

# THE RECONSTRUCTION OF KHILAFAH : STUDY ON THE NEW KMA 183 CURRICULUM FOR MADRASAH

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## **Abstract**

*This paper discusses the concept of caliphate which is one of the substances of Islamic education learning in Islamic School, and the development of its paradigm toward a form of contextualization of the vision, mission and strategy of national education development. This study focuses on several changes in the content of the Islamic Education Studies and Arabic Studies which included in KMA 183 in 2019, the lesson of caliphate has been moved from the Fiqh subject to Islamic Cultural History. This study uses an interpretive descriptive approach, which is a method and approach in the study of beliefs, ideas and discourses that are developing around the KMA 183 policy. This study produces a conclusion about policy-making from various aspects, one of them is an effort to contextualize the Islamic Education Studies. and Arabic Studies in order to be "in tuned" with the vision and mission of the national education strategy. The author concludes that the reconstruction of khilafah's term from the context of Islamic law to Islamic civilization actually builds a new wave of Islamic political treasures which not only touch the cognitive area, but also become a reflection as well as actualization in the dimensions of social life.*

**Keynote :** *Khilafah, Educational Management, KMA 183, Public Policy*

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## **A. INTRODUCTION**

In a Workshop on the Roles and Functions of the Imam of the Mosque (30/10/2019) The Minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia, General TNI (Ret.) Fachrul Razi, conveyed an important view on the caliphate. Strictly speaking, Fachrul said that the concept of the



caliphate should not exist in Indonesia and that this thought is a controversy that will not be accepted in all countries. The Minister of Religion implements his view in the form of revisions to the content of teachings related to the caliphate and jihad in Islamic religious lessons in madrasah, based on Circular B-4339.4 / DJ.I / Dt.II / PP.00 / 12/2019 which regulates the withdrawal of material exams in madrasahs including the terms of khilafah. The letter instruct to move the subject of the khilafah from fiqh subjects to become part of the historical studies. The Khilafah as part of the Islamic civilization cannot be covered up. The Minister of Religion clearly declared war on the concept of khilafah, although his controversial move to remove the terms khilafah from the madrasa curriculum was opposed by various parties. The Ministry of Religion were still carried out by revising teaching content related to the caliphate and jihad which led to the publication of the KMA<sup>1</sup> 183 and 184 for PAI<sup>2</sup> and Arabic in Madrasah<sup>3</sup>.

The Minister's anxiety is simply acceptable. After 1998 reformation, Indonesia was faced with the emergence of a transnational movement that rise the spirit of establishing a caliphate, as well as jihadist groups that obscured the meaning of jihad. Post-Reformation's era are also fosters Islamic political discourse that has the same age as this Republic. The discourse of political Islam in Indonesia has experienced various dynamics. From the time of President Soekarno to President

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<sup>1</sup> The decree of ministry of religion which construct the Islamic education curriculum

<sup>2</sup> PAI stands for Pendidikan Agama Islam, means Islamic Education, one of main subject in Islamic School or Madrasah

<sup>3</sup> madrasah refers to islamic educational institution (state-sponsored, private, secular, or religious) organized by the minister of religion

Soeharto, political parties with the Islamic platform were suspected of carrying an Islamization agenda that could undermine the foundation of a nationalist state. As the result. Islamic leaders and activists were failed to make Islam as the basis of state ideology and religion. In short, as has been noted by other observers, political Islam has been defeated — constitutionally, physically, bureaucratically, through general elections and symbolically. What is even sadder is that political Islam has often been the target of mistrust, suspected as the oppose of the state ideology; Pancasila.<sup>4</sup>

After the reformation, the terms khilafah, jihad, ahlul hal wal aqd, and other terms that are closely related to political Islam, are coming to the top. Of course it becomes a concern if the wrong interpretation of these terms results in actions that are far from the spirit of Islam itself. As a Durkheim's term, which divided between religion and religious phenomena. Religion can be understood as religious doctrine *an sich* before it was mingled with human understanding. Meanwhile, religious phenomena are forms of human interpretation in the form of beliefs and (rites), i.e. actions and behaviors.<sup>5</sup> The blurred connection between doctrine and understanding will result in the misuse of scriptures to benefit certain groups. The emergence of ISIS and NII as well as various salafi jihadi movements for example, has become a form of misinterpretation of the caliphate which is far from its original purpose.

