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FROM SHARIA POLITICS TO POLITICAL SHARIA: Towards Democratic Elections Based on the Our'an

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ABSTRACT

Ibn Taimiyah (1263-1328) in his work as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iah has marked Islamic Politics with "just siyasa" or "pious government," where his political thinking is based on two epistemes contained in Surah An-Nisa Verses 58-59 of the Qur'an. The two epistemes are (1) to convey your amana to its expert and (2) when you make legal decisions between people, you should decide justly. By using qualitative methods, more precisely the approach of critical philosophy, then the same research data -Surah An-Nisa Verses 58-59 of the Qur'an- in this article the basic paradigm will be shifted from as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iah (Sharia Politics) to the opposite direction asy-Syar'iah as-Siyasiyah (Political Sharia), that means changing the analytical perspective from the study of Government Science to the study of Political Science. This approach leads to a surprising conclusion, that the basic epistemological meaning of the diction "politics" in the Qur'an refers to electoral politics rather than appointment politics. This is a valuable finding to state with academic proof, that Islam is not only compatible with democracy, but Islam is the mother of democracy. With this finding, this article does not hesitate to propose the concept of democratic elections based on the Qur'an; there is no obligation to implement Islamic law, this is a universal and genuine political concept that allows or even recommends all existing government systems today to implement it, regardless of whether they are capitalist, communist, Confucian, or other ideologies, and without questioning how many Muslims there are in the country: majority, balanced, minority, or none at all.

Keywords: Sharia Politics, Political Sharia, epistemology, criticism, democratic elections

INTRODUCTION

Abul Abbas Taqiyuddin Ahmad Ibn Abdul Halim Ibn Abdus Salam Ibn Abdullah Ibn Taimiyah al-Harrani (1263-1328) usually called Ibn Taimiyah for short is considered by many Muslim intellectuals as one of the great Islamic thinkers who lived in the era of the destruction of the Abbasid Caliph Monarchy (1242-1259) because of the Mongol attack and the position of the caliphate was shaky due to competition from local rulers at the level of governors in each part of the empire; this was before the emergence of the Ottoman Monarch Caliph (1299-1323). During his life, he was imprisoned several times by local Islamic authorities until he died in prison in Damascus (Al-Utsaimin, 2023: 1-7; Hamzani & Aravik, 2021: 177-188). It was during the transition of the Monarchical Caliphate from the Abbasids to the Ottomans that Ibn Taimiyah wrote his work as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah fi ishlah ar-Ra'i wa ar-Ra'iyah (politics based on sharia for the improvement of the rulers and the people). This book became known as simply as-Siyasah

ash-Syar'iyah and is here translated into Sharia Politics.

If it is observed, the way Ibn Taimiyah constructs his political concept is different from Al-Farabi (872-951) and Al-Mawardi (972-1058), where both prioritize the empiricist approach and only present a little rationalist approach - which in fact should rely on in-depth study of the narratives of the Qur'an and the Prophet's Hadith - even Al-Farabi cites more political views from the Ancient Greek philosopher Plato than the narratives of the Our'an or the Prophet's Hadith. In as-Siyasah Syar'iyah, Ibn Taimiyah carefully constructs the meaning of the epistemology of "politics" directly from Surah An-Nisa Verse 58 of the Our'an, as follows:



"Indeed, Allah commands you to convey your amana to its expert, and when

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you make legal decisions between people, you should decide justly...." (Qs 4: 58).

Ibn Taimiyah has developed the meaning of "politics" based on this verse, he said, "If the verse above requires carrying out the amana and conveying it to those who can carry it out, as well as commanding them to establish laws fairly, then this is a just siyasa, and including the form of pious government." (Taimiyah, 1995: xiii). As far as the author knows, Ibn Taymiyah was the first person to formulate the concept of Islamic politics whose epistemology came directly from the verses of the Our'an. Ibn Taimiyah's work, As-Siayah Asy-Syar'iyah, has been rewritten and enriched by Muhammad bin Shalih Al-Utsaimin, a Sharia expert from Saudi Arabia, and is entitled Politik Islam; Ta'liq Siyasah Syar'iyah Syaikhul Islam Ibnu Taimiyah (2019). At the end of his introduction, Al-Utsaimin provides an assessment of Ibn Taymiyah's work, "Anyone who pays close attention to the book of Abul 'Abbas Ibnu Taimiyyah ra, as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah fii lshlaahir Raa'i war Ra'iyah, even though it is smaller in size than his other books, you will find that this book has collected all the political problems in Islam." (Al-Utsaimin, in Taimiyah, 2019: 19). In his view, Ibn Taimiyah's work is an important reference in the contemporary world, "In this day and age, as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyyah has become a special subject in several educational institutions, such as universities and Islamic boarding schools (pesantren). Even special departments have been created. Some among them under different names." (Al-Utsaimin, in Taimiyah, 2019: 12).

Here Ibn Taimiyah demonstrates a rationalist philosophical approach, namely processing qualitative data through Al-Qur'an narratives to construct Islamic politics. So pithy, Ibn Taimiyah developed the concept of "just siyasa" or "pious government" through the following two epistemes: (1) (to convey your amana to its expert) and (2) (when you make legal decisions between people, you should decide justly).

The interesting question here is, how is a "just siyasa" or "pious government" that will carry out wise actions formulated from the Qur'an? This research will answer it through a critical philosophical approach, in addition, the analytical tool no longer uses the perspective of Government Science as done by Ibn Taimiyah but Political Science.

Regarding the compatibility of Islam and democracy, based on the study of Bernard Lewis et al. in his book Islam Liberalisme Demokrasi (2002), in general there are three views, namely (1) Islam and democracy are seen as two different systems. As a political system, Islam cannot be subordinated to democracy; (2) Islam is different from democracy if the latter is understood procedurally as practiced in the West. However, Islam can be considered a democratic political system if democracy is understood substantively; and (3) Islam is seen as a value system that accommodates democracy as defined procedurally and practiced in the West (Lewis, et al., 2002: 43). In this context, the author would like to propose a new idea as the fourth view, that Islam is not only compatible democracy, but the Qur'an and the Prophet's Hadith are the foundations of democracy; the overall construction of this article will be directed to explain this statement.

