooperation could occur in various groups. For example, the group between individuals, group between small groups or group between big groups.

For the TS framework, Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014) built it with four elements. First, are the characteristics of TS; second are the principles of TS; third are the conditions of TS; and fourth is the wisdom of TS. There are four characteristics of TS, such as having an agreement period, the agreement is void if there is betrayal, the agreement is documented and the blessings of Allah SWT are with the agreement. There are six principles in TS, which are upholding the truth, upholding peace, the contents of the agreement are in accordance with the wishes of Allah SWT, to uphold the agreement, to achieve *Mardhatillah* and lastly, to be firm when dealing with non-Muslims. Besides that, there are seven conditions required when implementing TS, which are faithfulness, sincerity, good management, void of betrayal, a firm standing, *ukhuwah* and lastly confidence. For the wisdom of implementing *tahaluf* *siyasi*, there are seven focus points. The seven points are not easily being fooled by the adversary, the unified Muslims become stronger, always be prepared, test of loyalty, protecting the Muslims, able to recognize the actual friends of *tahaluf* *siyasi* and lastly, to form a group that is trustworthy and truthful. Hence, based on the concept and the four elements in the TS framework, there are eight roles of TS that could form political unification. These roles are associated with unification and cooperation, prioritizing truth, peace, allegiance, sincerity, *ukhuwah*, preparedness and not easily fooled by the adversary.

The Roles of TS found in Political Unity

The first TS role in political unity is the role related to unity and cooperation. This role refers to the efforts of certain parties to unite or build some sort of cooperation with other parties. The first role clearly mentions the term 'unification'. As stated earlier, the virtues of unification are portrayed in events that occurred during the time of the Prophet such as the unification of the Muhajirin and the Ansar and the Ansar and the Quraish. Political unity could be achieved by using the unification role found in the first TS role. The second role focuses on truth, which is one of the principles of TS. This role was adopted based on sources of the hadith and the life history of the Prophet, as shown in Table 1. However, there is indication of this sort found in the al-Qur'an, which specifically relates the agreement with the role that prioritizes truth. Hence, from these sources the principle that supports truth had become one of the practices adopted by the Prophet SAW when implementing the agreement.

The 'truth' referred here does not only involve truth specifically found in Islam but it comprises truth that generally does not transgress Islamic syariat (Yusuf Qardhawi, 2010:337; Abdul Wahhab Khallaf, 1997:7; Shukeri Mohamad, 2009; Amir Husin Mohd Nor et al., 2012: 848). This is stated in two hadith, which is quoted below: Jubair bin Muth'im had narrated that the Prophet SAW exhorted, "There is no friendly agreement that violates the syariat in Islam because there was no friendship or a spirit of federating during the Jahiliah era except those that were amended or consolidated by Islam³ (Riwayat Muslim, No. Hadith: 4595). Another Hadith⁴ from Jubair bin Muth'im narrated that the Prophet SAW exhorted, "There is no treat (to commit acts prohibited by the syariat) in Islam; whatever form of treaty formulated during the era of Jahiliah (related to good-natured acts) would be consolidated and substantiated by Islam" (Riwayat Abu Daud, No. Hadith: 2536).

Table 1: Source and Vital Characteristics of the Role that Prioritizes Truth

Source	Vital Characteristics
<p>Hadith</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Casual agreements (Riwayat Muslim, No. Hadith: 4595). The agreements during the Jahiliah era were consolidated (Riwayat Abu Daud, No. Hadith: 2536). Treaty of Hudaibiyah (Riwayat Bukhari No. Hadith: 2500). <p>Life History</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> The relationship between Abu Talib and the Prophet SAW (Al-Buti, 2003; Al-Mubarakfuri, 1992; Mustafa al-Syibaie, 2004; Ibn Hisham, 1955; Ibn Ishaq, 1978). The protection offered by Ibnu al-Dughnah to Abu Bakar (Muhammad Munir al-Ghadban, 2002 Al-Tabari, t.t; Akram Dhiya' al-Umuri, 2010; Mustafa as-Syibaie, 2004; Ibn Hisham, 1955). Protection offered by Walid Mughirah to Uthman Maz'um (Muhammad Munir al-Ghadban, 2002: 57). The Madinah Charter (al-Buti, 2003). Treaty of Hudaibiyah (al-Buti, 2003; al-Mubarakfuri, 1992; al-Rida, 1997; Al-Tabari, t.t; Hepi Andi Bastoni, 2010; Akram Dhiya' al-Umuri, 2010; Mustafa as-Syibaie, 2004; Ibn Ishaq, 1978). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> Old agreements are consolidated by Islam Agreements contains strategies Non-Muslims (Abu Talib) supported the Prophet SAW The firmness of Abu Bakar in advocating total submission to Allah SWT Uthman Maz'um advocated the truth of Islam The contents of the agreement held an advantage to Islam The strategy upholds Islamic principles but is also seen as an advantage to the non-Muslims

Source: Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014:157)

The third role in TS is the role of conciliation, which is based on the al-Qur'an and the Hadith, as shown in Table 2. These sources have indicated four vital characteristics such as the desire for conciliation, the inclination towards conciliation, the possibility of a social relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims and lastly, conciliation between Muslims with an emphasis on Islam. Thus, among the four vital characteristics the discussion in this study would revolve around conciliation agreements between Muslims and Muslims and Muslims and non-Muslim.

³ This is the *sanad* (chain of narrators of a Hadith) for the Hadith: it was narrated by Abu Bakr bin Abu Syaibah from Abdullah bin Numair and Abu Usamah from Zakaria from Saad bin Ibrahim and from his father.

⁴ This is the *sanad* (chain of narrators of a Hadith) for the Hadith: it was narrated by Utsman bin Abu Syaibah from Muhammad bin Bisyr, Ibnu Numair and Abu Usamah from Zakariya from Saad bin Ibrahim from his father from Jubair bin Muth'im.

Referring to political unity between Muslims and non-Muslims, the conciliation is stated in a verse in the al-Qur'an through the exhortation of Allah SWT, which means: "And if they incline to peace, then incline to it [also] and rely upon Allah. Indeed, it is He who is the Hearing, the Knowing" (al-Anfal, 8:61).

