THE CHARISMA OF KIAI IN POLITICS:
THE STUDY OF THE KIAI’S BOOK “KIAI DI TENGAH PUSARAN POLITIK ANTARA PETAKA DAN KUASA”
BY IBNU HAJAR’S WORKS

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Abstract: My research background is motivated by the existence of a charismatic figure (Kiai) who dared himself to enter politics. In the existing reality, Kiai is a figure known to the public as the nation’s education generator, not as a politician who is commonly known as a liar who often campaigns for promises without proof. This study aims to formulate a definition of politics, politics according to an Islamic perspective, and the charisma of Kiai in politics. The results of this research describe the figure of a charismatic Kiai who dared himself to enter into politics, where the decision will give birth to a big challenge, so he is in a dilemma with two choices, namely disaster with his decision or gaining power. The Kiai-politician has two important roles, apart from being a generator of education; besides that, he is also a politician who can be seduced by wealth and power. This reality requires Kiai not to be proactive; it is enough for him to become a driving force behind the curtain, without taking part in politics. Thus, the Kiai will be safe from all kinds of slander and accusations that can corner him so that he will not lose his dignity and charisma, and society will always make him ‘uswatun hasanah’, which will be kept in their chest all the time.

Keywords: Charisma, Kiai, Politics.

Abstrak: Peneitian kami ini dilator belakangi dengan adanya sosok kharismatik (kiai) yang memberanikan dirinya untuk terjun ke dalam dunia pokitik. Dalam realita yang ada, kiai adalah sosok yang dikenal masyarakat sebagai generator pendidikan bangsa, bukan sebagai politikus yang jarang dikenal sebagai seorang pendusta yang kerap mengkapanyekan janji tanpa bukti. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk merumuskan definsi politik, politik menurut perspektif Islam, dan kharisma kiai dalam dunia politik. Hasil penelitian ini menggambarkan tentang sosok kiai kharismatik yang memberanikan dirinya untuk terjun ke dalam dunia politik praktis, di mana keputusan tersebut akan melahirkan tantangan besar, sehingga ia dilema dengan dua pilihan, yakni petaka dengan keputusannya atau justru mengapai kuasa. Kiai-politikus memiliki dua perananan penting, selain sebagai generator pendidikan, di samping itu ia juga sebagai sosok politikus yang dapat tergoda oleh harta dan kekuasaan. Realita tersebut, menunut kiai untuk tidak ikut pro-aktif, cukup ia menjadi mesin penggerak di balik tirai, tanpa ikut berenang dalam dunia politik. Dengan demikian kiai akan selamat dari segala macam fitnah dan tuduhan yang dapat menyudutkan dirinya, sehingga ia tidak akan kehilangan marwah dan kharismanya dan masyarakat akan senantiasa menjadikannya uswatun hasanah yang akan terpelihara di dada mereka sepanjang masa.

Kata kunci : kharisma, kiai, politik.

I. Introduction

Every human needs a role model as a guide in his life. The problem is that finding a worthy role model is a bit difficult nowadays in this modern world. Many figures convey their 'da 'wah' and call themselves good and pious people, so it is difficult to determine who is following the truth.
It is a reality in Indonesia that people often place Kiai as a highly cult figure. What comes from Kiai is easy to accept and implement in everyday life. In addition, Kiai’s charisma is like a light that always illuminates people’s lives. Those who love and follow in his footsteps are lucky. In addition, the concept of ‘barokah’ has also become an attraction for the community, so they believe that a Kiai has a source of blessing in himself.

Bourdieu, a French anthropologist and also a major theorist in critical studies of cultural practice, states that capital is not merely material, such as wealth and a throne, but it is also a good culture to be followed.

In the sociocultural society of the Indonesian Archipelago, kiai serves as a pillar of struggle, an example to follow, and a forum for problem-solving. Because the Kiai is a member of religious leaders, who are seen as the prophets’ lineage, Kiai is therefore not just a human figure but also a half-angel figure.

As times have changed, many Kiais have become involved in politics to further their "da'wah" efforts and resistance against forces attempting to destroy Islam and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI). Previously, they only focused on teaching in "Langgar" and "Mushalla." "Hubul wathan min faith," which means love of the motherland is a component of faith, is their guiding concept. Islamophobic organizations will always propagate heretical ideas inside the community. They all go about it by getting involved in politics, which leads to further issues. As a result, Islamic leaders from the Kiai or moslem scholars stood up against it as bulls of resistance.