But the question is which type of democracy is Islam compatible with? The answer is exact, namely Western puritan democracy as defined by Samuel P. Huntington and Bernard Lewis as follows, "A country is a democracy if it has implemented a peaceful change of through government elections. Bv specializing in two elections, Huntington eliminates governments or systems that follow the procedure of 'one person, one choice, one time.' So, I interpret democracy as government policy that can be changed by elections, not vice versa, elections can be changed by governments." (Lewis, et.al., 2002: 46). Lewis gives a more definitive statement pointing to liberal democracy, "By liberal democracy I mean the general method of choosing and changing governments as it developed in England and spread to Englishspeaking countries and others." (Lewis, et.al., 2002: 46). So, this article will try to prove that Islam is the main source for electoral politics or elections which are the main indicators of Western democracy as understood by Huntington and Lewis.

METHOD

As mentioned earlier, if read from the perspective of the philosophy of science, the way of political knowledge developed from the narrative of the Our'an as done by Ibn Taimiyah, can be categorized into the approach of rationalist philosophy. Meanwhile, this research chooses the approach of critical philosophy, therefore the fundamental differences between the two must be mapped first here. In general, we know in the philosophy of science there are three famous approaches, namely rationalism, empiricism, and criticism. A simple meaning of these terminologies, for example according to Birger Hjørland, "Empiricism is the view that experiences, observations or sense data are the only or the most important way of acquiring knowledge. Rationalism is the view that rational intuitions are the most important way of acquiring knowledge. " (Hjørland, 2004: 130). In line with that, W. Russ Payne said, "According to Rationalism at least some knowledge can be had through reason alone.... Empiricism, on the other hand, takes all of our knowledge to be ultimately grounded in sense experience." (Payne, 2015: 38). So, criticism uses empiricism and rationalism to gain knowledge by mutually complementing or perfecting the shortcomings of one by the other reciprocally. Apart from that, of course there are still other approaches to the philosophy of science, among which the famous ones are positivism, secularism, materialism, or also "ideologism," but according to the author all of them are still branches of empiricism.

A fairly detailed discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of each philosophy of science can be found in Andrew Vincent's The Natural of Political Theory (2007). Although Vincent himself does not explicitly call it a "philosophy of science," the author can read from the substance of his discussion that its relevance to this study is very strong. For example, in terms of the philosophy of rationalism, he highlights the potential for the separation of narrative and reality. Vincent states, "A theory will configure what is the appropriate object, area, and method of study. In consequence, the theory cannot be divorced from its object. For some thinkers, indeed, political theory constitutes the political object." (Vincent, 2007: 2). This is an important note, so that the formulated theory does not have no basis in reality, so that the theory can turn into a dogma that is glorified but is not functional for Political Science, even though many people commonly call it the study of Political Science. The shortcomings or weaknesses of the rationalist

philosophical approach can of course be covered by the philosophy of empiricism.

Because the rationalist philosophical approach relies heavily on deepening the meaning of its epistemology, a researcher's ability to map several epistemes in a metaphysical narrative becomes the key to successfully using this approach. Here episteme is understood as truth, knowledge, or perspective (Vincent, 2007: 69, 240, 248), while epistemology is interpreted as the science of how people know and understand reality, so that people can act wisely (Kuntowijoyo, 1997: 1-2). In the study of political culture, episteme generally takes the form of causal sentences that can be used as golden rules (Shogimen & Nederman (ed.), 2009: 19), which can come from individual originality (Foucault, 1972: 230), discursive events (Foucault, 1972: 230), or the infinite wealth of hidden meanings (Foucault, 1972: 230). In the context of this research, the epistemes for constructing the theoretical structure of Islamic Politics, especially the concept of Political Sharia, are derived from several narratives of the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet.

For empiricism Vincent notes, "Furthermore, human reason itself can be viewed as historically (as well as politically) contingent. Reason does not stand with a 'god's eye view' surveying the historical and political landscape. It is always tied to certain contingent values or traditions." (Vincent, 2007: 2). If expressed in more direct language, one of the weaknesses of empiricism is that the political knowledge it produces is too influenced by the values of certain groups or traditions and ignores universal values or divine values. If a writer is not careful, then the empiricism he uses will stray into a form of value-empty relativism. He said, "However, it does mean that we become more aware of our finitude and historical situation, and that accordingly we will have a much more constrained or fallibilist sense of knowledge." (Vincent, 2007: 2).

In the context of this research, empirical data to construct the theoretical structure of Islamic Politics, especially the concept of Political Sharia, refers to the political history of Rasululloh Muhammad, Khulafa'ur Rasyidin, and the prophet's

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prophecy about "khilafah 'ala minhaji nubuwah" (caliphate by the path of prophecy). This means that this research does not use the long history of the Caliph-Monarchy (661-1924) as a reference for strengthening the concept of Islamic Politics, but as a mirror in the form of political actions that must be avoided.

So, it can be seen from the explanation above, that rationalism and empiricism each have their advantages and disadvantages, but the best of the two is that they can complement each other or correct each other. The approach that takes advantage of both is called critical philosophy, indeed the stability of a science sometimes requires both.

Finally, a note for the critical philosophy approach, Vincent stated, "Systematic critical self-reflection is essential to the health of the discipline. My only claim here is that this critical reflection should be more thorough, not only regarding substantive arguments, values, and concepts in political and moral theory, but also 'theorizing process' regarding the (Vincent, 2007: 2). Critical reflection with a comprehensive variety of data (norms and facts) is very necessary to maintain the constancy of boundaries, where the analysis of the synergy between rationalism and empiricism is carried out precisely, reciprocal iteration has been carried out sufficiently, so that the knowledge compiled will have the qualification of depth of epistemological meaning and avoid shallowness and the impression of being careless.