Table 2: Source and Vital Characteristics of the Conciliation Role

Source	Vital Characteristics
<p>Al-Qur'an</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. And if they incline to peace, then incline to it [also] and rely upon Allah. Indeed, it is He who is the Hearing, the Knowing (al-Anfal, 8: 61). 2. O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted (al-Hujurat, 49:13). 3. Allah does not forbid you from those who do not fight you because of religion and do not expel you from your homes - from being righteous toward them and acting justly toward them. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly. Allah only forbids you from those who fight you because of religion and expel you from your homes and aid in your expulsion - [forbids] that you make allies of them. And whoever makes allies of them, then it is those who are the wrongdoers (al-Mumtahanah, 60: 8-9). 4. And if two factions among the believers should fight, then make settlement between the two. But if one of them oppresses the other, then fight against the one that oppresses until it returns to the ordinance of Allah. And if it returns, then make settlement between them in justice and act justly. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly (al-Hujurat, 49: 9). 5. "The believers are but brothers, so make settlement between your brothers. And fear Allah that you may receive mercy" (al-Hujurat, 49:10). <p>Hadith</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Peace agreement with the people of Bahrain (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 5945). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Desire conciliation b. Inclined towards conciliation c. Social relations between Muslims and non-Muslims are permitted. d. Conciliation between Muslims is emphasised by Islam

Source: Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014:170)

Based on the verse, Sayid Sabiq (2012:284-285) mentioned that Islam does not want or approve of war unless in situations of self-defence, defending the oppressed and advocating religious freedom. If the enemy lays down its weapons and stops the war; hence, it is mandatory for Muslims to stop the war too and under no circumstances can the Muslims carry on the war. The war must stop even though there might be a possibility of surrender and seeking of peace being just a ploy by the enemy. According to him, war in Islam can only occur in times of emergencies (dharurat). For example, when a doctor is compelled to perform surgery to save a patient's life. Wahbah al-Zuhaili (1998) supported this view by saying that this verse explains the verse that asks Muslims to be prepared by equipping themselves well to face the enemy. He adduced the views of al-Zamakhshari, who stated that actually this matter depended on the leader in ensuring the effects of conciliation in Islam and his family from war or peace. Thus, it does not mean that there would be no war at all or a truce would hold forever. This means that if an enemy is inclined to conciliation then Islam should also hold a similar view, which goes on to show that Islam strongly advocates conciliation and lays trust in the adversary while leaving the rest to Allah SWT. This further shows that Islam is a religion that seeks well-being, guidance (hidayah) and love unless there arises an emergency calling for war.

Based on this explanation, it shows that Islam strongly emphasises a unified stance in matters pertaining to socio-politics. Hence, if Islam strongly advocates conciliation with non-Muslims, it should be amongst Muslims (Taufiq Asy-Syawi, 1997). The religious reference pertaining to conciliation amongst Muslims is found in the exhortation of Allah SWT, meaning: "And if two factions among the believers should fight, then make settlement between the two. But if one of them oppresses the other, then fight against the one that oppresses until it returns to the ordinance of Allah. And if it returns, then make settlement between them in justice and act justly. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly" (Al-Hujurat, 49:9). "The believers are but brothers, so make settlement between your brothers. And fear Allah that you may receive mercy" (Al-Hujurat, 49:10). Hence, these verses of the al-Qur'an and Hadith indicate that conciliation is an important role of TS that should be used in political unification. The TS should move towards conciliation, harmonization and well-being and not towards enmity, disunity and confrontation (Muhamad Ahmad Rashid, 2011; Muhamad 'Izat Salih 'Unaini, 2008; Omer, 1978; Sufri Muhammad, 2002; Abd Rahman Muhammad Abd Aziz Syirab, 2010; Abdullah Zaik Abd.Rahman, 2011). The conciliation is obtained from the unification amongst Muslims and Muslims with non-Muslims.

Thus, between both these forms of unification, Islam lends priority to the unification between Muslims rather than between Muslims and non-Muslims (Taufiq Asy-Syawi, 1997). This preference portrays the strength in unification that could convince the non-Muslims to unite with the Muslims and avoid any form of betrayal. Next, is the role of loyalty, which is the fourth TS role in political unity and crucial in ensuring that parties honour the conciliation or agreement, especially in politics. The antonym for the word loyalty is betrayal. Thus, based on this role, the appointment of one who implements TS should be someone who has never betrayed others and who is trustworthy. This is to avoid betrayal by someone within the organization, which could emerge due to jealousy, hate, envy etc. Table 3 shows the role of loyalty taken from sources such as the al-Qur’an, Hadith and life history of the Prophet (sirah). These sources indicate that Muslims are open to threats of cheating, trickery and betrayal by non-Muslims such as the Jews, Christians and other non-Muslims when carrying out political unity initiatives. This is stated in the exhortations of Allah SWT, as follows: “Indeed, We have revealed to you, [O Muhammad], the Book in truth so you may judge between the people by that which Allah has shown you. And do not be for the deceitful an advocate. And seek forgiveness of Allah. Indeed, Allah is ever Forgiving and Merciful. And do not argue on behalf of those who deceive themselves. Indeed, Allah loves not one who is a habitually sinful deceiver. They conceal [their evil intentions and deeds] from the people, but they cannot conceal [them] from Allah, and He is with them [in His knowledge] when they spend the night in such as He does not accept of speech. And ever is Allah, of what they do, encompassing. Here you are - those who argue on their behalf in [this] worldly life - but who will argue with Allah for them on the Day of Resurrection, or who will [then] be their representative?” (al-Nisa’, 4:105-109).