This quite extreme behavior seems to put Kiai in two choices: a catastrophe in the political arena or besides that. Kiai is a figure who has a dual role, being a politician and a religious figure, where this position sometimes marginalizes the threat so that people’s trust gradually fades or even makes it a fortune. After all, it is successful in dealing with the challenges that exist within it, ranging from the temptation of bribery to corruption. Being able to get rid of groups that hate moslem scholars, and also being able to appear as a perfect character because Kiai can become an actor who has multiple roles.

Charisma is crucial for a Kiai in particular because, in the lack of it, public rejection of their goal will be overpowering. In the end, there won't be many enthusiasts. As a result, the researcher is interested in researching the charisma of Kiai in Politics “Kiai di Tengah Pusaran Politik” by Ibn Hajar's Works” (Kiai in the Middle of a Political Vortex Between Disaster and Power" by Ibn Hajar), not only because it is a topic that is intriguing and frequently discussed, but also because there is a dearth of research on it. Three key topics are covered in the writing: 1) the definition of politics; 2) the Islamic perspective on politics; and 3) Kiai’s charisma in the political sphere.

This research employed library research as the primary method of investigation. In keeping with the research theme, references were used during the conduct of this study. The facts are evaluated to draw the appropriate conclusions. The problem is handled using the descriptive technique, which entails describing or summarizing the key concerns theoretically.

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1The word "barokah," which is Arabic in origin, implies "more favors" (Al-Munawwir, 1997: 98). A blessing, also known as "barokah," is God's gift that can result in goodness in life. The name describes a Kiai, who is seen as being close to God in traditionalist Javanese society.

To draw a conclusion, the writer uses inductive and deductive methods. The inductive approach is a way of thinking that starts with specific supporting facts and moves in a more general direction in order to reach a conclusion. Meanwhile, the deductive method is a way of thinking to find and master knowledge that starts with general reasons and moves in a more specific/specific direction.

The primary data are taken from Ibnu Hajar’s work “Kiai di Tengah Pusaran Politik antara Petaka dan Kuasa” (Kiai in the Middle of the Politics between Calamity and Power) as the primary source. While secondary data is collected from many literary sources to supplement the primary data. The materials that describe the principles of humanist education, such as books, journals, magazines, and other research-related literature, serve as the supporting information for the research.

The data collection technique used in this study is a documentary technique - using as many books or existing literature as possible to conduct research on the object or focus to be studied. The data were collected through a literature study or review related to the charisma of the cleric contained in the book “Kiai di Tengah Pusaran Politik antara Petaka dan Kuasa”. While the data analysis technique is the content analysis - research methods that are in-depth discussions of the content of written or printed information in the mass media.

In this study, the author applies Wursanto’s charisma theory, which holds that a leader’s charisma, which includes attractiveness, authority, and enormous influence, can cause him to take on a character-like quality.

The theory of leadership according to a scientist named Max Weber, the idea of leadership is a word that comes from the Greek language which means a blessing that is inspired in a great way, or in another language, namely grace, or in Christian language, namely grace, as well as the ability to perform miracles or predict future events, which in turn give birth to a profound change.

II. Politics

There are misconceptions about what politics actually mean—sometimes even negative ones. Amin Rais inquires about the possibility of a politician who is also a Kiai switching parties in light of this knowledge, speculating that it would lead to confusion among his supporters. He responded for himself, stating that politics were an earthly concern and not an issue for the hereafter. They are merely games in the grand scheme of things. QS al-An’am states in 6:32:

وَمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا إِلَّا لَعِبٌ وَلَثَّؤُوٍّ وَمَا الأَخْيَرُ إِلَّا خَيْرٌ لِّلَّذِينَ يَتَّقُونَ أَفَلا تَعْقِلُونَ

Meaning: And there is no life in this world other than playing and joking. And indeed, the afterlife is better for the pious. Don’t you understand it?

5 Wursanto, Dasar-dasar Ilmu Organisasi, (Yogyakarta, Andi Jas Stoner), p.32.
A political term with a negative connotation, on the other hand, is characterized as actions that involve aspects of cunning and deception, as well as hypocrisy, treachery, fraud, and other things that are not admirable. Based on the understanding that has been stated, it can be deduced that the majority of parents are extremely concerned that their children do not pursue careers in politics.

It turns out that the term "politics" is a highly interesting study to explore, aside from what the public typically understands that may be incorrect, as mentioned in the explanation above. Many academics have created and described it, both in terms of political understanding in general or specifically as well as in terms of the idea of teaching, such as through religion, culture, and other factors.