This qualitative method with a critical philosophical approach is what the author chose to explore and develop the concept of asy-Syar'iyah as-Siyasiah (Political Sharia), one of the products of which is the idea of democratic elections based on the Al-Qur'an.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Paradigm Shift: From Sharia Politics to Political Sharia

Ibn Taimiyah has developed as-Siasah asy-Syar'iyah (Sharia Politics), while this article develops the opposite paradigm asy-Syar'iyah as-Siasiyah (Political Sharia). The differences between the two will be discussed first here. The main source of this study is the book as-Siayah ash-Syar'iyah fii Ishlaahir Raa'i war Ra'iyyah written by Ibn Taimiyah (1263-1328) which has been ta'liq (rewritten and equipped with mention of the sources of the arguments) by a lecturer at

the Faculty of Sharia and Usuluddin in Qashim Province which is affiliated with the Al-lmam Muhammad bin Su'ud Al-Islamiyah University of Saudi Arabia, named Muhammad bin Salih Al-Utsaimin (around 1928-2000) and given the title Ta'liq Siyasah Syar'iyah Syaikhul Islam Ibnu Taimiyah. The book has been translated into Indonesian by the publisher Griya Ilmu with the title "Politik Islam; Ta'liq Siyasah Syar'iyah Syaikhul Islam Ibnu Taimiyah" (2019).

At the beginning of the discussion, Al-Utsaimin as the rewriter of the book as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah by Ibn Taimiyah also took part in providing his opinion regarding the meaning of as-Siyayah asy-Syariah, among others he stated: "The word as-Siyasah () is an adaptation of the original Arabic word. As for its meaning, among others are regulation, guidance, direction, and improvement." (Al-Utsaimin, 2019: 11). Furthermore, Al-Utsaimin (2019: interprets the word as-Siyasah (politics) which according to him is based on the views of writers in the discipline of Political Science into three scopes, namely: First, the scope of managing the people and their regulation based on orders and prohibitions (laws) whether originating from a leader (head of state) or others, such as governors, ministers, judges and the like. Second, the laws of state leadership or caliphate universally, both in terms of the ruler's abilities and what is obligatory for him, what the people must do towards him and the laws that the sharia imposes on the ruler, so that he can lead his subordinates. Third, criminal sanctions by the sharia.

Next, Al-Utsaimin explained the phrase as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah into two meanings; first, the general meaning of as-Siyasah ash-Syar'iyah is that it means the laws of power; secondly, the specific definition of as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah is everything that originates from policy holders (rulers), such as laws and regulations that depend on the existence of benefits and in problems that do not have specific or specific arguments without violating the Sharia (Al-Utsaimin, 2019: 14).

If summarized, the following is the focus of discussion in Ibn Taimiyah's as-Siasah asy-Syar'iyah: (1) Allocation of Wilaya (positions in government), (2) Trust

of wealth, (3) Discussion of several Islamic Sharia for the Islamic community, (4) The importance of deliberation for the executive, and (5) The obligation to form Imaroh (leadership) for Muslims. Persoalan ini juga akan dilihat relevasinya untuk kajian baru.

Before going any further, there is an important note here regarding the legitimacy of the monarchy system, although Ibn Taimiyah strongly criticized the power at that time, among others he stated, "They took what was forbidden, ironically something that should have been obeyed they opposed and abandoned... the leaders were busy enriching themselves..." (Taimiyah, 1995: 39-40), but not a single sentence in as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah opposes the monarchy system. Somewhat different from Al-Farabi, for example in the book Al-Farabi Founder of Islamic Neoplatonism by Madjid Fackry, he expressed his agreement with the idea of "the philosopher-king" from the Ancient Greek philosopher Plato (Fackry, 2002: 104-105), this means that Al-Farabi did not object to the monarchy system. Furthermore, Al-Mawardi in his book al-Ahkam as-Sultanivyah; The Laws of Islamic Governance, allows the succession of the Imamate through two namely election and appointment, "Imamate comes into being in two ways: the first of these is by the election of those of power and influence, and the second is by the delegation of the previous Imam." (Al-Mawardi, 2023: 12). However, in his explanation, he did not show a clear path towards general elections and his election system was very limited by the formatur system, on the contrary he was very enthusiastic when discussing models of succession of power in the monarchy system, even allowing more than one crown prince. This issue will also be seen as relevant for new studies.

If measured by the scope of today's social science curriculum, then these topics are the objects of discussion in Government Science, only a few of which overlap with Political Science. Therefore, it might be more appropriate if as-Siasah asy-Syar'iyah is translated into Sharia Government rather than Sharia Politics. This

as chosen by Ibn Taimiyah in as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah, namely Surah An- Nisa would be more contrasting if "politics" is understood in a puritanical way, as stated by a political expert Harold D. Lasswell in his book Politics: Who gets What, When, How (1936), "Thus the political man is the one whose principal value is the pursuit of power. The essence of power is understood to be the capacity, and usually the will, to impose one's values as permanent or transitory motives upon others." (Lasswell, 1936: 50). So, the main study of the field of politics is power; how it is obtained, exercised, and maintained (Kantaprawira, 2006: 41).

At this point, the author will shift the big paradigm of Sharia Politics to Sharia Politics, or change the perspective of analysis from Government Science as Ibn Taimiyah did to Political Science. This means that the focus of the study is no longer on the question of "how the ruler manages his power," but on "how to obtain political power based on the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet"? More sharply than that, what is the actual meaning of "politics" and how is it formulated from the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet? When obtaining political power, do Islamic sources allow it to be obtained through electoral politics or democracy? If so, then how can the concept of democratic elections be formulated based on the Our'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet?

In the following discussion, the author will present several metaphysical arguments and empirical evidence as answers to these questions. In short, the politics of the Qur'an are pro-electoral politics or pro-democratic elections and antiappointment politics or anti-monarchy system.