Basically, the search for the term khilafah from both a theoretical (doctrinal) and empirical (historical) perspective does not provide the

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<sup>4</sup> Bahtiar Effendy, *Islam dan Negara: Transformasi Gagasan dan Praktik Politik Islam di Indonesia*, (Jakarta : Democracy Project, 2011) hal.11

<sup>5</sup> Emile Durkheim, *The elementary forms of religious life*, Terj. Karen E.Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995) hal 34



absolute formula that must be followed in the issue of State order. The only mechanism that recognized as a problem solving method of leadership succession and transfer of power is the obligation to apply the principle of deliberation (syûrâ).<sup>6</sup>

## B. CONTEXTUAL MEANING OF KHILAFAH

The concept of khilafah is often interpreted as a term for the period of *khulafaurrasyidin's* reign: Abu Bakr, Umar bin Khattab, 'Uthman bin Affan, and 'Ali bin Abi Talib. The four of them are considered as "caliphs" or successors of the prophet in managing the needs of the Islamic people. Khilafah is also interpreted as a state system or government institution in Islamic history. Khilafah is also known as *Imamat*, which can be understood as priesthood, leadership, government. Ibn Khaldun defines the caliphate as *Hamlu al-Kaaffah 'ala muqtadha al-Nazhari al-syar'iy fi mashalihihim al-ukhrawiyah wa al-dunyawiyah wa hiya khilafah' an shahibu al-syar'i fi hirasat al-di wa siyasat al-dunya*.<sup>7</sup> *Syar'i* is an accountability for realizing the benefit of the world and the hereafter as a substitute for the apostle in the maintenance of religious affairs and in regulating world affairs in the form of law enforcement, settlement of problems in the ummah, and military affairs.

The term khilafah is often interpreted as a 'power'. The Caliph as a person who is the executive in the state, the Khilafah can also be interpreted as a form of state institution that regulates its power and territory. The scholars of *Ahlussunnah* have agreed that the caliphate is a matter of *furu* 'not *ushul*. Khilafah from the point of view of fiqh is *fardhu*

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<sup>6</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid dalam "Islam tak Punya Konsep Baru mengenai Negara," Kompas, 24 November 1986

<sup>7</sup> Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*, (Beirut: Daar al-Fikr) hal.13

*kifayah*, meaning when a leader has been appointed, there's no obligation for the others to established another one.

The meaning of the caliphate can be interpreted as a role model referring to the leadership style of khulafaurrasyidin. Khilafah's interpreted as a moral reference for leadership in a government. Khulafaurrasyidin's leadership as a substitute for the prophet was adopted as part of Islamic political ethics, not a form of government system. Khulafaurrasyidin numbered four and only lasted 30 years. The system is built based on syuro and is a reflection of the attitude of the prophet's moral behavior.

In the next period, there was a change in the format of the Islamic government system. Nurcholis Madjid said there was a change in the format to become a 'descent dynasty' or 'genealogical dynasty'. A system that the prophet never even taught. Daulah Umawiyah means the dynasty of children of Umawiyah descent. Meanwhile, 'Abbasid means the dynasty of' Abbas, Muhammad's uncle. 'Abbasiya carries traditional legitimacy, that those who have the right to lead the Islamic world are among the Prophet's family. The two depictions above are manifestations of Islamic politics that are identical to ethnicity or family models. The dynastic system replaced an open and democratic prophetic system.<sup>8</sup>

Islamic leadership with the principle of an open and egalitarian participatory social organization only lasted for about 40 years, before being replaced by the Umayyah and 'Abbasid family dynasties. The Umayyad system was not actually a caliphate system, but an absolute monarch system that imitated the byzantine imperial model. The Umayyad regime reposed the pre-Islamic social model that prioritized the