The word "politics" is derived from the English word which denotes both "the art of government" and "well-judged prudent" (smart attitude or caution in behavior) in Indonesian. Whereas "politik" in the Indonesia Dictionary is described as (1) "knowledge related to state administration or the state (as well as the system of government and the basis of its government), (2) "all matters and actions (policies, tactics, etc.) related to governance in other countries or countries," and (3) "ways of behaving (in dealing with a problem)." Derived from the word "politics," "political" or "politician" refers to someone who has knowledge of politics, administration, or who enters the political sphere. "Political" refers to something that is or is associated with politics. In contrast, " politicization " refers to the process of bringing about political conditions (via acts, ideas, etc.). Additionally, the term "political aspects" refers to all matters pertaining to governmental activities, the state structure, the interaction between the government and its citizens, and international relations.

The term "politics" encompasses a reality linked to power and how it is used, as well as the process of administering government in a state system, according to one of the famous politicians, M. Amin Rais. On the other hand, the term "politics" can also be used to refer to all realities associated with the exercise of power in society or the government in the modern sense. Bertrand Russell stated that the nature of government is the use of force by the law to accomplish particular aims thought to be vital by those in positions of authority.

Abd. Muin Salim divided political knowledge into two orientations after discussing several definitions of politics: the first was the definition linked with the state or bureaucratic concerns, and the second was the definition related with authority and power. Additionally, Muin Salim clarified the input function and the output function of politics by using Gabriel Almond’s ideas as inspiration. The following are examples of what is covered by an input function: political socialization, political recruiting, interest articulation, and political recruitment. The following are examples of what is covered by an output function: political globalization, political recruitment, interest articulation, and political globalization.
Moh. Romdhan

interest aggregation, and political communication. While the output function includes creating, executing, and supervising the implementation of rules.

The term "politics" refers to the use of power, whether it be in small-scale community groups, larger-scale communities within a country, or even in the world’s arena. This includes how power is obtained and managed by rules that have been agreed upon within the community, the state, or between countries. This conclusion can be drawn from the aforementioned understanding. Politics is essentially the administration of the state. In that case, the conclusion above has two main points. Power comes first, followed by methods, strategies, or tactics for acquiring and using power.

According to the aforementioned conclusions, it is important to clarify that in Islamic studies, the absolute property of the Creator (Almighty) is the essence of power. The power comes from him as well. He who can provide and revoke authority from the desired servant. This is doing what the Koran says in QS, according to Ali Imran (3:26).

قُلِ اللَّهُمَّ مَالِكَ الآمُلآكِ تُؤآتِي الآمُلآكَ مَنآ تَشَاءُ وَتَنآزِعُ الآمُلآكَ مِمَّنآ تَشَاءُ وَتُعِز خَيآرُ ۖ إِنَّكَ عَلَىٰ كُل ِ شَيآءٍ قَدِيرٌ

Meaning: Say, O God Who has the kingdom, You who give the kingdom to whom You will, and You who can take away the kingdom from whom You will. You who glorify whom You will and You who humiliate whom You will. In Your hand is all goodness. Indeed, You are Almighty over all things.

Regarding how to reach and apply power, several introductory provisions contain universal Islamic values that must be upheld, including 'syura', justice, freedom or independence, equality, and accountability before humans and God.

Ibnu Khaldun claimed, as cited by A. Rahman Zainuddin that the country is disintegrating because its leaders live in luxury (beds), causing the people to suffer and die. They use exploitation and corruption to live in luxury. In the other side, they disregard Allah's warnings in the QS. Al-Isra (17:16):

وَإِذَا آرَذنا أَن نَهُدِي قَرِيمَةٌ أَمَرَهَا مُتَّخِذًا قَفَّ، فَقَفَّا فِيهَا فَقَسَفْوَا وَفِيهَا فَقَسَفْوَا فَقَسَفْوَا فَقَسَفْوَا فَقَسَفْوَا

Meaning: And if we desire to destroy a nation, then we exhort the residents of that nation to serve God while they enjoy luxurious lifestyles; nevertheless, if they disobey in that nation, then it is proper that the words (Our provisions) apply to it; and then We demolish that nation as completely as possible.

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The Charisma of Kiai in Politics: The Study of the Kiai’s Book “Kiai di Tengah Pusaran Politik antara Petaka dan Kuasa” by Ibnu Hajar’s Works

Al-Siyasah, a specific portion of Fiqh, addresses political topics. According to Ahmad Sukarja, Political Fiqh is the science of state administration that examines the complexities of statehood in order to create for the good of humanity in line with Islamic law. Al-Ahkam al-Sulthaniyah, Siyasah Syar’iyah, and al-Kilafah are additional terms with the same meaning. This Political Fiqh focuses on four urgent topics: (1) government institutions as controllers of government activities; (2) society as tools of regulated parties; (3) laws and policies that serve as tools of community regulation; and (4) ideals of the goals to be achieved.