Political Type of the Qur'an: Electoral Politics

The first basic step to uncover the roots of "political" epistemology in the Al-Qur'an, we will start from the same reference Verse 58-59 of the Qur'an which reads as follows:

إنَّ اللّٰهَ يَاٰهُرُ كُمْ اَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْآمَنْتِ إِلَىٰ اَهْلِهَا وَإِذَا حَكَمْتُمْ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ اَنْ تَخَكَمُوْا بِالْعَلْلِ إِنَّ اللّٰهَ يَعِظُكُمْ بِهِ إِنَّ اللّٰهَ كَانَ سَمِيْعَا بَصِيْرًا يَـاَيُّهَا الَّذِيْنَ اَمْتُوٓا اَطِيْعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَلِي الْاَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّهُ وَالْيَالِيُوالدَّاسُوَالدَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ قُوْمِهُ اللّٰهِ وَالدَّسُولَ وَاللّٰهِ وَالْمَالِمُ وَمِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّهُ وَاللّٰهِ وَالدَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ فُؤْمِنُونَ وَاللّٰهِ وَالْمَالِمُ وَمِنْكُمْ فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فَيْ وَالْمَالِقِ وَالْمَالِقِ وَالْمَالِقُولِ وَالْمَالِقِينَا وَعَلَيْكُمْ

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"Indeed, Allah commands you to convey your amana to its expert and when you make legal decisions between people, you should decide justly. Indeed, Allah gives you the best teaching. Indeed, Allah is All-Hearing, All-Seeing (Qs 4: 58). O believers! Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and Ulil Amri among you. Should you disagree on anything, then refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you truly believe in Allah and the Last Day. This is the best and fairest resolution." (OS 4: 58-59).

However, in the next step, the author does not divide it into two epistemes as Ibn Taimiyah did in *as-Siyasah asy-Syar'iyah*, but into four epistemes according to the number of actors mentioned in the two verses:

1. Allah commands you to convey your *amana*

زِلِنَّ اللهَ يَأْهُرُ كُمْ أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمْنْتِ عِي

- to convey your amana to its expert (أَنْ تُؤَدُّوا الْأَمْنَتِ إِلَى اَهْلِهَا);
- when you make legal decisions between people, you should decide justly
 رَادَا حَكَمْتُمْ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ أَنْ تَعْكُمُو الْإِلْعَالِ):
- 4. Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and Ulil Amri among you

Episteme 1 of Electoral Politics: Sovereign Voters

"Allah commands you to convey your amana" (إِنَّ اللَّهَ يَأْمُو كُمُو ٱنْ تُوَوَّوا الْأَمَنتِ

The question is, from a Political Science perspective, who is the "you" mentioned there? If we look at the context of the verse as a whole, then the diction "you" here is every individual citizen,

whether a believer or not. In a colossal-mondial understanding, all humans are born from the same God (Qs 2: 139), although they have different languages and skin colors (Qs 30: 30), also different religions or beliefs (Qs 2: 139), therefore it is not surprising that all humans have the same *fitra* (HR. Bukhari-Muslim), namely tending towards honesty and justice, the proof is

that every human has a unique character - called *fitra* - who does not want to be betrayed and/or wronged.

So then, what is the essence of the diction "amana" when placed in the phrase "Allah told you to convey the amana?" From the perspective of Political Science studies, amana is often associated with office or position or power or authority, such as what the Prophet Muhammad said to Abu Dzar, "Office is amana" ("HR. Muslim). The opposite of the word "amana" is "betrayal." So, Allah commands humans to convey their amana, at the same time also forbids betraying the amana they carry, "Do not betray the amana entrusted to you" ("Qs 8: 27).

The diction "amana" which is used in general is closer to authority and it is very dependent on the subject of the owner. If carried out by a head of state, then the amana is the power as head of state; if carried out by a minister, then the amana is the position/office as a minister; If carried out by a candidate for an executive or legislative institution, then the amana is a requirement of expertise or ability that must be fulfilled in the nomination: if carried out by an organizer of a political process, then the amana is a commissioner to make fair decisions; if carried out by an ordinary citizen, then the amana is the mandate of a sovereign individual.

An ordinary citizen has no other *amana*, except the mandate that must be given to those who are entitled to it, in a completely sovereign manner, without the interference of money, kinship ties, political pressure, inducements, or other factors from any party or anyone. Do you know the meaning of *amana* or mandate here? That is the voice, in that voice there is power; Thousands or millions of votes are what can make someone a ruler or bring him down. The democratic jargon indeed says, "The voice of the people is the voice of God," because God himself has given the *amana* or mandate to every individual born on earth.

It becomes clear that the statement "Allah commands you to convey the *amana* to its experts" (Qs 4: 58) is universal, applicable to every human being without discrimination (religion, ethnicity, language, etc.); it is a textual delegation from God to

humans on earth so that they form leadership through electoral politics, in the form of individual citizen activities to give their votes to the right candidate. Not a few in campus thought products, both theses, dissertations, and also scientific journals, often find statements, that "Islam does not establish a standard political system, it can be a republic or a kingdom, depending on the agreement of its people." In this article, this kind of ambiguity is stopped, because the political knowledge that is compiled is biased towards the empiricist philosophical approach, with minimal involvement of the rationalist philosophical approach that emphasizes the depth of its epistemology.

From the explanation above, for the author it is very clear that the politics of Allah or the politics of the Qur'an are pro-electoral, that power is formed through the general election process. Meanwhile, this research has not found any indication that the politics of Allah or the politics of the Qur'an agree with appointment politics. This is truly a major finding that surprised the researcher himself, far beyond the established understanding that we have been able to learn in various ancient and modern Islamic political jurisprudence.

The most fundamental question in Political Science, namely how is power obtained according to Islam? The answer is certain: through general elections.

Episteme 2 of Electoral Politics: Eligible Candidates

"To convey your amana to its expert" (أَنْ تُؤَذُّوا الْأَمْنْتِ إِلَى اَهْلِهَا).

Next, how do the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet provide a detailed concept of the requirements for the expertise of a candidate for

ruler? One verse of the Our'an provides the answer, that the figure must have knowledge and a strong physique (وَرُاوَهُ مِسْطَقُولِ الْمِلْمِ وَالْجِسْمِ) Os 2: 247). This is of course not just talking about physical health but having the skills to exercise power, with two main tasks: preparing service personnel to uphold justice and empowering personnel to realize the welfare of the people. This is the main requirement of an "ahliha" or "expert"; honestly, this is the toughest challenge for a candidate for the ruler. So, knowledge and skills here are not about titles, lineage, piety, supernatural powers, martial arts, and the like, but knowledge and skills that are directly related to the matter of "exercising power" which guarantees the achievement of the country's goals.