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<sup>8</sup> Budhy Munawar Rahman, *Ensiklopedia Nurcholis Madjid*, (Jakarta: Democracy Project, 2012), hal.581



tribal fanaticism.<sup>9</sup> This is clearly a backward movement that obscures the spirit of egalitarianism carried by the prophet. Madina was previously considered a representation of a great leap forward in realizing an egalitarian, democratic and just society. The post-khulafaurasyidin political system of government was built on the basis of '*asabiyyah*, blind bigotry towards tribes which is identical to the behavior of Jahiliah. Leadership is determined by heredity and kinship ties, whereas previously there was no standard system in choosing a leader. Problems are resolved through the power of a caliph, who is considered as a God's representative on earth, not through deliberation and consensus.

According to Abdurrahman Wahid, the absence of a formal system for implementing the succession of leadership and the transfer of power / authority indicates that the Prophet Muhammad did not create a concrete institution in the form of a caliphate. The clear command is to "deliberate on every issue of the "ummah".<sup>10</sup> Syuro 'indicates a way of solving problems, not the spirit of forming a government system.

The Medina Constitution, which was established by the prophet, was more of a formulation of government governing socio-political relations in a pluralistic Medina society, not a basis for forming an autocracy controlled by certain family groups. This plural political society later became the ummah, which consisted of various religious groups such as Muslims, Jews and pagan tribes.

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, hal. 580-581

<sup>10</sup> Abdurrahman Wahid, "*Islam: Punyakah Konsep Kenegaraan?*" Tempo, 26 Maret 1983

### C. MOVING FORWARD

The interpretation of the caliphate must take a forward motion. In a sense, it does not return to the meaning of a 'genealogical dynasty' but is in accordance with the growing order of modern society. The spirit of the nubuwwah contained in the Medina charter is constructed so that it remains relevant to the times. The ethical spirit applied by the *khulafaurrasyidin* period is projected to be a moral foundation that must be imbued in every government's policy.

The government's move in revising the teaching content related to the khilafah will be counterproductive, when the ethical foundation that becomes the spirit of the caliphate is not constructed in the clear form. The ethics of khilafah should be the foundation in recognizing and identifying the meaning of the caliphate in the madrasah curriculum. The constructive form of these ethical principles is through the principles of deliberation, justice and egalitarianism. The above principles of political ethics can be assessed as common platforms that allow the process of socio-political convergence to take place between members of a political community with different religious backgrounds.<sup>11</sup>

The Khilafah is interpreted actively, as a process of transmitting ethical principles developed by the Prophet and continued by *khulafaurrasyidin*, not as a standardized and rigid system that breeds tribal politics and authoritarianism. If interpreted actively, then the entire government system can be interpreted as a caliphate, and the head of state is called the Khalifah.

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<sup>11</sup> Ahmad Syafi Maarif, "*Piagam Madinah dan Konvergensi Sosial*," dalam karyanya *Islam dan Politik pada Masa Demokrasi Terpimpin (1959- 1965)*, (Yogyakarta: IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Press, 1988), hal 149-163.



Syekh Ahmad Raisuni, said that Muslims can name their head of the state as a Caliph, Amir, or Sultan. This does not mean a narrowing of the original meaning of khilafah, because the essence of khilafah is just and legitimate power. All forms of governmental models that uphold justice and gain legitimacy can be called khilafah.<sup>12</sup>

#### D. KMA 183 2019

The basic principle of KMA 183 2019 is to develop the PAI curriculum in forming a religious mindset and attitude that is moderate, inclusive, cultured, religious and has the ability to live as individuals and citizens who are faithful, pious, noble, productive, creative, innovative, and collaborative. and able to be part of the solution to various problems in the life of society, nation, state and world civilization.