It can be concluded from what has been mentioned thus far that Islam, like other branches of knowledge such as theology, ‘Fiqh’, ‘Tafsir’ (interpretation), hadith, and so forth, takes politics seriously and accords it great importance.

The formulation above becomes more valid, considering that there are several ‘nash’ that clearly state this as the word of God contained in QS. an-Nisa (4: 59):

يعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْآمَرَيَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّٰهَ وَأَطِعُوا الرَّسُولَ إِنآ كُنَّتمُ تُؤُمِّنُونَ بِاللَّٰهِ وَالآيَاتِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِلَّآ آمَنَّا فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ ذَٰلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلًَ

Meaning: O you who believe, submit to Allah and obey (His) Messenger and the government among you. Then, if you have different opinions about something, give it back to Allah (the Quran) and the Messenger (the Sunnah), and if you believe in God the hearafter. Such is more important (for you) and better as a result.

III. Politics in Islamic View

Discussing Islamic political thought in the classical and medieval centuries (the classical from 650-1250 AD and the medieval from 1250-1800 AD), it discusses the issues of Islamic political theory and concepts put forward by moslem scholars such as Ibn Abi Rabi`, al-Farabi, Ibn Khaldun, Ibn Taimiyah, al-Ghazaliy, al-Mawardiyy, and others. Based on an in-depth study of the thoughts of the scholars regarding state politics, several basic principles (almabda al-asasiy) are found as the foundation of a country and government in Islam as follows.

a. Being Trust (al-amanah)

The Arabic word "al-amanah" refers to giving someone your trust, either material or non-material, followed by a feeling of security. As a result, since "al-amanah" (trust) is an entrustment, it must be kept as intact as possible and returned to the person who received it for that person to continue to be seen as trustworthy (al-amin) once it has been done so. "Al-Amanah" (truth) refers

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19 Departement of Religion of Republic Indonesia, p. 114.
20 Abdul Wahid Muhammad al-Far, al-Tsaqafah al-Islamiyah, (Jiddah: Dar al-`Ilmi, tth), pp. 84-147.
to the mindset of someone who can be trusted due to their honesty and responsibility. The opposite of the term trust is "hiyanat," which describes an individual's behavior that makes it impossible for them to be trusted since they lack an honest disposition toward him. Concerning this, the Prophet Muhammad SAW is an excellent example, considered extraordinarily trustworthy, and is therefore given the name "al-Amin."

The Islamic teachings contain a commandment regarding the type and attitude of trust. In Surat al-Nisa, verse 58, Allah states what it implies concerning such matters: Allah orders you to trust those who deserve it. Regarding this, Ibn Taimiyah (1263–1329 AD) explained verse 58 of surah al-Nisa as follows: Allah commands leaders at various levels, from top to bottom, to deliver the mandate that has been entrusted to them, be it in the form of rights, obligations, assets, assistance, and so on. Ibn Taimiyah explained that there are two ways to carry out the mandate: first, when choosing state officials, and second, when managing state resources to safeguard national assets.

Trust must be a guiding principle in all aspects of society and the state, particularly regarding interactions between citizens and their government, the public, high state institutions, political parties, and organizations. The government should carry out legalized laws from the top to the bottom. Therefore, the mandate holders will be held accountable in the future, both in front of the general public and especially in front of Allah later in the Hereafter. Thus, trust as a fundamental life concept is realized in political and daily life, allowing trust to influence connections in all aspects of society and the state.

b. Discussion (syura)

Discussion is the same as a conference or consultation on addressing issues involving numerous people. When resolving problems affecting many people's lives, such as politics, education, the economy, society, and other areas, the Qur'an emphasizes discussion (shura) as a guiding principle. As a result, the Qur'an inspired the Prophet Muhammad SAW to engage in cheerful conversations with friends about resolving various issues among the people.

On the other hand, the Qur'an suggests that believers decide conflicts carefully. Therefore, the discussion is about a theological principle that must be followed to establish a life of dignity in both nations and states. Discussion, in conformity with the circumstances of community life, refers to community engagement in making decisions based on mutual agreement. Discussions can be discovered to have certain similarities to the realities of life in society, including seminars, meetings, brainstorming sessions, conferences, and more. There are discussions of issues that require a consensus decision, although each of these phrases has a different emphasis.