Table 3: Sources and Vital Characteristics of the Role of Loyalty

Source	Vital Characteristics
<p>Al-Qur’an</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. They conceal [their evil intentions and deeds] from the people, but they cannot conceal [them] from Allah, and He is with them [in His knowledge] when they spend the night in such as He does not accept of speech. And ever is Allah, of what they do, encompassing. (al-Nisa’, 4:108). ii. And do not be for the deceitful an advocate. And seek forgiveness of Allah. Indeed, Allah is ever Forgiving and Merciful. And do not argue on behalf of those who deceive themselves. Indeed, Allah loves not one who is a habitually sinful deceiver. They conceal [their evil intentions and deeds] from the people, but they cannot conceal [them] from Allah, and He is with them [in His knowledge] when they spend the night in such as He does not accept of speech. And ever is Allah, of what they do, encompassing. Here you are - those who argue on their behalf in [this] worldly life - but who will argue with Allah for them on the Day of Resurrection, or who will [then] be their representative? (al-Nisa’, 4: 107-109). iii. The betrayal of a non-Muslim (al-Anfal, 8: 55-57). iv. Their actions had killed the prophets without reason (Ali ‘Imran, 3: 181). v. Lied to some of them and killed the rest (al-Maidah, 5:70). vi. They did not honour the agreement. (Ali ‘Imran, 3: 187). vii. Is it not [true] that every time they took a covenant a party of them threw it away? But, [in fact], most of them do not believe (al-Baqarah, 2: 100). viii. O Children of Israel, remember My favor which I have bestowed upon you and fulfill My covenant [upon you] that I will fulfill your covenant [from Me], and be afraid of [only] Me (al-Baqarah, 2: 40) ix. And do not exchange the covenant of Allah for a small price. Indeed, what is with Allah is best for you, if only you could know (al-Nahl, 16: 95) x. Then you turned away, except a few of you, and you were refusing (al-Baqarah, 2: 83) xi. We hear and disobey (al-Baqarah, 2: 93) <p>Hadith</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Although the Haruri are a tribe that violates the agreement with Allah SWT after it has been consolidated (Riwayat Bukhari Nom. Hadith: 4359) ii. On what the Qureshi said during the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, “Let Muhammad and His companions be until they die like worms” (Riwayat Abu Daud, No. Hadith: 1609) iii. Although Hathib had betrayed an agreement, hence, the Prophet SAW did not punish him because he a warrior in the Badar army (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 2785). <p>Sirah</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. The Jews had killed the Prophet who was sent to them. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Cannot advocate people who betray b. Cannot help friends who betray c. Cannot become a betrayer d. The pious do not betray e. No assurance of loyalty from non-Muslims such as the Jews, Christians or others. f. Loyalty is important to assure the safety provided by Allah SWT g. If agreements with Allah SWT could be broken, what more agreements between humans h. Be prudent i. The characteristics of the Jews and Christians are widely written in the al-Qur’an j. Although the vengeance of non-Muslims cannot be taken lightly, hence, agreements with them could still be made but with careful preparations.

Source: Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014:240)

According to Wahbah al-Zuhaili (1998), this sentence shows that Allah SWT had instructed to be careful when dealing with hypocrites (munafik) and be ready to confront them. Although the emphasis is on the role of loyalty, steps towards being prudent should be included in the implementation process of agreements between parties. Besides that, people who support and advocate betrayers are actually betraying themselves because Allah SWT does not like those who betray (al-Anfal, 8:58; al-Hajj, 22:38). These betrayers have betrayed fellow humans and Allah SWT (al-Anfal, 8:71). These dishonest attitudes emerge when they plan to cheat, betray and form secret pacts. They hide their vicious plans from fellow humans although these human do not possess the power to do good or otherwise, except Allah SWT (Ghaafir, 40:19; al-Baqarah, 2:102; Ali 'Imran, 3:176; al-'Araf, 7:188).

Based on the sources discussed in Table 3, Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014) summarized ten (10) vital characteristics that form the role of loyalty. First, one cannot advocate a betrayer; second, one cannot help or aid a compatriot who betrays; third, one cannot become a betrayer; fourth, one who is pious would not betray; fifth, there is no guarantee of loyalty from a non-Muslim, either a Jew, Christian or other non-Muslims; sixth, loyalty is important when seeking the assured safety from Allah SWT; seventh, even the agreement with Allah SWT is transgressed, so what more an agreement among humans; eighth, should be prudent; ninth, the characteristics of the Jews and Christians have been elaborated extensively in the al-Qur'an; tenth, the vengeance of non-Muslims cannot be taken lightly; however, agreements with them could be done but with meticulous preparations. The fifth role is the role of sincerity (al-Baqarah, 2:265; Ali 'Imran, 3:95; al-Nisa', 4:146; al-'Araf, 7:29; al-Taubah, 9:91; al-Ankabut, 29:56; al-Ankabut, 29:65). This role was obtained from the sources of the al-Qur'an and the Hadith, as shown in Table 4

Table 4: Sources and Vital Characteristics of the Role of Sincerity

Source	Vital Characteristics
<p><u>Al-Qur'an</u></p> <p>i. Verily Allah SWT knows what is in the heart (al-Maidah, 5: 7)</p> <p>ii. The Jews are given privileges by Allah SWT although they would lie on the day of resurrection (al-Mukminun, 23:33).</p> <p><u>Hadith</u></p> <p>i. In Allah's grace, it is not poverty that you should be afraid of but rather the world laid out for you (Riwayat Muslim, No. Hadith: 5261).</p>	<p>a. Allah SWT not only knows the physical aspects but also what is in the hearts of every human.</p> <p>b. Luxury is not a measure of love shown by Allah SWT towards HIS subjects.</p> <p>c. The Prophet SAW was afraid that His subjects would be tested with wealth and derailed from the ultimate pledge to Allah SWT.</p> <p>d. To strengthen the resolve because of Allah SWT.</p>

Source: Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014:262)

Based on the sources it was found that those who implement TS would face worldly challenges, such as wealth, property, prestige and the temptation of lust (Ali 'Imran, 3:14; Ali 'Imran, 3:186; al-Anfal, 8:28; al-Nisa', 4:102; al-Taubah, 9:24). These challenges appear when the person implementing the TS is one who is trustworthy (al-Mukminun, 23:8; al-Ma'arij, 70:32). Hence, only those who are truly sincere are capable of facing these challenges (al-Anfal, 8:70; al-Taubah, 9:20). This challenge faced by fellow subjects was most feared by the Prophet SAW. This matter is found in a Hadith narrated⁵ by Amru bin Auf, as follows: The Prophet SAW exhorted: "Be joyous and hope to obtain what makes them joyous because in Allah's name it is not poverty that would strike you I am afraid of but I am afraid of the world laid out for you as it was laid out for those before you and you would race amongst yourselves just as they had before you and it would destroy you just as it did to those before you"⁶ (Riwayat Muslim, No. Hadith: 5261).

⁵ This Hadith was narrated by Harmalah bin Yahya bin Abdullah bin Harmalah bin Imran At Tujibi from Ibnu Wahab from Yunus from Ibnu Syihab from Urwah bin al-Zubair from al-Miswar bin Makhramah from Amru bin Auf.