A candidate who is knowledgeable and aware of his knowledge (self-awareness) will obey methodological guidelines and have self-regulation when he becomes a leader in an executive or legislative institution, then not only honest and professional people can be moved to achieve maximum power performance, but even less good or evil apparatus can still provide a positive contribution to the achievements of the country as a whole. Consider the following words of the Prophet Muhammad. "Indeed, Allah strengthens this civilization with an evil person" (HR. Al-Bukhari). This kind of argument will be difficult to understand by people who do not understand the essence of Political Science; a science that is specifically for managing, handling, differences, channeling disputes, conflicts, sentiments, and political feuds toward living side by side, respecting each other, and being ready to achieve common goals. Candidates who are obsessed with homogeneity and uniformity, which means they reject the efficacy of Political Science, will fail to navigate political reality.

As for the diction "skills" here, they are not meant as ordinary requirements, but actually "political skills" that are very basic for a candidate for leader. At the earliest stage, political skills are needed by a leader so that his presence as a leader - for example, head of state - can represent the conscience and aspirations of the people, as if what he thinks and says is the embodiment of the will of the people. It can be said that a leader is a

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prototype of his nation, "Political skill is 'characterized as a comprehensive pattern of social competencies, with cognitive, affective, and behavioral manifestations' in involving the ability to navigate political environments and effectively influence others for outcomes." (Ferris, et al., 2007: 291, in Giacalone & Jurkiewicz (ed.), 2010: 127). The main key to political skills lies in candidates who can carry out a comprehensive pattern of social competencies in the thoughts, feelings, behaviors, and ideals of their nation. Someone can't become a prototype of a nation if they do not comprehensively know the patterns of thinking and behavior of their nation.

If a leader can act as a prototype of his nation, then he will not act arbitrarily towards his people, for example, when he makes a policy or decides on a regulation, because oppressing the people means oppressing himself; not only is the AMDAL complied with, but the feelings of the affected community are also taken into account.

But there is something much more important than that. Political skills are a technique for solving national problems, no matter how complicated they are, they can still be solved by candidates who have political skills; a unique ability that others rarely have. That is because a candidate who has political skills can see the future and create meaning as well as be able to navigate it. As stated by leadership expert Robert W. Terry, "The skills needed are not technicalrational skills. The skills needed for the future are metaphorical skills and pattern recognition skills" (Terry, 1998: 6). Someone who can see the future and can navigate it creatively is an eligible candidate to become a national leader because when he becomes the captain of the nation he knows how and in which direction the ship of this nation should go, how long, and what the destinations are. So, future watch and meaning creation are software of political skills to realize the nation's goals. The Qur'an greatly emphasizes the importance of a candidate leader who can future watch, for example, mentioned in the following verse, "and let every soul look to what he has done for tomorrow" (Qs 59: 18). The ability to read and plan for the future, especially the dynamics of national politics amidst global political developments, is the key to a leader's success when the political dynamics are accurately reflected in the State Budget and Long-Term Development Plan.

As for the question of national goals, for example in the context of Indonesia, our

constitution clearly states, "to advance public welfare, to educate the nation, and to participate in implementing world order," which is in line with the Javanese tradition with the phrase, "adil makmur loh jinawi," in the language of the Qur'an it is expressed with the phrase "baldatun thoyyibatun warobbun ghafur" ("ballatun"), Qs 34: 15). All of these expressions essentially want to state that the goal of the state is to make the people educated and prosperous; here the subject is the people or the nation, not the elite or oligarchic groups.

Candidates who the meet qualifications of expertise like this are those who are eligible to advance to the general election arena. In the case of the Children of Israel, they were the ones decided by the prophet and allowed by Allah to become candidates for king (الله قَالُونَ مَلِكًا) , Qs 2: 247). If we look closely at the context, the use of the diction "king" here is not "king of a country" aka today's monarchy, but "king of a resistance coalition," namely the coalition to fight the Jalut (Goliath) coalition. The diction of "king" which is close to the concept of monarchy today is the role of the Prophet David when he was appointed king, "David killed Jalut, then Allah kingdom" gave him a Qs 2: 251). Here وَقَتَلَ دَاوْدُجَالُوْتَ وَالْمَهُ النَّهُ النَّهُ الْعُلْكَ David's position has become a real king. Why? Because he controls the coalition of his supporters and has subdued the Jalut coalition under his power. While Thalut has controlled the coalition of his supporters, even then there are still many pros and cons, and does not control the Jalut coalition at all. So, it is clear that the use of the diction of "king" in the Qur'an depends on the context, this is also an affirmation that the Qur'an does not sanctify the term "king" or "kingdom."

Among the important lessons from this sequel to the power of the Children of Israel for formulating the requirements of a candidate for leader today, where power is transformed from the model of King Thalut to King David, lies primarily in political skills in controlling political friends (supporting coalition) and at the same time political opponents (opposition coalition). This means that a candidate who is eligible

to become a leader is adept at controlling political friends and opponents, then protecting and maintaining both when they have won. On the other hand, a candidate who is not eligible to become a leader is adept at controlling a coalition of friends, but is stuttering in controlling a coalition of opponents. Many candidates are home champions, but do not develop when away. The Prophet Muhammad considered a very honest person like Abu Dzar not eligible to enter the political arena, he said, "O Abu Dzar, indeed I see you as a weak person... So do not be a leader for two different parties..." (HR. Muslim). The type of candidate like Abu Dzar highly values piety and honesty and likes homogeneity, but it will be a weakness if he then does not allow the presence of binary opposition (two different ones) in his leadership. Candidates like this are not eligible to become political leaders, because they do not understand the essence of politics offers debate, mutual respect in friendliness in differences, and building civilization on the principle of unity in diversity (bhinneka tunggal ika).

The presence of binary opposition (two opposites) in politics is the most authentic guidance of the Qur'an. The Qur'an does not like homogeneity or uniformity in politics, but a duality of opposites. For what? For checks and balances expressed in the language of "advising each other" (watawashau; Julyan, Qs 103: 3; 90: 17). Advising each other, in what? Advising each other in truth (watawashau bilhaq; Julyan, Qs 103: 3), advising each other in patience (watawashau bishabr; Julyan, Qs 103: 3; 90: 17), and advising each other in affection (watawashau bil marhamah; Julyan, Qs 90: 17).