The practice of discussion must also be grounded in the understanding that significant decisions affecting the lives of the larger community must be made jointly and peacefully. Muslims argue that people should be guided by their religious teachings when making decisions. Discussions must be conducted with noble morals, ethics, and morality, be free from outside influences.

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pressures, be honest (trustworthy), transparent, accountable, and have a
harmony of goals for findings to represent significant decisions (maslahah
ammah), and not display collective egoism, group interests, or individual
interests. They are holding onto a concept of the common good.

c. Equality (al-musawah)

Equality (al-Musawah) is an urgent basic principle in reconstructing the life of
society and the state, on which all modern and contemporary political systems
are based.

Despite discrepancies in implementation, all members of society share
the characteristics of being equal human beings with rights under the law,
independence, and accountability. The key takeaway is that there are no
fundamental differences in this matter, only differences due to heredity,
etnicity, skin color, language, and religious belief; the equality of all people in
society is equality in the law, but the law does not always imply equality in
status and position. That is, equality under the law is meant to apply to
everyone who adheres to the law and treats it with respect in order to achieve
freedom and the right to life.

One of the hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him,
expresses that the previous people perished because if the dignitaries of the
country or famous people stole, they let it be. In contrast, if small people stole,
they (the law enforcers) immediately carried out the legal process and
inflicted severe punishment on him, then the Prophet swore in front of the
community, By God if Fatimah (Muhammad’s daughter) steals, I will cut off her
hand.

Then the Prophet’s Hadith can be used as a reference in enforcing
the law. The law must be implemented against anyone who commits a crime, be it
state officials, rich people, children of big men, or familiar people, so the legal
process must be enforced honestly without discrimination. Therefore, equality
in laws and regulations is essential for implementing stable and comfortable
conditions. As stated above, this condition will be implemented if there is
respect for equality. Suppose this principle of equality is not implemented. In
that case, stable and conducive conditions are challenging to implement
because this will impact the emergence of selfish attitudes and self-loathing
of those in authority who commit crimes. On the other hand, low level society
who commit crimes will go through the court process, where conditions will
result in injustice.

Islam already promotes equality in the life of the country and state, thus
it is a well-established notion. This is in accordance with what God says in
Surah Hujurat, verse 13:

ٍيا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّنَا خَلَقَنَاكُمآ مِن ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثىٰ وَجَعَلَنَاكُمآ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ
لِتَعَارَفُوا ۚ إِنَّ أَكآمَكُمآ عِنآدَ اللََِّّ أَتآقَاكُمآ ۚ إِنَّ اللَََّ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

23 Muhammad Salim al-Awwa, Fi al-Nidzam al-Siyasah Li al-Daulah al-Islamiyah, (Kairo: Daru
Meaning: O people, We have created you from a male and a woman, and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Indeed, the noblest among you in the sight of Allah is the most pious. Indeed, Allah is all-knowing.\(^{24}\)

The word of the Prophet Muhammad SAW reinforces the statement of the Qur’anic verse above. One of his hadiths is: All human beings are like the fingers of a hair comb. There is no advantage for the Arabs over the non-Arabs (non-Arabs) except piety. On this basis, all human beings are treated the same, male, female, young, old, young, poor, young, official, people, origin, tribe, skin color, etc. What makes them different is his piety to implement the laws or regulations made.\(^{25}\)

The principles of equality taught by Islam make a person have a confident attitude and an attitude of humility (tawaddhu’), namely the perspective of not being arrogant, not feudalistic, and not egoistic. The influence of all that will make a person able to accept and appreciate other people, meaning that he does not look down other people. So if conditions are created in society, a peaceful life will be made because it is colored by an attitude of togetherness and cooperation, transparency, and also full of awareness.

d. Justice (al-‘adalah)

A fair attitude (al-‘is) is an attitude to determine something proportionally and objectively. Islam encourages its people to commit justice in behaving and treating others. Because, in reality, justice has implications for the formation of security and peaceful life. In this discussion, Allah says in surah al-Nisa, verse 58, which means: if you decide on a legal provision between humans, fix it reasonably. Based on the expression of Al-Qur’an Surah al-Nisa, verse 58, it can be understood that justice is an essential foundation in implementing the rule of law, just as trust is the principle of good interaction among members of society and in political activities.\(^{26}\) Fairness and trustworthiness are part of noble character, which has implications for success in creating a virtuous community.\(^{27}\)

Regarding this matter, there is an essential saga in which one of the governors during the time of Caliph Umar Ibn Khattab sent a letter to the Caliph to complain about the political situation in his area, which was constantly volatile and not conducive.