In the Hadith narrated by al-Hasan bin Ali al-Hulwani and Abdu bin Humaid, all had originated from Ya'qub bin Ibrahim bin Sa'ad from his father from Shalih. This was narrated to us by Abdullah bin Abdurrahman al-Darimi from Abu al-Yaman from Syu'aib, both from al-Zuhri with narrations from Yunus as in his Hadith, the only difference is mentioned in the Hadith narrated by Shalih: "And Dan melalaikan kalian sebagaimana telah melalaikan mereka"

⁶This Hadith is about the ally of Amir bin Lu'ai who had joined the Badar War together with the Prophet SAW. He heard that the Prophet SAW had sent Abu Ubaidah al-Jarrah to Bahrain carrying a peace offering from the Prophet SAW and making

According to Ahmad bin Ali bin Hajar al-Asqalani (2000) and Muhammad Abdurrahman bin Abdurrahim al-Mubarakfuri (date unknown), the sentence “In Allah’s name it is not poverty that I am afraid would strike you” means that humans are subjected to worldly fears through tangible wealth obtained via the knowledge they possess. Ali Ibn Khalaf Ibn Abd al-Malik (2000) mentioned that the Prophet SAW was not afraid of His subjects practicing syirik but more afraid of His subjects skirmishing to obtain worldly possessions and to desire this world more than the after-world. However, the Prophet SAW had always sought protection from the false accusations of infidels. The role of sincerity in TS found in every implementer is important (al-Baqarah, 2:265; Ali ‘Imran, 3:95; al-Nisa’, 4:146; al-‘Araf, 7:29; al-Taubah, 9:91; al-Ankabut, 29:56; al-Ankabut, 29:65). Besides that, when implementing TS one should not only look at the facilities and strengths of the non-Muslims but instead role the might of Allah SWT, who has blessed the Muslims who are sincere in helping HIS religion when implementing the TS (al-Nisa’, 4:102). From the sources in Table 4, there are four guidelines for becoming sincere based on the practices of TS as summarised by Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014). First, Allah SWT not only knows everything from a physical aspect but also what is in the hearts and minds of individuals too. Second, luxury is not a measure of how much Allah SWT loves HIS subjects. Third, the Prophet SAW was afraid that his subjects would be tested with wealth and deviate from the sole pledge towards Allah SWT only. Fourth, to strengthen the resolve and focus towards Allah SWT. The sixth TS role related to political unity is the role of ukhuwah. This role is based on the Hadith of the Prophet SAW, as shown in Table 5. The role of ukhuwah in political unification could be according to what was mentioned by Sayid Sabiq (2012: 248). He mentioned that among the signs of care shown by a Muslim towards another Muslim is not to abandon a fellow Muslim in times of trouble or distress. This means that it is compulsory for a Muslim to watch over and protect a fellow Muslim, his property and honour and it is forbidden for him to do otherwise. Besides that, he also mentioned that comradeship among Muslims needs an attitude such as having mutual respect, honouring an agreement, trustworthiness, humbleness, preference to others, helping-out others, being patient, showing care and concern for society in general and conciliating enmity. According to Sayid Sabiq (2012) the prioritizing of comradeship among Muslims is preferred by the syariat as a step to prevent altercations among Muslims (Ali ‘Imran, 3:103; al-Hasyr, 59:10; al-Hujurat, 49:10). Altercations could weaken the unification and test the strength of Muslims. Among the reasons for altercations is the presence of differences in opinion among Muslims, especially when one group wishes to implement TS while another is hesitant (Sayid Qutb, 2000).

Table 5: Sources and Vital Characteristics of the Role of Ukhuwah

Source	Vital Characteristics
<p>Hadith</p> <p>i. This Hadith talks about the discussion among the companions on whether to attack the betrayers as there were some differences in views between them (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 4153).</p> <p>ii. There were differences of opinion between the Prophet SAW and His companions on the Treaty of Hudaibiyah (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 2945).</p> <p>iii. The differences of opinion mentioned in para (ii) above was also found in other hadith (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 3868)</p>	<p>a. Based on this Hadith, conflicts would occur when formulating a treaty.</p> <p>b. Conflicts occur when there are two different opinions, which is to agree with the treaty or reject the treaty.</p> <p>c. Conflicts can only be settled by referring to al-Qur’an and Hadith.</p> <p>d. Among the methods used by the Prophet SAW to consolidate the ukhuwah among Muslims.</p>

Source: Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014: 279)

a peace agreement with the people of Bahrain while making al-Ala’ al-Hadrami their leader. Then came Abu Ubaidah bringing the treasures from Bahrain and the Ansars heard about the coming of Abu 'Ubaidah so they joined the Morning Prayer with the Prophet SAW. After the prayer the Prophet SAW hurried out and the Ansars blocked Him, the Prophet SAW smiled and said, “I presume that you all heard that Abu 'Ubaidah has returned with something”. They replied, “Yes we have, our Prophet”.

In conclusion, Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014) had summarised four vital characteristics that form the role of ukhuwah. First, when there is a wish to form an agreement, there would be some conflict; second, the conflict would only occur when there are differences in opinion, which would be to either accept or reject an agreement; third, the conflict would only be resolved by referring to the al-Qur'an and the hadith; fourth, among the methods used by the Prophet SAW was to consolidate the ukhuwah among Muslims. The seventh role of TS in political unity is the role of the attitude of always being prepared. This role emerged based on the principles, characteristics and challenges that would be faced by Muslims when initiating the TS. Table 6 shows that this role is actually outlined based on the al-Qur'an and lifetime of the Prophet SAW. Hence, TS has taught the implementer to be always prepared when forging political unity (Yusuf al-Qardhawi, 2002b), which is stated in the al-Qur'an via the exhortation of Allah SWT, meaning: "And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them whom you do not know [but] whom Allah knows. And whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be fully repaid to you, and you will not be wronged." (Al-Anfal, 8: 60).

Table 6: Sources and Vital Characteristics of the Role of Always Being Prepared

Source	Vital Characteristics
<p><u>Al-Qur'an</u></p> <p>i. "And prepare against them whatever you are able of power and of steeds of war by which you may terrify the enemy of Allah and your enemy and others besides them whom you do not know [but] whom Allah knows. And whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be fully repaid to you, and you will not be wronged." And if they incline to peace, then incline to it [also] and rely upon Allah. Indeed, it is He who is the Hearing, the Knowing (Al-Anfal, 8: 60-61).</p> <p>ii. "O you who have believed, take your precaution and [either] go forth in companies or go forth all together" (Al-Nisa', 4:71).</p> <p><u>Sirah</u></p> <p>i. The Prophet had forged relations with various Arab tribes, Jews and the Polytheists.</p> <p>ii. Islamic forces have successfully won many wars, for example the Ahzab War.</p> <p>iii. The story of Bani Nadhir, who refused to accept the agreement with the Prophet SAW. The Prophet SAW had banished them without any conflict or war.</p>	<p>a. Allah SWT asks Muslims to be prepared by whichever way.</p> <p>b. Portrays the might of Islam.</p> <p>c. To frighten the enemy with the might of Islam</p> <p>d. To build relationships with others.</p> <p>e. To consolidate the weaponry.</p> <p>f. Those who refuse to accept the agreement with Islam are the enemies of Islam.</p>