Students are expected to be able to express their understanding of religion in multicultural, multiethnic, multi-religious understanding and the complexities of life in a responsible, tolerant and moderate manner within the framework of the Indonesian nation and state based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.<sup>13</sup>

In the material substance, the Ministry of Religion transferred the caliphate material from the Fiqh subject to the Islamic Cultural History subject, with an emphasis on identifying the moral values of historical figures. At the *Ibtidaiyah* level, the meaning of the caliphate encompasses the efforts made by the Prophet in fostering the people of Medina, and the efforts to form various agreements with non-Muslim groups. The

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<sup>12</sup> <https://alyaoum24.com/606716.html> diakses pada 6 Agustus 2020

<sup>13</sup> See Keputusan Menteri Agama Nomor 183 Tahun 2019 tentang Kurikulum PAI dan Bahasa Arab pada Madrasah yang diterbitkan Direktorat KKSK Madrasah Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia Tahun 2019



ethical principles of the Prophet during the Fathul Makkah, and maintaining peace with the Quraish during the Fathul Makkah. At this level there is a discussion about the events of the Khulafaurasyidin period and the story of the exemplary friends and caliph Abu Bakr asSiddiq, Umar bin Khattab, Usman bin Affan, Ali bin Abi Talib.

At the *Tsanawiyah* level, the material covers the discussion of the history of the Prophet's da'wah struggle as a blessing for the entire universe of the Prophet's da'wah strategy in Mecca, Medina and in his efforts to build society through economic activities. At this level there is a discussion of the historical progress of Islamic civilization during the Khulafaurasyidin period, the Umayyad Daulah, the Abbasid Daula, the Ayyubid Daulah, and the Mamluk Daulah.

At the level of 'Aliyah the discussion narrows to the leadership models of the ummah after the Prophet's death. The material starts from a discussion of the substance and strategy of the Prophet's da'wah, from the Mecca Period to Fathul Makkah. The strategy of the Prophet's da'wah in the Medina period and discussion of the substance of the Medina Charter.

The 2019 KMA 183 curriculum emphasizes the substance of the caliphate, as a morals and ethical principle built by the Prophet when he built the State of Medina. Moral identification by focusing on the substance, and strategy of the Prophet's da'wah. The leadership of the khulafaurasyidin period was focused on understanding the creative power of the 4 successors of the prophet in dealing with various problems of the Islamic ummah after the Prophet died.



## E. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

KMA 183 of 2019 emphasizes the internalization of Islamic civilization insight which tend to be adaptive, transformative and dynamic. Emphasis on this substance is certainly understandable as part of the curriculum development process that refers to the orientation of the vision, mission of national education development strategy. As a policy, the 2019 KMA 183 is seen as an intellectual-transformative strategy line in minimizing (as well as straightening) political Islam turmoil that has historically brighten the dynamics of Indonesian politics from the beginning of independence to the present.

However, KMA 183 2019 must still be viewed and reviewed from various perspectives. From a functional point of view, the policy of reconstruct the khilafah from the subject of fiqh to the history of Islamic culture may not have had the massive effect— in fact, it provides a wider space for elaboration and interpretation. In the corridor of fiqh science, khilafah are understood as a periodic political tradition that is always returned during its implementation, and the material is focused on the internalization mechanism of Islamic legal insights that are given a contextualized touch. This means that khilafah only come to cognitive transmission, with an Indonesian contextualization. In addition, the science of fiqh is a particular science in Islamic studies that does not have a significant impact on the cultural paradigm.

When it brings to the historical study and the paradigm of civilization, the caliphate - which, even though it is juxtaposed with religious moderation - actually builds a new idealization rooted in the cult of civilization. People do not reflect on the dynamics of law and politics in particular, but from the glorious civilization that has emerged and build



the cultural dynamics of world society for a long time. In the historical aspect, the material of caliphate will reach the affective and psychomotoric realms. It must be remembered that the influence of fiqh remains limited to specific and even private, while historical subject becomes a reflection, builds spirit, and inspires the development of Islamic civilization which is actually superior in the memory of Muslims from time to time.



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