Finally, he asked for the Caliph’s help to restore his unstable political situation, so it became conducive. In response to his letter, Caliph Umar emphasized that the Governor should improve his bad political condition by upholding true justice.

Umar’s assertion is indeed very appropriate because, in fact, the inequality that leads to political and security instability is often caused by a lack of justice, legal certainty, economic equality, and so on. In this case, the

\(^{26}\) Sayyid Quttub, Dhilalul-Qur’an, (Beirut: Darul al-Syururq, 1977), Jld. 2, p. 689 36.
Governor may need to be more fair in managing his administration. If he acts pretty, there will undoubtedly be no corrupt conditions because proper politics will be realized by public officials who are honest and responsible in making and implementing policies.  

One of the Muslim political thinkers, al-Mawardiy (975-1059 M.), who understood politics at that time, offered an easy way to create political stability; namely, he revealed that what makes the country stable so that it can create a society and a well-ordered government, then it must be based on five main concepts namely:

1. Applied and Practised Religion
2. Charismatic authoritative
3. The existence of equal justice in various aspects of life
4. Stability and security across the region
5. Broad insights ruler.

Furthermore, when al-Mawardi explained the concept of justice, he explained that justice would give birth to several positive aspects, including:

1. The birth of a harmonious life among fellow citizens
2. Obedience and complete loyalty of the people to the government/law
3. The country becomes prosperous and dynamic
4. The birth of a generation or population is well-ordered
5. Economic growth is developing well
6. The ruler feels safe because there is no interference from his political opponents who aim to destroy his power or conspire to overthrow him from power.

Based on al-Mawardiy’s view above, if justice is created in the life of the nation and state, then a good and peaceful condition will be made because all parties can accept all of its management and political policies.

e. Plurality
Pluralism or pluralism is an understanding that can maintain the diversity of differences in society (plural society) regarding ethnicity, culture, religion, tendency, language, etc. In the history of early Islamic civilization, plurality had appeared since the beginning of Islam’s development, namely when the Prophet Muhammad SAW, together with his companions, formed the community of Medina (Yatsrib).

At that time, the people of Medina became a picture of a pluralistic society in terms of social, ethnic, religious, cultural and so on. Therefore, from a socio-cultural and spiritual point of view, the Medina community was formed from several layers and communities, with at least three or four elements of society; that is, the Muslim people comprise the community migrants (muhajirin) and Ansar, Jewish people consisting of several tribes and (Bani

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Nadhir tribe, Qinaiqa’, Quraidhah, etc., People who worship statues/ids (al-Watsaniyun or Paganis), and outside the city of Medina there are people who are Christians (Christians)\(^{31}\). Various religions, ethnicities, social cultures, and so on were unified by the Prophet Muhammad SAW became one society the people were wahidatun), namely the one community of Medina. This union is strengthened by bonds (tariqah) based on mutual agreement. Watsiqah This is what later became famous as the Medina Charter, or can be called the Medina Constitution.

Why is plurality necessary? It is a reality of life and a natural phenomenon in people’s lives, where things like this need to be maintained to create a harmonious life to avoid all kinds of conflicts. In the Qur’an surah, al-Hujurat verse 13, Allah says:

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y^{a} \text{بَنَاتُكُمْ وَأُنثٍ وَجَعَلْنَاهُمُ شُعُوبٍ وَقَبَائِلَ}
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Meaning: O people, verily We have created you from a male and one person Woman, and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another. Indeed, he is the noblest among you; in the sight of God, he is the most pious among you. Indeed, Allah is All-Knowing and All-Knowing\(^{32}\).

If the verse above is examined, both textually and contextually, it will provide an understanding of the existence of rejection of all racial notions of ethnicity, superiority, and nationality, more than that even towards the family, which forms the social life of human beings on this earth, but what is more prioritized is the attitude purity and holiness. Righteousness is not only understood in the context of rituality (worship); more than that, it must also be understood in a social dimension because the core of all Islamic teachings is a balance with fellow human beings, human relations with Allah, as well as with nature or the environment.

Therefore, a good and personal attitude of righteousness will give birth to respect and appreciation for other people of different social statuses, cultures, ethnicity, religion, and so on. However, it must also be noted that pluralism can only exist in society and the nation if it is born in socio-political conditions that can wholeheartedly accept it as a natural reality; there is mutual understanding between fellow citizens and mutual need between one individual and another through cooperation to achieve a common goal, namely prosperity, political stability, independence, and so on. And if differences arise in thinking and behavior, they are not immediately expressed through violence. Still, solutions are sought through deliberations to produce a joint agreement for standard policies.