Sayyid Qutb (2000) explained that this kind of full preparation was intended to instil fear in the hearts of the enemies of Allah SWT, who are also known or unknown enemies of Muslims in this world. These enemies would shiver in fright knowing the might of Islam although they have not experienced the actual force of Islam. This is important so that the Kalimah of Allah SWT is placed on a high pedestal and all the allegiance is focused only on Allah SWT (Al-Taubah, 9:40). Since preparations of this scale would entail large funds; hence, Islam encourages its subjects to unite based on the principle of takaful (mutual help and assistance). The call for jihad is combined with the call for sacrificing wealth for the cause of Sabilillah (Al-Nisa', 4:95; Al-Taubah, 9:20; Al-Taubah, 9:41; Al-Taubah, 9:88). According to Sayid Sabiq (2012: 301) and Wahbah al-Zuhaili (1998), the preparations referred to in this verse are preparations that change according to the circumstances, conditions and location of the war. Whereas, the word "strength" means any manner or equipment used to weaken and defeat the enemy, which includes the commissioning of able bodied citizens, preparation of land, sea and air forces. Hence, Islam strongly emphasises the spiritual aspect, which multiplies the fighting spirit as well as the fortitude and bravery rather than the force of weapons only. According to Wahbah al-Zuhaili (1998), the main reason for this kind of preparation is to confront the enemies of Allah SWT and Islam besides the non-Muslims who are inherent enemies. For example, the enmity of the Musyrikins of Mecca towards the Prophet SAW. These include the known or unknown hidden enemies (Al-Tabari, 1997: 640-580; Hud, 11:5; al-Nur, 24:19; al-Mujadalah, 58: 7; al-Ankabut, 29:10). In one of HIS exhortations, Allah SWT had exhorted: "O you who have believed, take your precaution and [either] go forth in companies or go forth all together" (Al-Nisa', 4:71). According to Wahbah al-Zuhaili (1998), this verse explains the basis and conditions for Muslims to forge relations during times of war.

The basis or conditions include sanctioning the role of the orator to a sincere and pious individual from amongst the subjects of the Prophet SAW who is prepared to jihad, to be always prudent, to lead fellow Muslims to jihad against the enemy and to fight in the name of Allah SWT, to protect the syariat Islam, help the weak and needy, not to divulge weaknesses to the enemy, which would otherwise make them strong and better prepared, to determine a method to repulse the enemy and gauge them. According to him, this is known as “*Khuzu Hizrakum*”, which is to learn the methods for confronting war. Undeniably being prudent is to accept the grace of Allah SWT and HIS wishes. However, this does not mean that one should reject qadar (fate) but rather avoid being led to destruction. Sayyid Qutb (2000) added that this verse demands that one should be cautious and prudent when facing enemies, especially enemies that have managed to penetrate the frontlines and hesitate to enter the battlefield. The verse further states that one should not go out to jihad alone but instead go in a small group or as a whole army in order to avoid being trapped by the enemy. According to the life history of the Prophet SAW, Madinah is said to have changed a lot after the Battle of Badar. The loss by the Qureshi in this war had dented their pride among the Arab tribes. Inadvertently this had raised the good name of the Prophet, who was the ruler of Madinah and Madinah itself, in the eyes of these tribes. Under these circumstances, the relationship between the Prophet and the tribes after the Battle of Badar grew increasingly closer. The tribes living in the West and South West of Madinah were more inclined towards the Prophet SAW, so much so that some were prepared to become spies for Madinah or livestock herders (al-Waqidi, 1966; Ibn Hisham, 1955). The relations between Madinah and some Arab tribes were getting better; however, there were some tribes from East Mecca and within Madinah who threatened to attack Madinah. The Prophet SAW was always prepared and had planned a counter-attack against these tribes but usually it did not materialise because the tribes would have absconded (al-Waqidi, 1966). This shows that there are several phases in developing the role of always being prepared during political unification. The phases involved are to be prepared before an agreement, during an agreement and after an agreement. These three phases have different strategies according to the situation involved because the implementer of *tahaluf siyasi* should balance the implementation based on the effect, consequences and outcome. In conclusion, Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014) had elaborated on six vital characteristics that form the role of always being prepared. First, Allah SWT commands that all Muslims should be prepared by whatsoever method; second, exhibit the fortitude of Islam; third, to instil fear in the enemy by exhibiting the strength of Islam; fourth, to build relations with foreigners; fifth, to fortify the weaponry; sixth, those who are reluctant to accept the agreement with Islam are enemies of Islam.

The eighth role of TS regarding political unity is the role of ‘not easily being fooled by the enemy’. Based on Table 7, this role was sourced from the al-Qur’an, Hadith and the life history of the Prophet SAW. As mentioned earlier in the fourth role, TS forms the role of loyalty in political unity and was included to avoid being betrayed by a compatriot of TS. Thus, if there was betrayal, the method of encountering it would be to assimilate the role of ‘not easily being fooled by the enemy’. For example, the life history of the Prophet SAW mentions about a counter attack by the Prophet on the enemies of Islam mainly because a number of religious teachers (proselytisers) had met with some misfortune and some even died during the religious endeavours (al-Waqidi, 1966). As a measure of revenge against the deaths of the Muslims, the Prophet SAW had sent a bigger army of between 1300 to 3000 men to attack them. In one counter attack incident against an Arab tribe that lived at the Syrian border, the Muslim army numbered around 3000 men. Unfortunately the army faced defeat in Mu’tah and their leaders were killed (al-Waqidi, 1966; al-Tabari, t.t.).

Table 7: Sources and Vital Characteristics of the Role of ‘Not Easily Being Fooled by the Enemy’

Sources	Vital Characteristics
<p><u>Al-Qur’an</u></p> <p>i. Be firm with non-Muslims (Al-Maidah, 5: 54).</p> <p><u>Hadith</u></p> <p>i. Declare war on whoever refuses to form treaties or wishes to go to war (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 2824).</p> <p>ii. To perform the qunut prayer while asking for misfortune on several Bani Salim villages (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 6795).</p> <p><u>Sirah</u></p> <p>i. The Prophet SAW had counter attacked because the non-Muslims had killed the religious teachers who were sent to them (al-Waqidi, 1966; Al-Tabari, t.t).</p> <p>ii. The story about Utbah bin Rabi’ah, who had not said anything after the Prophet had spoken and returned to his people and told them not to disturb the Prophet SAW anymore.</p> <p>iii. The Prophet SAW had relations with Arab tribes from the North close to the Syrian border and other places using a myriad of different strategies (al-Waqidi, 1966).</p>	<p>a. The principle of firmness against non-Muslims is the basis for not easily being fooled by the enemy.</p> <p>b. Whoever transgresses an agreement is considered an adversary worthy of war.</p> <p>c. The Islamic army should be prepared to face whomever that wishes for war.</p> <p>d. Muslims could kill non-Muslims who breach a treaty or attack Muslims.</p> <p>e. Be lenient to those who wish to embrace Islam just as what the Prophet SAW did when forging relations with Arab tribes living at the Syrian border.</p>