Reading verses of the Qur'an like this, for candidates who are knowledgeable and have political skills, they can already imagine that if one day they are elected as rulers, for example heads of state, then the first thing they do is allocate their attention to two opposing political supporting coalition and the groups: the opposition. The goal is so that the national political conditions can recover as soon as possible from various excess campaign sentiments and be conducive to exercising power. The supporting coalition and the opposition, both are legitimate assets of the political system, and once again, the opposition must exist for checks and balances in power, so that tawashau (mutual

advice) becomes a dynamic and blessed political process. On the other hand, despotic candidates, obsessed with a single majority and anti-opposition, the existence of a binary opposition is considered a nuisance to them, therefore they will try to make rules so that the opposition is eliminated in their power, even though in fact, the differences or political struggles between the coalitions will never really disappear.

For the diction "truth" (al-haq), what is the meaning of tawasau bilhaq (advising each other in the truth), for the political context? Truth (al-haq) in the political context can be in the form of a concept that is considered most appropriate for exercising power and it has been formally stated in the political party platform. So, truth (al-haq) in politics is very subjective and depends on the platform of a political party that is compiled by its founders, therefore the implementation of tawasau bil haq will be more appropriate if it is carried out internally in each political party, not across parties. The way tawasau bil haq works in a political party is continuous selfcriticism so that the journey that has been and is being taken, including its various achievements, does not deviate from the truth (al-haq) that has been written in the party platform.

Tawashau bilhaq in the context of national political contestation means that each party presents its form of truth (al-haq) to society in the form of public interest and allows individual citizens to sovereignly make decisions by voting for the candidate or party they consider most worthy.

For the diction "patience" (ashshabr), what does it mean to advise each other in patience, for a political context? Mutual patience in the political sense is obeying the rules of the game, especially in fulfilling the agenda of the succession of power. Patience here means not thinking of or taking unconstitutional methods. If a candidate does not yet meet the requirements, for example, then no one should try to force their will by making efforts to change the rules so that the rules are by the candidate's reality. Just be patient until the candidate's reality meets the requirements naturally, then be nominated.

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Patience in politics also means obeying the rules, when a political coalition wins the presidential election, for example, then the losing party coalition must be willing and comfortable to be in the opposition position, patient to wait for the opportunity to come to power in the next election, not immediately jumping and joining the winning coalition. Another example, is if a party's vote acquisition continues to be around a mediocre number and there is little hope of reaching two digits, then be patient in that position, do not change course, for example, initially being outside the ruling regime and then being tempted by power and entering the ruling regime, it would be even more naive if the party was not with the winning coalition in the election.

For the diction "affection" (marhamah), what does it mean to advise each other in affection, for a political context? If "truth," is always different and allowed to be different; if "patience," has its limits; then "affection" between fellow human beings has no limits. This is the last bastion of humanity, returning to the formulation that was mentioned at the beginning, that we are all brothers, we have the same God, we do not have to kill each other just because of political differences. Remember, the goodness of a person or group is not measured by how much power they have, but is determined by how much they contribute to the benefit of others, "The best people are those who are most useful to others" (HR. Thabrani); The real form of mutual advice in affection between humans is mutual benefit to each other. Here, the context of the prophet's sending finds its essence, "And We have not sent you but as a mercy for the worlds (Qs 21: 107); that the Messenger of Allah Muhammad truly came not only for Muslims, but for all mankind. Symbolically, the Our'an states that the mission of the Qur'an is not only to build a "mosque" (Qs 18: 21) to strengthen the faith and piety of citizens, but to build "civilization" (Qs 18: 21) to realize justice and human welfare throughout the earth.

For the author it is clear, Islam provides a detailed concept of the requirements for an eligible leader candidate, namely a figure who truly understands the essence of unity in diversity in politics, so that he is worthy of exercising power and can realize the goals of the state. This is where the relevance of the verse, "Allah commands you to convey the amana to ahliha (Qs 4: 58). According to the author, this is the Politics of Allah, or the Politics of the Qur'an, or the Politics of Islam,

which is universal; its benefits are not only for one particular group but for all humanity. It seems that Islam provides a detailed concept of the requirements for an eligible leader candidate, namely a figure who truly understands the essence of unity in diversity in politics so that he is worthy of exercising power and can realize the goals of the state. This is in line with the verse, "And We have not sent you but as a mercy for the worlds" (Qs 21: 107).

Episteme 3 of Electoral Politics: Credible Commissioner

"When you make legal decisions between people, you should decide justly"
رَادُا حَكَمْتُهُ بِيُنِ النَّاسِ أَنْ تَحْكُمُ الْأَلْسُ أَنْ تَحْكُمُ الْمَالِيَّ

If citizens who have the right to vote (voters) already understand the importance of the mandate (*amana*) and know who is most worthy of the mandate to be given, if the candidates already understand their expertise and eligibility to become leaders, then for a democratic election, only one more element is needed: the election organizing committee (commissioners). This is the way of thinking about the causality of election politics as guided by the Qur'an.

What are the criteria for commissioners according to the Qur'an? The answer can be studied from this episteme: "When you make a legal decision between people, you should decide justly" Os 4: 58). From this episteme, a series of managerial implementation stages of the Election can be derived, simply, as follows: First, each of the Election organizing member commissioner must be fluent in reading and mastering the regulations that are the rule of the game of the Election, so that they do not stutter or make mistakes in compiling the stages of the Election implementation, selecting and determining all individual citizens who have the right to vote, as well as political parties and candidates who are entitled to become participants in the election. Second, implementing the Election by providing all the necessities until the vote count at the TPS is complete. Third, implementing the recapitulation of votes in stages until the accumulation of national votes, making decisions on the vote acquisition of all Election participants, both political parties and candidates. *Fourth*, deciding who will win the presidential election or the two pairs who are entitled to take part in the second round of the presidential election, as well as a decision on the names of legislative candidates who will be eligible to enter parliament according to their level (national, provincial, regional).