IV. The Charisma of Kiai in Politics (A review of the book “Kiai di Tengah Pusaran Politik antara Petaka dan Kuasa” (Kiai in the Middle of a Political Swirl between Calamity and Power)


As a religious icon, Kiai becomes marginalized if his actions do not make the people's dignity prosperous and peaceful. Such contestation, both in the world of religion, business, and especially politics, requires religious leaders (Kiai) to get involved and become agents of change, including by entering the world of practical politics. Such action is not only a personal matter, but more than that, to save the people, religion and nation. In the following, we describe some important points related to the charisma of a Kiai in politics.

a. Kiai's political movement (nationality and populist)

In the individual dimension, humans in modern times always have the following characteristics: readiness to capture various new and renewal experiences, the desire to form opinions on several problems and issues that arise not only in the immediate environment but also outside it, orientation in the field opinion is more democratic, more focused on the present and the future than the past, more based on planning and organization to overcome life, practical, upholds self-respect and always gives an appreciation for the achievements of others, has faith in science and technology and holds fast belief in distributive justice33.

The political movements carried out by a Kiai in the past: Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari with his 'NU' organization and Kiai Ahmad Dahlan with his 'Muhammadiyah', are not sufficiently understood only in terms of position, structure and intrigue, but more than that the political movements that what they do is national and populist politics so that the orientation is clear and not trapped in sectarianism and one-sided interests. That is, their political movements are not only interpreted 'naked' but must also be interpreted as profound and visionary, where in the end, with such an attitude, the Kiai's teachings become valuable in the hearts of the 'ummah' because they consider the Kiai to be charismatic, unique and not cunning34.

Every human being who has charisma is someone who creates significant change. But sometimes, this is seen as a reformation of customs or the emergence of divisions in the world. Another assumption regarding a charismatic leader is a person who is considered and assumed negatively because it creates a rift caused by his attitude, which always reveals a new form of independence and wishes not to demand new obedience between a leader and his followers35. So with this fact, the Kiai has a vital duty to restore the reversed assumptions, even though this happened to Kiais in the decade of the 90s, when Kiais fell into political sacramentalism and eventually made politics the only field of struggle. Even though a Kiai is a scholar and a politician, he must educate the community. So, in the end, Kiais are trapped in a pragmatic political circle full of interests and power during the New Order era, when a Kiai did not have much room to participate in upholding justice,

where many non-Islamic boarding schools occupied government seats and caused many irregularities, giving space to the kiai to be trusted by the public so they could fill government seats. However, this is still far from expectations, where Kiais have little participation in enforcing rules and justice; the proof is that many are involved in corruption scandals.

The style of a leader with charisma is one of the three forms Max Weber represents as an ideal postulate in viewing the role of religious leaders in social change in society. Do they also belong to the form formulated by Max Weber in the charismatic concept, or not? In essence, Max Weber made a form of authority a belief system that legitimized various relations in society into three states, namely legal power (legal-rational), traditional (established), and charismatic leader.

Then Kiais are then required to appear as figures who must arise and take the most critical part in power and government. So three crucial points are essential tasks in plunging into the world of politics, namely:

1. National politics means that Kiais have an essential task in maintaining the integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) and are also able to ward off all kinds of disintegration
2. Populist politics which means having the mandate to protect the community by teaching, preaching, etc. So that the kiai can become agents of change in society, not just promises on stage campaigned in front of the general public.
3. Power politics, meaning that the kiai must be someone who can take and occupy power in the government to get rid of all kinds of cunning. Max Weber's sociological theory reveals that power will only be followed when there are various valid reasons and support for this power, namely: First, through the domination of the law. The second is traditional dominance. Third is charismatic domination.

So the Kiai, as a figure who continues the struggle of the prophets, does not necessarily make his position to extort the community. Still, he must have charisma, which emerges from the depths of the soul of a Kiai. Some of the characteristics that dominate the birth of a charismatic attitude include the emergence of obedience not through tradition or rules but through a belief in humans who are considered holy and have extraordinary powers. In this regard, Dhofer revealed that a Kiai seems to be a small king who all his orders must follow because he has an aura of sacredness that is born from the depths of his conscience so that this charisma is automatically able to change and direct the perspective of society always to be able to imitate the way taken by the Kiai. More than that, this obedience has also been supported by solid religious values and deep beliefs.