Besides that, TS could not be concluded unless finesse and exquisite language is used just like when the Prophet SAW used during His negotiations (Abdullah Nashih Ulwan, 1996), for example in the case between Utbah bin Rabi’ah, a Bani Umayyah leader and the Prophet SAW. After Utbah had finished talking, the Prophet SAW replied by reciting verse 1 to 4 of Surah al-Fussilat. Hence, Utbah was silent and left to his tribe and told them not to disturb Muhammad bin Abdullah (Muhammad Munir al-Ghadban, 2002: 107-108). The strategy involved in dealing with the enemy needs political acumen and matured oratory skills (Muhammad Munir al-Ghadban, 2002). In order to face the whims of the enemy the Muslims need to possess good communication skills. For example, the relationship between the Prophet SAW in Madinah and the Arab tribes in the North near the border to Syria was not very good. Most of them were Christians and paid allegiance to the Byzantine rulers of Syria. They also frequently attacked the Muslim entourage and trading caravans. Hence, the Prophet SAW adopted a soft approach against them because although an army was sent to confront them, most of the confrontations ended in friendship agreements and many of them embraced Islam eventually (al-Waqidi, 1966). Thus, from this it could be seen that the Prophet’s SAW approach of not being fooled by the enemy differs according to the situation and time.

Moreover, in one the Hadith narrated by Umar al-Khattab RA⁷, he mentioned about the firm attitude of the Prophet SAW towards non-Muslims. The Prophet SAW exhorted: “I urge him (i.e. the new Caliph) to take care of those non-Muslims who are under the protection of Allah and His Messenger in that he should observe the convention agreed upon with them, and fight on their behalf (to secure their safety) and he should not over-tax them beyond their capability” (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 2824). According to Ali Ibn Khalaf Ibn Abd al-Malik (2000), there were no disagreements among religious scholars about the zimmah being given due recognition, including their property and families. This Hadith clearly shows that the Prophet had respected the agreement with the zimmi and was firm towards the non-Muslim harbi⁸ group (Zulkifly Muda, 2009).

⁷This Hadith was narrated by Musa Ismail from Abu ‘Awanah from Hushain from Amru Maimun from Umar al-Khattab.

⁸Rashid Ghanoushi is the leader of the al-Nahdah party in Tunisia and the advisor to the present leadership in Tunisia. In several of his academic writings he had stated the idea of *kafir harbi* and *kafir zimmi* as well as countries that are deemed as worthy of being attacked (*dar al-harb*) that was relevant during the prominent era of past Islamic empires. Hence, today when Muslims co-exist as an entity in this world consisting of Muslims and non-Muslims that is balanced and global in nature, the position of *kafir harbi* and *kafir zimmi* becomes irrelevant. Therefore, he has introduced the concept of *al-muwatinun* (nationality) as a practical alternative. Fahmi Huwaidi, an Islamic thinker from Egypt, has specifically agreed to the views of Sheikh al-Ghanoush and has produced a piece of work entitled ‘Non-Zimmi Nationality’. Shaikh Taha Jabir al-Iwani from Iraq, Munir Shafiq from Jordan, Shaikh Faisal Mawlawi from Lebanon, Shaikh Jaafar Idris from Sudan had all debated on this issue and gave a consistent opinion (Muhammad Nur Manuty, 2012).

Thus, if the zimmi are attacked then those attackers should be counter attacked and the zimmi should not be burdened with something beyond their capability (Alias Othman & Anisah Ab. Ghani, 2008; Muhammad Iqbal, 2007; Yusuf Qaradawi, Mat Saad Abd. Rahman & Hailani Muji Tahir, 1985). In a Hadith narrated⁹ by Anas RA, he said that; “The Prophet SAW had treaties with the Ansar and Qureshi in Madinah; he recited the qunut prayer asking for misfortune to befall on several Bani Salim villages” (Riwayat Bukhari, No. Hadith: 6795). According to Ahmad bin Ali bin Hajar al-Asqalani (2000), this Hadith was referring to the qunut that is recited during the witr. This Hadith also mentions that agreements are only allowed to help those who have been treated unkindly or cruelly and for betterment purposes only. Islam lays great importance on upholding agreements and if there is any betrayal, the agreement becomes void. According to him, the chapter on Etiquette found in Sahih Bukhari explains the difference between the fraternity (brotherhood) and an agreement.

A number of these Hadith indicate that the Prophet SAW had permitted Muslims to form relations with non-Muslims (Zulkifly Muda, 2009; Alias Othman & Anisah Ab. Ghani, 2008; Muhammad Iqbal, 2007). The Prophet SAW had used two methods when confronted with two different characteristics of non-Muslims. For the group with the first characteristic, which is not to attack Muslims, it is permitted to form agreements with them. Whereas, the second group should be attacked because they have the tendency to attack Muslims. Hence, it could be concluded that there are five vital characteristics that from the role of ‘not easily being fooled by the enemy’. First, the principle of being firm towards non-Muslims; second, whoever transgresses the agreement should be attacked; third, the Muslim army should be prepared as there are parties who have the sole intention of going to war; fourth, Muslims can kill non-Muslims who transgress agreements or those who attack Muslims; and the fifth, to be compassionate or soft-hearted to those who wish to embrace Islam, such as when the Prophet SAW formed relations with Arab tribes at the border with Syria.

Conclusion

TS is a tool for political unity, which has roles that could become the basis for political unity. This working paper has summarised eight TS roles in political unity such as unity and cooperation, truth, conciliation, loyalty, sincerity, ukhuwah, preparedness and not to be easily fooled by the enemy.