Although the management of the election stages is important, it is only a shell and not essential. So what makes the election stages essential? This question of course concerns the knowledge, managerial skills, personality of the commissioners. First, the Qur'an mentions that the commissioners have legal authority that voters and candidates do not have, "When you make a legal decision between neonle" (وَاذَا حَكُمْتُهُ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ). OS 4: 58). Here the commissioners are not only organizers but also judges or referees in the implementation of the election. In their position as decision-makers in the election, based on the Hadith of the Prophet. the commissioners are divided into three categories, "There are three judges. Two judges are in hell and one in heaven. A judge who knows the truth but decides otherwise, then he is in hell. A judge who decides a case between people based on ignorance, then he is in hell. While a judge who knows the truth and decides based on that truth. then he is in heaven. " (HR. Abu Daud). It should be noted immediately that in the context of electoral political studies, the diction of "hell" and "heaven" is not only interpreted literally but more meaningfully; just like the expression "judge hell" to express how bad a judge's decision is.

Here Islam encourages commissioners to make legal decisions according to the data/facts as they are, without deception or manipulation, nor influenced by other factors that can change legal decisions based on false data/facts outside the data/facts of the implementation. This is by the Prophet's words, "a judge who knows the truth and decides based on that truth, then he is in heaven." This is a description of a fair legal decision, a decision that does not harm a group or benefit a particular group. On the contrary, an unfair legal decision will result in harming a group to benefit a particular group through dishonest means, especially in cases where one or more commissioners know the exact data/facts, but deliberately hide them. The actions of the despicable commissioners have been warned by

the Prophet's words, "A judge who knows the truth but decides otherwise, then he is in hell." Apart from the fraudulent behavior that could be carried out by members of the election commissioners, the Prophet's Hadith also mentions the potential for unfair legal decisions to emerge as a result of the stupidity of one or more election commissioners, "A judge who decides a case between people based on stupidity, then he is in hell."

This hadith of the Prophet interprets very accurately and in detail the guidance of the Qur'an regarding the main role that should be carried out by every election commissioner, "when you make legal decisions between people, you should decide justly." (Os 4: 58).

Second, according to the narrative of the verse, the object of this just legal decision is human (*an-Naas*), it applies generally to all humans and does not privilege or alienate certain religions-ethnicities-languages. This means that the electoral political guidance of the Qur'an applies to all political systems adopted by humans, without exception. In the reality of today's political life, all countries on earth have heterogeneous populations; in terms of the percentage of Muslim population, some countries are predominantly Muslim, balanced, minority, and it seems that none are empty.

This is among the scientific evidence, that Islamic politics is universal in nature; This is a kind of gift of power (the Ark) from the Creator for all His human creations. Allah's Politics for the Children of Israel, which is represented through the historical sequel to the reign of Thalut and David, is also no different from Allah's Politics for all contemporary humanity, such as Jews, Christians, and Muslims, as well as people of other religions/beliefs.

Episteme 4 *Ulil Amri*: **Product of Democratic Elections**

"Obey Allah and obey the Messenger and *Ulil Amri* among you" (

إَطِيْعُوا اللَّهَ وَٱطِيْعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَٱولِي الْأَمْرِمِنْكُمْ

Different from Ibn Taimiyah's study in as-Siasah asy-Syar'iah which places Ulil

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Amri as the central subject of discussion who is required to be skilled in carrying out top-down actions to regulate his government by choosing his subordinates or assistants in "the right man on the right place" manner, this article thinks the opposite or bottom-up and wants to state that *Ulil Amri* is not the central subject, but the final subject; *Ulil Amri* is a product of the democratic election process. Pay attention to the verse about *Ulil Amri* (Qs 4: 59) and democratic elections (Qs 4: 58), then causally there must be an election first before a leader is born, not the other way around.

The image of *Ulul Amri* in the study of as-Siasah asy-Syar'iah is very representative of an executive leader, it seems as if the title is only for the caliph or head of state, but after we understand that *Ulil Amri* is a product of an election, then *Ulil Amri* is not only represented by the executive leader (read: caliph, for the case of Indonesia the president), but also by the legislature (read: for the case of Indonesia the DPR). So, here it is confirmed that *Ulil Amri* is not a combination of "*ulama* and *umaro*" as has been understood so far (Al-Utsaimin, 2019: 14), except for the *ulama* who are participants in the election and pass to the DPR.

Of course, in a general election process, there is always the possibility of disputes, the Our'an has anticipated this possibility, "If you have different opinions about something, then refer it to Allah and the Messenger" (Qs 4: 59). Here there is an emphasis, "differences of opinion about something" (); what is the meaning of "something" in the context of democratic There are several possibilities, elections? including: First, if the difference of opinion is limited to the results of the vote count, then the election system must allow for a re-election through a decision of the competent court; Second, if the difference of opinion concerns the results of the vote count that does not reach the minimum limit of winners (usually presidential or regional elections), then the election system must allow for a second round of elections; *Third*, if the difference of opinion leads

to the idea of rebellion, for example disagreeing with democratic elections and preferring the path of separatism as Muawiyah did to Caliph Ali bin Abi Thalib in the Shiffin War (July 26, 657-July 28, 657), or a military coup with ethnic cleansing nuances as carried out by Abdullah As-Saffah bin Ali bin Abdullah bin al Abbas against the Umayyad Dynasty in the Battle of Zab (750), then such determination must be immediately abandoned and return to politics that are approved by Allah and the Messenger, namely democratic elections; Fourth, if the difference of opinion leads to the idea of veiled rebellion, for example agreeing with elections, but the method is not democratic, such as carrying manipulation, money politics, or intimidation, then such determination must also be immediately abandoned and return to the legitimate succession of power according to the Qur'an, namely through democratic elections.

Allah commands humans to obey Ulil Amri (Os 4: 59) who are the product of democratic elections (Qs 4: 58), because they will provide a sense of security and comfort to all citizens, and there is also a guarantee that they can realize the goals of the state: intelligent and prosperous people. If someone is familiar with what a "system" is, then the phrase "then refer it to Allah and the Messenger" is an expression of a "closed system," when the results of an iteration process are still different from the design criteria, then the difference becomes feedback for the next iteration. That means political correction and self-criticism are always needed to ensure that Allah's politics in the form of democratic elections are maintained, not contaminated by ambitions that do not like it and want to divert it.