38 Ibnu Hajar, pp. 75-77.
b. The equipped Charisma of Kiai (a demonstration for Kiais)

Al-Farabi, an Islamic scholar, emphasized the obligation of the presence of a head of state in a social system. The head of state by him is like a position likened to the heart in the human body as a source and a coordination center between organs in the body to reach perfection. Therefore, the position of the head of state is more than just political. More than that, it is also ethical. Moreover, Al-Farabi reveals that a country’s destruction is due to its leaders’ morality. The idea of democracy became the beginning where many Kiai began to lose their charisma for several reasons, among them because they were no longer transparent in upholding their mandate as political figures. The value of sacralness that has suddenly faded after they participated in a occupied the seat of government. The teachings in the book ‘Ta’limul Muta’allim’ are no longer followed by the people, abolished respect and reverence. Ultimately, they dared to oppose the Kiai by demonstrating and commenting on a figure they had always admired. The proof is that since 1998, many Kiais have succeeded in obtaining seats of power. Besides that, they also like to campaign for promises without concrete evidence so that the Kiai is considered ‘small talk’ or lip service only.

Kiai considers politicians no longer ‘uswatun hasanah’ unless he places himself as one “broker” full of pragmatism and essential personal. Since then, the Kiai began to lose their charisma and had few followers. Finally, Kiai can no longer create change and needs to be more vital in influencing the community. This reality is very much different from the Kiai of the past, where they had powerful charisma, so their names were rooted in the hearts of the ummah and will not be forgotten for all time.

In connection with the case, people demonstrated Kiai during the 2004 presidential election. The general chairman of PBNU KH. Hasyim Muzadi dared to decide to become Megawati’s partner in the 2004 presidential election. Hashim Muzadi reaped the pros and cons amid society and the national elite. The day after the decision was made, NU members acting on behalf of PBNU, ‘Barisan Pengagum Nahslatul Ulama’ staged a demonstration against Hasyim Muzadi’s decision to accompany Megawati. If he continues to be reckless, Hasyim Muzadi could be asked to resign from PBNU because Rais’ Am PBNU, KH, did not approve his decision. Sahal Mahfudz.

c. Kiai should get back to Base

As a charismatic figure, the Kiai is demanded to return to his original identity as a national teacher who can educate in a better direction. So, Kiai should not get involved in political circles because it will plunge him to the brink of humiliation. After all, Kiais are expected to be able to maintain morals—the ethics of society and demand that it

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continues ‘istiqamah’ on the educational path. However, even though the Kiais are not involved in political circles, they still have to be part of the power structure and control the political atmosphere so that the policies they decide are not unilateral. There are several things that a kiai can do to prevent power: first, control power through community mobilization to channel their aspirations and suppress government policies.

Second, distribute outstanding prospective political leaders to fill government seats. In addition, the Kiai is a container for the community’s aspirations. So, there is an important role that a Kiai can play to accommodate the aspirations and all the problems amid society, to mediate in society at all times, and to set an excellent example for his community. Social theory expresses that leaders will be born every moment, both in small communities and large communities. As a result, a group in a society is expected to have a leader as long as there are still parties who are influenced and able to be directed. Naturally, the party that exerts influence is a minority group, but they have a very dominant position; while the number of those who are influenced is enormous so that the concept of leadership will not be separated from social, cultural and political aspects.

However, even though Kiai is required to return to basics, we do not necessarily blame every religious figure who took part and took a strategic position in government. Because reality is upside down, what is wrong is not politics but the people who need to be stronger in religion. Because some Kiais are involved in politics, they can maintain their charisma and religious side. For example, KH. Hasyim Ays’ari and KH. Wahid Hasyim, and other figures, they are politicians and members of educational agents to force education so that his charisma in society will not decrease.

V. Closing

The following conclusions can be drawn out of the explanation of politics, politics from an Islamic perspective, and the charisma of Kiai in politics:

1. Political definition

Politics is interpreted as: 1). Knowledge related to constitutional or state administration, the system of government, and the basis of government. 2). All matters and actions, whether in the form of policies, tactics, and etc, are related to the government in the country or other countries. 3). How to behave when facing and dealing with a problem.

2. The concept of politics in Islam

The concept of politics in Islam is a political action that includes values, trust (al-amanah), discussion (syura), equality (al-musawa), justice (al-‘adalah), and plurality.

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43 Sartono Kartodirjo, *Kepemimpinan dalam Dimensi Sosial*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1990), pp.7-9
3. The charisma of Kiai in politics

Since Kiais have a strong genetic heritage and superior scientific abilities, charisma is a prevalent trait among them. However, if they enter into practical pragmatics politics and allow the allure of power to entice them, their charm may occasionally disappear. In contrast, if they are able to maintain their existancy to carry out nationalist and populist politics and avoid being distracted by pragmatic, useful politics, they will become a very charismatic characters more than other Kiais who enter in politics.

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