References

- Abd Rahman Abdullah (1981). *Sejarah Dan Pemikiran Islam*. Selangor: Penerbitan Pena Sdn. Bhd.
- Abd Rahman Muhammad Abd Aziz Syirab (2010). *Ahkam al-Tahalufat al-Siyasiyah Fi Dau'i al-Waqi'I al-Mu'asir*. Tesis Sarjana yang diserahkan kepada Kuliah Syariah wal Qanun Bil Jami'ah al-Islamiyah, Universiti Islam Ghazzah. Tidak diterbitkan.
- Abdul Hadi Awang (1999). *Bersatu Dirikan Kerajaan Baru*, Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Penerangan PAS Pusat.
- Abdul Hadi Awang (2012). *Tahaluf Siyasi Bersama Pakatan Rakyat*. Diakses daripada <http://bm.harakahdaily.net/index.php/columnist/presiden/13826-tahaluf-siyasi-pas-bersama-pakatanrakyat> pada 16 Oktober 2012.
- Abdul Wahhab Khallaf (1997). *Al-Siyasah al-Shar'iyah*. Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risalah.
- Abdullah Nashih Ulwan (1996). *Pesan untuk Pemuda Islam*. Jamaluddin Sais (Terj.). Jakarta: Gema Insani.
- Abdullah Zaik Abd. Rahman (2011a). *Siasah Syar'iah dan Tahalluf Siyasiyy di Malaysia: Satu Analisis Kritikal*. Diakses daripada [http://www.ismaweb.net/v4/2011/12/siyasah-syar'iyah-tahalluf-siyasiyy-di-malaysia-satu-analisis-kritikal-siri-3/](http://www.ismaweb.net/v4/2011/12/siyasah-syar%E2%80%98iyah-tahalluf-siyasiyy-di-malaysia-satu-analisis-kritikal-siri-3/) pada 9 Julai 2012.
- Abdullah Zaik Abd. Rahman (2011b). *Siyasah Syar'iyah dan Tahaluf Siyasi dalam Kalangan Parti Politik Umat Islam Malaysia: Satu Analisa Kritikal*. Kertas yang dibentangkan di Wacana Pemikiran dan Peradaban Ummah ke-III di Kuala Lumpur pada 12 Nov 2011.
- Abu Bakar Hamzah (1992). *Parti PAS dengan Tahaluf Siyasinya*. Kuala Lumpur: Media Cendekiawan.
- Ahmad bin Ali bin Hajar al-Asqalani (2000). *Fathul Bari Syarah Sahih al-Bukhari*. Abdul Aziz bin Abdullah bin Baz (Sunt.). Beirut: Dar al-Fikr.
- Ahmad Fadhli Shaari (2008). *Hukum Tahaluf siyasi Dalam Konteks Gerakan Islam*. Kelantan: KIAS. Dipetik dari <http://www.kias.edu.my/tahalufsiasi08.htm>
- Ahmad Fadhli Shaari (2008a). *Hukum Tahaluf siyasi Dalam Konteks Gerakan Islam*. Kelantan: KIAS. Diakses daripada <http://www.kias.edu.my/tahalufsiasi08.htm> pada 16 Oktober 2012.

⁹ This Sanad Hadith was narrated by Musaddad from Abbad Ubbad from 'Ashim Al-Ahwal from Anas RA.

- Ahmad Fadhli Shaari (2008b). Tahaluf Siyasi Dalam Konteks Perjuangan PAS Di Malaysia Pasca PRU-12 Serta Pandangan Ulama Haraki Mengenainya. Dipetik daripada <http://ahmadfadhli.wordpress.com/2008/06/19/tahaluf-siyasi-dalam-konteks-perjuangan-pas-di-malaysia-pasca-pru-12-serta-pandangan-golongan-ulama-haraki-mengenainya-draf-awal/> pada 16 Oktober 2012.
- Akram Dhiya' al-Umuri (2010). Shahih Shirah Nabawiyah. Terj. Farid Qurusy, Imam Mudzakir, Amanto Surya Langka & Abdur Rahman. Jakarta: Pustaka as-Sunnah.
- Al-Baladhuri, Ahmad Yahya (1996). Ansab al-Ashrah. Sunt. Suhayl Zakkar dan Riyad Zirikli. Jld. 1. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr.
- Al-Fatlawi, Suhayl Husayn (2001). Diblumasiyyah Al-Nabi Muhammad SAW. Beirut: Dar Al-Fikrah 'Arabi.
- Ali Ibn Khalaf Ibn Abd al-Malik (2000). Ibn Battal Syarh Sahih al-Bukhariy. Riyadh: Maktabah al-Rusyd.
- Ali Ibn Khalaf Ibn Abd al-Malik (2000). Ibn Battal Syarh Sahih al-Bukhariy. Riyadh: Maktabah al-Rusyd.
- Alias Othman dan Anisah Ab. Ghani (2008). Islam yang Mudah. Selangor: PTS Islamika.
- Al-Mubarakfuri, Safi Al-Rahman (1992). Al-Rahiq Al-Makhtum. 9th Ed. Riyadh: Maktabah Dar Al-Salam.
- Al-Rida, Hani (1997). Al-Diblumasiyyah: Tarikhuna, Qawaninuha Wa Usuluha. Beirut: Dar Al-Nahl Al-Lubnani.
- Al-Tabari, Muhammad Jarir (t.t). Tarikh al-Umam wal al-Muluk. Muhammad Abu al-Fadl Ibrahim (Sunt.). Beirut: Dar Suwaydan.
- Al-Waqidi, Muhammad Umar (1966). Kitab al-Maghazi. Marsden Jones (Sunt.). 3 Jilid. London: Oxford University Press.
- Amir Husin Mohd Nor, Muhammad Nazir Alias, Mohd Adib Samsudin, Anwar Fakri Omar, Iknor Azli Ibrahim, Hayatullah Laluddin, Abdel Wadoud Moustafa Moursi El-Seoudi, Ahmad Muhammad Husni dan Norhoneydayatie Abdul Manap (2012). "Application of The Principles of Maqasid Shari'ah in Administration of The Islamic Countries", dlm. Advances In Natural and Applied Sciences, Vol. 6, No.6. hal. 847-851.
- Fathul Bari Mat Jahya (2012). Tahaluf Siyasi: UMNO mendahului PAS. Diakses daripada <http://ustazfathulbari.wordpress.com/2012/09/27/tahaluf-siyasi-umno-mendahului-pas/> pada 9 Julai 2012.
- Gahdban, Munir Muhammad (1982). al-Tahaluf al-Siyasi Fi al-Islam. Al-Urdun: Maktabat al-Manar, Zarqa'.
- Ghadban, Munir Muhammad (2001). Kompromi Politik Dalam Islam. Jakarta Timur, Indonesia: Pustaka al-Kautsar.Pent. Gazira Abdi Ummah.
- H. Bustami A. Gani (1978). Akhlak Nabi Muhammad s.a.w.(Keluhuran dan Kemuliaannya). Jakarta. Penerbit Bulan Bintang.
- Hepi Andi Bastoni (2010). Belajar Dari Perjanjian Hudaibiyah. Selangor: Penerbit Rijal Media.
- Humaidi Tatapangarsa (1981). Akhlaq Yang Mulia. Singapura: Pustaka Nasional Pte Ltd.
- Ibn Habib, Muhammad (t.t.). Al-Muhabbar. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Tij'ri.
- Ibn Hisham (1955). Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah. Mustafa al-Saqa et al. (Sunt.). Jilid 1. Beirut: Dar Ihya' al-Turath al-Arabi.
- Ibn Ishaq, Muhammad (1978). Kitab al-Siyar al-Maghazi. Suhayl Zakkar (Sunt.). t.t: Dar al-fikr.
- Ibn Saad, Muhammad (1990). Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra. Muhammad Abd al-Qadir 'Ata (Sunt.). Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyyah.
- Jahid Sidek (1986). Strategi Menjawab Sejarah Islam. Kuala Lumpur: Nurin Enterprise.
- Khalid Sulayman al-Fahdawi (1998). Al-Fiqh Al-Siyasi Li Al-Watha'iq Al-Nabawiyah: Al-Mu'ahadat Al-Ahlaq Al-Diblumasiyyah Al-Islamiyyah. Beirut: Dar 'Ammar.
- M. A. Shaban (1984). Sejarah Islam Satu Interpretasi Baru. Kuala Lumpur. Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka.
- Mahmasani, Subhi (1982). Al-Qanun Wa al-'ilaqat al-Duwaliyyah fil Islam. Beirut: Dar al-'ilmial Malayin.
- Mohd Izani Mohd Zain (2007). Demokrasi dan Dunia Islam. Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya.
- Mohd Mokhtar Shafie (1993). Sejarah Keagungan Kerajaan Islam. Kuala Lumpur: Nurun Enterprise.
- Mohd Syakir Mohd Rosdi (2014). Tahaluf Siyasi dalam Ekonomi Politik Islam: Satu Kajian Teoretis. Tesis Doktor Falsafah yang diserahkan kepada Pusat Kajian Pengurusan Pembangunan Islam (ISDEV), Universiti Sains Malaysia. Tidak diterbitkan.
- Muhamad Ahmad Rashid (2011). Tahaluf Siyasi Hukum dan Syarat. Norsaleha Mohd. Salleh (Terj.). Alor Star: Pustaka Darul Salam.
- Muhamad Fuzi Omar (2007). Strategies and Tactics of Mobilisation: Opposition Political Parties in Malaysia, 1982-2003. Disertasi yang diserahkan kepada Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Science, International Islamic University Malaysia. Tidak diterbitkan.