The real differences between the two can be seen in the following table:

Table 1: Difference Between Sharia Politics and Political Sharia

No	Difference	Sharia Politics	Political Sharia
		(as-Siyasah as-Syar'iyah)	(as-Syar'iyah as-Siyasisah)
1	Primary data source	Al-Qur'an, Surah An-Nisa (4),	Al-Qur'an, Surah An-Nisa (4),
		Verses 58-59	Verses 58-59
2	Initiator	Ibn Taimiyah (1263-1328)	Husin M. Al-Banjari (1961-)
3	Validity	Sharia politics is an Islamic political	Political Sharia is a universal Islamic
	-	paradigm that applies only to	political paradigm that applies to all

		countries with an Islamic system of government and cannot be applied to countries with other systems of government.	countries, even though they have different systems of government and even different ideologies.
4	Analysis tools and methods	The analysis tool is Government Science, the method is qualitative with a rationalist philosophical approach.	The analysis tool is Political Science, the method is qualitative with a critical philosophical approach.
5	Political system	Agree with the politics of appointment which is the foundation for the establishment of a monarchy or dynasty system, ignoring the politics of election or the democratic system; dislike political opposition.	Agree with the politics of election which is the foundation for the establishment of a democracy or republic system, reject the politics of appointment or monarchy system; requires political opposition.
6	Succession of power	Accepting hereditary succession of power can legitimize coups, permissive of the possibility of separatism, heavily influenced by tribalism or clannishness.	Accepting the succession of power through democracy, rejecting coups, rejecting separatism, and strictly avoiding the influence of tribalism or clannishness
7	Emphasis	Strongly emphasizes the importance of implementing Islamic law in government, somewhat permissive towards the enforcement of Sharia Politics in power.	Does not emphasize the importance of implementing Islamic law in government, and strongly emphasizes the enforcement of Political Sharia in power.
8	Focus	The focus of the discussion is on how the government is managed: government stability, people's obedience to the ruler, and maintaining religion.	The focus of the discussion is on how power is obtained and exercised: stability of power, devotion of the ruler to the people, and maintaining humanity.
9	Objective	Building a "mosque" (Qs 18: 21); strengthening the faith and piety of citizens.	Building a "civilization" (Qs 18: 21); realizing justice and human welfare throughout the earth.
10	Empirical experience	Run during the reign of the Caliphs- Monarchs from the Umayyads to the Ottomans for more than 12 centuries (661-1924)	It was carried out during the time of Rasulullah Muhammad, <i>Khulafa'ur Rasyidin</i> for 30 years, and during the time of Al-Mahdi (end of time)

The democratic election scheme based on the Qur'an can be seen in the following picture:

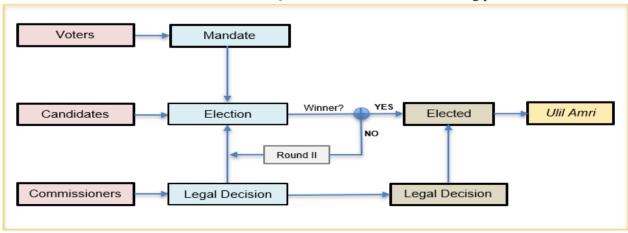


Figure 1: Democratic Election Scheme Based on the Qur'an

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This scheme can be read as follows: based on the Our'an three elements can make a democratic election, namely voters, candidates, and commissioners who organize the election. As for voters, those who meet the criteria of the Our'an are fully sovereign, knowing who the most worthy candidate is to be elected; as for candidates, they must be experts and eligible to become rulers to exercise power; as for commissioners, they must understand the rules and be credible, so that they make legal decisions fairly. Only in this way can a country produce *Ulil* Amri who are functional in realizing a just and prosperous society. Thus, the Qur'an does not give the slightest room to the idea or action of a coup, separatism, politics of appointment (hereditary), authoritarian democracy, tribalism, let alone terrorism.

CONCLUSION

In the empirical world, the implementation of electoral politics is not a new thing, not a few countries in the world have held elections more than 10 times, but the revelation of the concept of Islamic Politics which is extracted directly from the Qur'an and the Hadith of the Prophet is proven to be fully in line with democratic elections, as far as the author's knowledge, this is the first time it has been clearly

Stated. This finding deserves to be declared to all people in the world, that Islam is not only compatible with democracy, but Islam is the mother of democratic elections.

However, along with the implementation of elections in several countries, it is only limited to democratic procedures, and some even call it authoritarian democracy, where the government system formally adheres to democracy, as evidenced by the existence of elections, but the behavior of the ruling regime and its apparatus almost reflects an absolute monarchy. In this position, one of them, the concept of democratic elections based on the Qur'an remains relevant. In addition, scientifically in the Islamic world itself, there is still a lack of a universal, actual, and implementative concept of Islamic Politics that applies to various government systems.

This is among the essence of the shift from the paradigm of as-Siyasah as-Syar'iyah (Sharia Politics) to as-Syar'iyah as-Siyasisah (Political Sharia) by using a critical philosophical approach, more precisely a combination of a rationalist approach that greatly emphasizes the depth of political epistemology in the Qur'an and the Prophet's Hadith which is strengthened by empiricism.

It is clear that study of the Surah An-Nisa Verses 58-59 of the Our'an, if viewed from a top-down perspective -the ruler appoints subordinates, then it gave birth to the concept of Sharia Politics (as-Siyasah as-Syar'iyah) as formulated by Ibn Taimiyah seven centuries ago, but if viewed from a bottom-up perspective -the people choose the ruler, then it gave birth to the concept of Political Sharia (as-Syar'iyah as-Siyasisah) as formulated by the author today. Between the two there are three most prominent differences: First, Sharia Politics requires the implementation of Islamic Sharia, while Political Sharia does not; meaning it agrees to the implementation of the Basic Law stipulated by the founding fathers of a country; Second, Sharia Politics tends to be pro-absolute monarchy and anti-democracy, while Political Sharia is 100% pro-electoral politics (read: democracy) and very antimonarchy; Third, Sharia Politics applies to Muslim countries, especially implementing Islamic Sharia, while Political Sharia applies universally; meaning it can be applied in the Islamic, capitalist, Confucian, and even communist worlds; this is precisely where the position of Islam, in the eyes of Political Science, as rahmatan lil 'alamin, is proven.*

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