- Muhammed S. El-Awa (1991). *Sistem Politik Negara Islam*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Muhammad 'Izat Salih 'Aini (2008). *Ahkam al-Tahaluf al-Siyasi Fi al-Fiqh al-Islami*. Filastin: al-Jami'ah al-Najah al-Wataniyah.
- Muhammad Abdur Rahman bin Abdur Rahim al-Mubarakfuri (t.t). *Tuhfatul Ahwadzi bi Syarh Jami' at-Tirmidzi*. Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah.
- Muhammad Iqbal (2007). *Islamic Toleration dan Justice Non-Muslims Under Muslim Rule*. India: Adam Publishers dan Distributors.
- Muhammad Munir Al-Ghatban (2002). *Manhaj Haraki Dalam Sirah Nabi S.A.W*. Alor Setar, Kedah: Pustaka Darussalam Sdn. Bhd.
- Muhammad Nur Manuty (2012). *Konsep Kafir Harbi-Zimmi, Satu Penjelasan*. Diakses daripada <http://www.keadilandaily.com/konsep-kafir-harbi-zimmi-satu-penjelasan-dr-muhammad-nur/> pada 22 Ogos 2013.
- Muhammad Sa'id Ramadhan Al-Buti (2003). *Fiqh Al-Sirah 1*, terj. Mohd Darus Sanawi. Selangor: Dewan Pustaka Fajar.
- Mustafa as-Syibaie (2004). *Sirah Nabi Muhammad S.A.W. Pengajaran & Pedoman*. Diambil daripada www.mykonsis.org pada 1 April 2013.
- Mustafa Haji Daud (1989). *Pemikiran Politik Dan Ekonomi Al-Maududi*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa Dan Pustaka.
- Nakhaie Ahmad (2012). *DEB Selaras Dengan Tahaluf Siyasi*. Diakses daripada <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gOzEefNNdD8> pada 4 Ogos 2012.
- Omer, A. I. (1978). "Limits of The Doctrine of Tahaluf and Its Bearing on The Law of Burdens" dlm. *Journal of Islamic and Comparative Law*, Vol. 8, No. 73.
- Sayid Qutb (2004). *Tafsir Fi Zilalil Qur'an (Di Bawah Naungan al-Quran)*. (Terj.), Jilid 2. Jakarta: Gema Insan.
- Sayid Sabiq (2012). *Anaasir al-Quwwah Fii al-Islam*. Rijalul Alam (Terj.). Pangkal Kekuatan Islam. Johor Bahru: Perniagaan Jahabersa.
- Shukeri Muhammad (2009). "Siyasah Syar'iah Dalam Membentuk Gagasan Fiqh Masyarakat Majmuk", kertas kerja yang dibentangkan dalam Simposium Fiqh Masyarakat Bukan Islam Dalam Negara Islam anjuran bersama Persatuan Ulama Malaysia Cawangan Selangor (PUMSEL) dan Jabatan Agama Islam Negeri Selangor (JAIS) di Dewan Annex, SUK, Shah Alam, Selangor pada 23-24 Disember 2009.
- Steingass, F. (1978). *Arabic-English Dictionary*. India: Asian Educational Services.
- Sufri Muhammad (2002). *Tahaluf siyasi menurut perspektif Islam: Satu tinjauan terhadap sumbangan PAS membentuk Barisan Alternatif dalam pilihanraya umum 1999*. Latihan Ilmiah yang diserahkan kepada Jabatan Siasah Syar'iyah, Universiti Malaya. Tidak diterbitkan.
- Taufiq Asy-Syawari (1997). *Syura Bukan Demokrasi*. (Terj.) Djameluddin Z. S. Jakarta: Gema Insani Press.
- Wahbah al-Zuhaili (1998). *Tafsir al-Munir Fi al-'Aqidah Wa al-Syari'ah Wa al-Manhaj*. Lubnan: Darul Fikr al-Mu'asir.
- Yusuf Al-Qaradhawi (2002). *Fiqh Kenegaraan*. Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur. Pent. Arsil Ibrahim.
- Yusuf Qaradawi, Mat Saad Abd. Rahman dan Hailani Muji Tahir (1985). *Kedudukan Non-Muslim Dalam Negara Islam*. Kuala Lumpur: Bahagian Hal Ehwal Islam, Jabatan Perdana Menteri.
- Yusuf Qardhawi (2010). *Fiqh Jihad*. Irfan Maulana Hakim et al. (Terj.). Jakarta: PT Mizan Pustaka.
- Zulkifly Muda (2009). *Apa Kata Nabi dengan Hubungan Sosial*. Selangor: PTS Islamika.